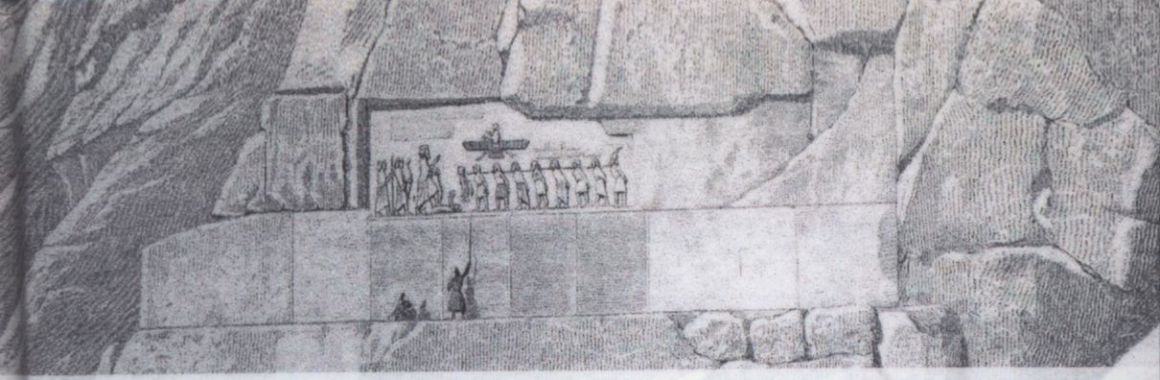
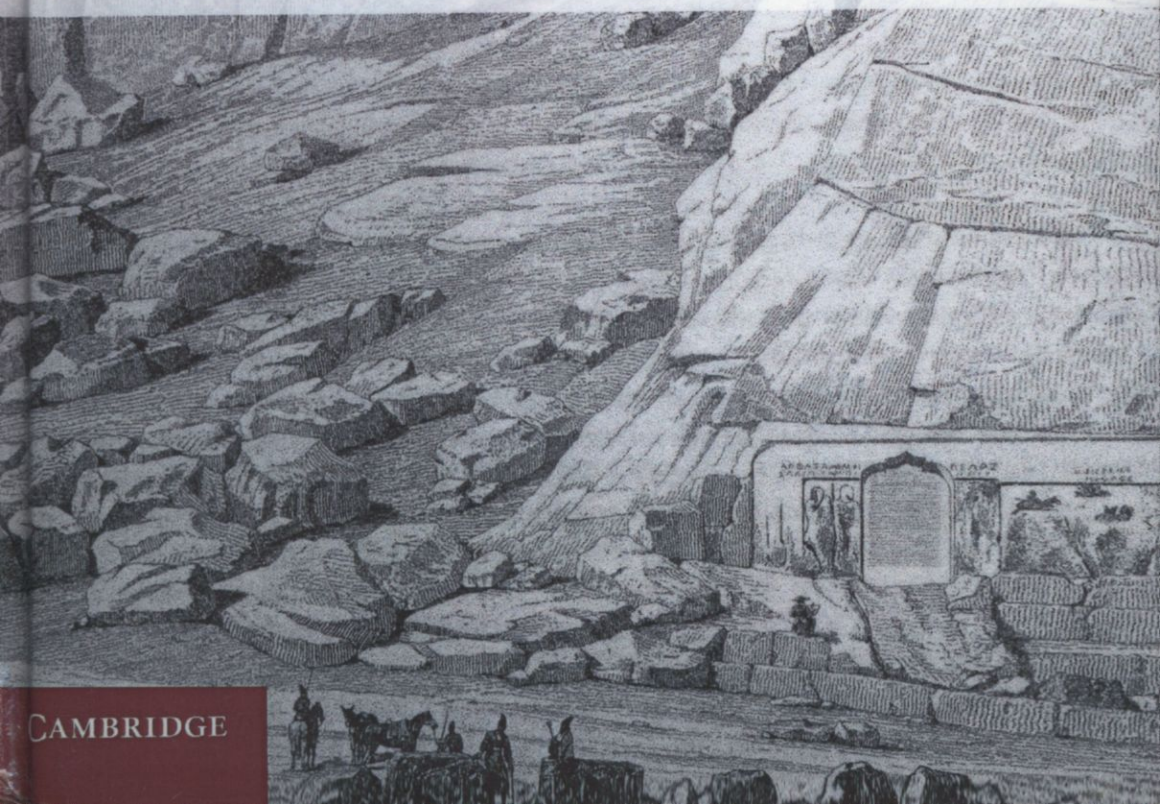


Arsacids and Sasanians

Political Ideology in Post-Hellenistic and Late Antique Persia

M. Rahim Shayegan



Cambridge

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Introduction: Achaemenids and Sasanians

1. Sasanian epigraphy

2. Classical sources: Dio, Herodian, Ammianus Marcellinus

3. Arsacids and Sasanians

4. *Imitatio veternae Helladis* and *imitatio Alexandri* in Rome

Conclusions

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Appendices



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To Shiva, Turandot, and Anusha

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Preface
The possession of the past

The present study proposes to examine the political ideology of the early Sasanian empire. In doing so, it shall not only look at Sasanian and Roman relations, but also at Arsacid precedents, for possible *stimuli* in the formation of the Sasanian ideology.

Already Roman historians of the third and fourth centuries CE perceived the imperialism of the Sasanians as infused with the desire to equal, even to surpass, the glory of the kings of old by recovering formerly Achaemenid territories—by then part of the Roman East. In contrast, contemporaneous Sasanian royal inscriptions, in particular the *res gestae* of Šābuhr the Great and the inscription of king Narseh at *Paikuli*, neither provide us with a rationale for the war of conquest waged against Rome, nor do they contain any explicit references to the historical predecessors of the Sasanians.

This conflicting finding raises questions about historiographical practices in Sasanian Iran and Rome. Indeed, one wonders how Sasanians recorded their past, or the extent to which they were acquainted with it; equally important an inquiry is the nature of Roman knowledge of Sasanian history, as well as the sources whence it had been extracted.

Only the elucidation of these problems would allow us to address our initial query, that is, whether the early Sasanians experienced an "Achaemenid revival" that might have shaped their political ideology and prompted their expansionist campaigns against the Roman empire; or whether the revival ascribed to the Sasanians by Roman *literati* was in reality a Roman interpretation comprehensible only in light of Roman political exigencies.

In search of antecedents for the alleged "Achaemenid revival" of the Sasanians, this study will explore the political ideologies of the empire's immediate predecessors, that is, the Arsacid empire, and to a lesser extent, the Seleucid empire and the Greco-Iranian kingdom of Pontos. The study will seek to demonstrate that the Arsacids themselves had become aware

of their ancestors mainly through the intermediary of their Babylonian subjects, who had preserved memories of the Achaemenid past by dint of an uninterrupted literary tradition, but also through interactions with the Pontic kingdom of Mithridates VI Eupator.

Due, partially, to the oral nature of historical transmission in Ancient Iran, a precise historical knowledge of the past, more particularly of the Achaemenid empire, was lost in Arsacid Iran. It is thus astonishing that the Parthians, after conquering Mesopotamia in April 141 BCE, adopted the old Achaemenid title of "king of kings," which is widely attested on Babylonian cuneiform documents and coinage of the Arsacid age, and were suspected by contemporaneous Greek sources of aspiring to reconstitute the old boundaries of the Achaemenid empire.

This study proposes that the "Achaemenid renaissance" under the Arsacids did not emanate, as hitherto assumed, from Iranian quarters, but owed its existence to the permanence of the Babylonian cuneiform tradition. Drawing upon their own literary tradition, which held records of Achaemenid history, Babylonian scholars of the Parthian age linked the new Arsacid dynasty with its Achaemenid forebear and impressed upon it a sense of historical continuity and notion of empire, of which it might have otherwise remained bereft. Moreover, the Arsacids, as they set about reviving Achaemenid traditions through Babylonian mediation, were also exposed to the Greco-Iranian kingdom of Pontos and the charismatic figure of Mithridates VI Eupator. Forced to confront the Roman expansion in the east in the first century BCE, Mithridates Eupator had forged a powerful ideology that simultaneously galvanized the Iranian and Hellenistic elements of his realm and reclaimed the Achaemenid and the Hellenistic heritage as the cornerstones of his political legitimacy.

The study argues that the substratum that would later constitute the political ideology and cultural identity of the Arsacid empire was formed with the help of Babylonian scholars and inspired by the Pontic kingdom of Mithridates Eupator within the span of half a century. In other words, the Arsacid political ideology was given shape by two cultures that, although they had belonged, or been exposed, to the Iranian civilization, were not hitherto deemed to be its essential carrier(s).

The second part of the study investigates the political ideology of the early Sasanians who in the third and fourth centuries CE were themselves accused—again by Greek and Latin sources—of Achaemenid ambitions. The study investigates whether the Sasanians were emulating the Parthians in claiming the Achaemenid heritage, or whether the classical authors, contemporary with the Sasanians, were drawing upon the writings of their

literary precursors, and using Achaemenid reminiscences of the Arsacids as mere literary *topoi* for the new Persian empire of the Sasanians. The study argues that by the time the Sasanians had replaced the Arsacid dynasty in the third century CE, the Arsacids themselves had lost much of their historical memory of the Achaemenids; that, as a result, the Sasanians like the Arsacids had little historical knowledge of their past; and that when the early Sasanians did become acquainted with their Achaemenid forebears, they did so through Roman agency. Indeed, it may be argued that following the annihilation of the Seleucid polity, consequent upon which the boundaries of the Arsacid and Roman empires became contiguous, the Romans developed different strategies to account for the absence of any lasting success against their Arsacid neighbor, the imperial *other*. Even after the Sasanians had replaced the Arsacids, these strategies remained in effect. With Rome increasingly assuming the Hellenistic heritage, themes such as the emulation of Alexander (*imitatio Alexandri*) with its inherent call for eastern conquest would resurface whenever Rome sought to adopt a bellicose stance against the Arsacids. But, in order to complete the cycle of the *imitatio*, the emulation of Alexander also required the resuscitation of Alexander's former foes, the Achaemenids, to be vanquished by a new Alexander. The portrayal of the Sasanians as heirs to the Achaemenids thus existed as an intrinsic part of the Roman *imitatio*, which not only sought to evince the historical continuity of the Greco-Roman world by vindicating Alexander's legacy, but also to bestow a similar perception of permanence upon the history of the east by depicting the Sasanians as cognizant heirs of the Achaemenids.

The study furthermore makes the case that as early as the fourth century CE, the Sasanian king Šābuhr II, had adopted the Roman rationale for his deeds, and had possibly embraced Achaemenid ambitions as a cornerstone of his political ideology against Roman expansion to the east.

* * *

As with all that pertains to Old Iranian studies, where much is in gentle commotion, and where to risk a comparison may inevitably lead to revisiting entire subfields, our dealing with the Arsacid political ideology, as a potential forerunner of Sasanian practices, took us on an unexpected journey. When dealing with the royal titulature of the Arsacids and their own "Achaemenid reminiscences," it became apparent that much of our understanding of Arsacid history, especially in light of new documentary sources, could not be maintained, and hence serve as the foundation, from which reliable inferences may be made on the state of the Sasanian political ideology.

Consequently, a lion's share of this study has been dedicated to what may count as a fundamental revision of the first two centuries of Arsacid rule, from the Babylonian conquest of Mihrdād I in April 141 BCE to the end of Ardawān II's reign in 38 BCE—thus, covering the duration of Babylonian cuneiform tradition under the Arsacids that evanesced in 2/3 BCE—as well as the late Seleucid polity. To the extent possible, cuneiform sources pertaining to the Arsacid age have been encompassed, be it the wealth of new material found in the recently edited *Babylonian Astronomical Diaries* (1988–2006), or be it Babylonian business documents, whose systematic synthesis with Iranian inscriptions, as well as with Greek and Latin accounts, has afforded, as we hope, a novel and cogent alternative to traditional interpretations of the first centuries of Arsacid rule.

The historical exploitation of these sources has revealed—beyond our initial inquiry—a radically different picture of Arsacid rule in Mesopotamia and Iran. They show a most centralized state with a ubiquitous royal presence in Mesopotamia, of which the diarists knew to report. A myriad of officials served the interests of the great king; supreme commanders, satraps, and governors were nominated, recalled for report, disposed of, without any reports of mutiny. Numerous were the ranks of Greek commanders and officials serving in the ranks of the Iranian king, and intimate and strong were the bonds of the Greek citizens, the *puliṭē (πολῖται)*, and the Babylonian population with their king, as their common defense against the eastern campaign of the Seleucid king Antiochos VII Sidetes, which represented the last *anabasis* ever to be undertaken by the moribund Hellenistic polity against the house of the Arsacids, clearly demonstrates.

The new picture that the Babylonian evidence displays of the state of two centuries of Arsacid rule is that of an aggressive and driven royal house that systematically expanded and solidified its rule in Mesopotamia, Elymais, and Characene in the span of a few generations—without being subject to any dynastic strife that still remains the most dominant cliché of Arsacid history in modern scholarship.

First, the Arsacids conquered Babylonia under Mihrdād I in April 141, then successfully defended their new possessions against two Seleucid *anabaseis* in June/July 138 and November 129 by rallying Babylonian cities and the Greek citizens to their cause, before, finally, inaugurating the Arsacid "hostage policy" which allowed them to implement their imperial ambitions. This new policy, which aimed at instating pro-Parthian (foreign) princes in Arsacid exile upon their respective thrones, not only helped them hold sway over Seleucid politics in Syria for some decades, but also, in time, enabled them to wrest the Elymaean realm from such powerful

potentates as Kammaškiri the Older and Pittit, as well as to annex the Characenean kingdom of Hyspaosines under Mihrdād II.

Another intriguing aspect of Arsacid policy that came to light was the pursuit of western expansion even after Rome's ascent in the east, an expansion that eventually came to a temporary halt in the first half of the first century BCE, upon the creation of the province of Syria, where the Arsacids had been theretofore able to exploit the weakness of the moribund Seleucid state to their advantage.

Most intriguingly, however, the review of Arsacid history has helped us to realize that both Arsacids and Sasanians primarily owed the remembrance of Achaemenid *grandeur* to agents outside of the Iranian cultural world: the former to their Babylonian subjects and Pontic ally (and later foe); the latter to their interplay with the Roman nemesis. That these agents were able to resuscitate for the Iranian empires of the post-Hellenistic age and Late Antiquity collective memories that would form their political ideologies is not only testimony to the forces of transculturation and the dialectical discourse between civilizations in Antiquity, but also to the permeability of the Iranian world to absorb and rework these influences, even when they were extraneous receptions of its own past.

* * *

A comparative study such as the one we present here inevitably draws on variegated competencies, which we may not claim to own. As our historical treatment mainly reposes upon the interpretation of textual evidence, the required expertise has been primarily philological. Old Iranists may claim some knowledge of ancient languages, Iranian and otherwise, however, the temporal frame of the present study, as well as the literary corpora upon which we have drawn, have occasionally prompted us to venture beyond the Old Iranist's traditional repertoire. Thus, in spite of our endeavor to consult, to the best of our ability, the original texts, our interpretation and judgment may tempt the specialists, whom we ask for indulgence. The difficulties resulting from linguistic exigencies were compounded by the seemingly infinite bulk of recent scholarly literature pertaining to such unrelated fields of studies as Elamite royal titles in the second and first millennia BCE, or Seleucid institutions in the second century CE—which again we have striven fully to discuss, although we are under no illusion that many lacunae may be spotted; for this we equally request the reader's tolerance.

Especially in recent times, with modern scholarship's increased awareness of its own euro-centric roots and tradition in the treatment of the

history of the ancient Orient, one might find it difficult to speak *à contre-courant* of the impact of Late Antique Rome on Sasanian Iran, without feeling exposed. However, while highly conscious of the pitfalls of this tradition, we are no less ill at ease with an Irano-centric view, which, in reaction to it, might slight the influence of the Occident over the Orient—if influence there ever was. For it was one thing for Rome to impact *nolens volens* the Sasanian empire with her own historiographical constructs, but yet another for the Sasanians to be receptive to it. Indeed, a too principled dealing with the perceived euro-centrism may draw a veil over the aptitude and versatility of the Arsacid and Sasanian empires to embrace ideas and concepts extraneous to their own intellectual world, and repossess them as if they always had been their own. We hope that we have been able in the present study to strike a balance between these poles, by allowing ourselves to be led by the tenor of our sources, which we have sought, time and again, critically to assess.

* * *

The present study is conceived as part of *Vorarbeiten* for a new history of the Sasanian empire, the methodological outline of which I have exposed elsewhere.[1] These studies explore several wide-ranging themes, which have been envisioned as independent publications, but were to a large extent redacted simultaneously, inspired by the view that their dialectic interplay would strengthen their respective tenor. Alas, the constant to and fro between these different projects has exceedingly delayed the publication of the present work, however, it is my hope that henceforth the publication of the remaining installments shall be expedited.

[1] Shayegan, "Approaches," 363–384.

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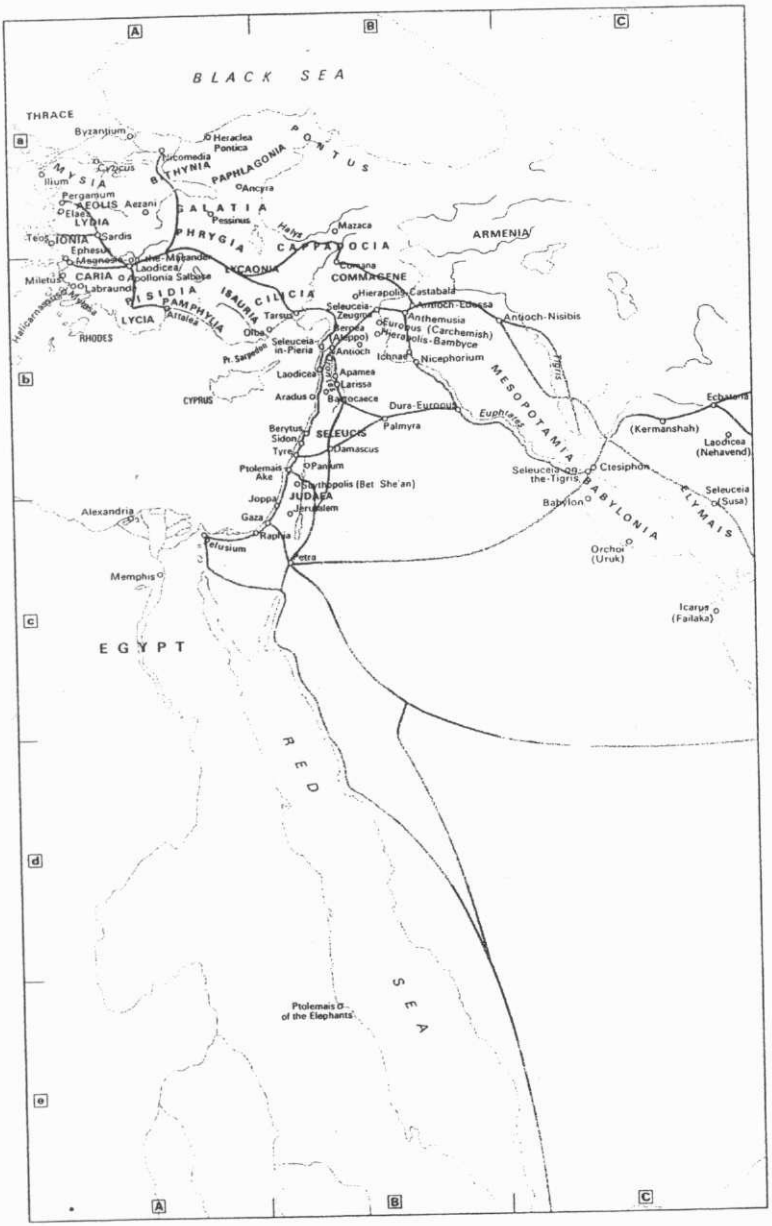
This work is dedicated to my *Troika:* Shiva, Turandot, and Anusha. To the girls, we owe much of what is joyful and gay in life, and to Shiva (my own *rudra-śiva*), best friend and companion, I owe all the rest; with her might she keeps us together, and with her brilliance, she shall lead us to new shores.

Abbreviations

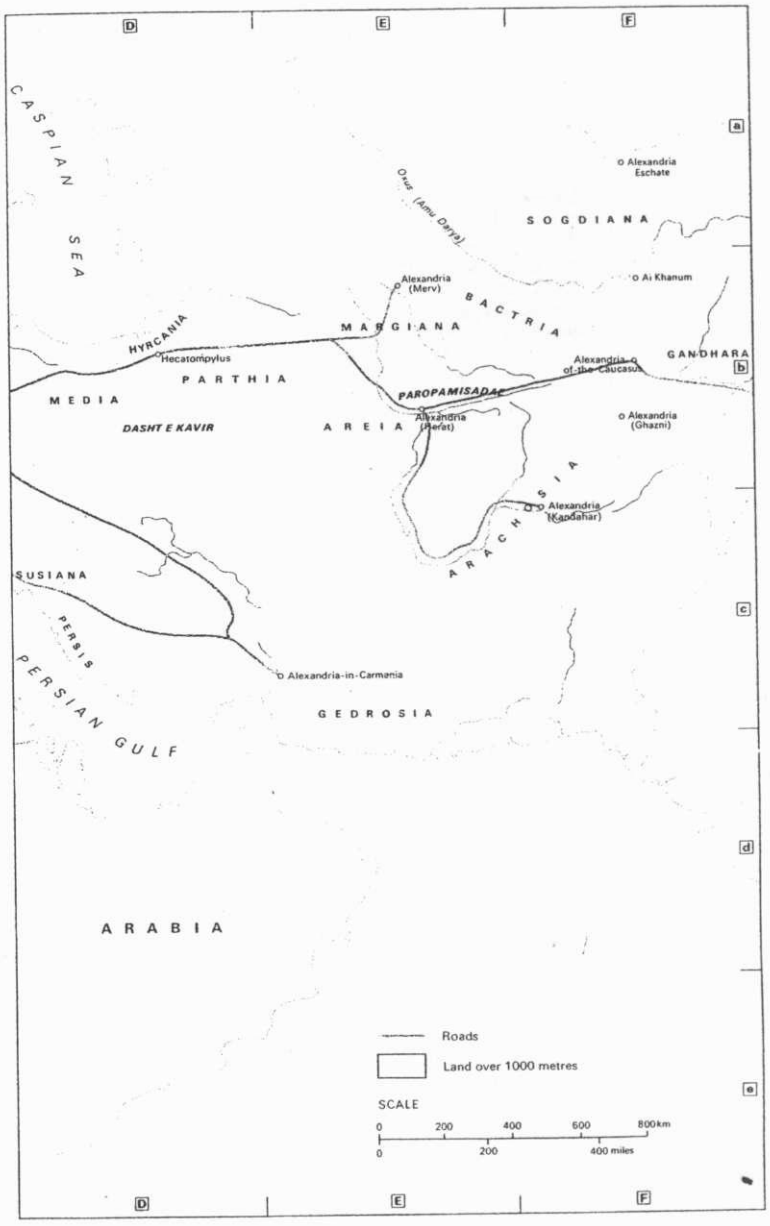
A^1I	*Inscriptions of Artaxerxes, incerto loco* [=VA^1e^a]
A^2H	*Inscriptions of Artaxerxes II at Hamadan* [a–d]
A^2S	*Inscription of Artaxerxes II at Susa* [a–e]
A^3P	*Inscriptions of Artaxerxes III at Persepolis* [a–b]
AB	*Assyriologische Bibliothek* (Leipzig 1881–1933); and *Neue Folge* 1–2 (1933)
ACT	Neugebauer, *Astronomical Cuneiform Texts*
AD	*Astronomical Diaries* [=Sachs and Hunger]
AE	Arsacid Era
AJ	*Ayādgār ī Jamāspīg*, ed. Messina
AOF	*Alt-Orientalische Forschungen*
ARM	*Archives Royales de Mari*
AWN	*Ardā Wīrāz Nāmag*, ed. Gignoux
Bd.	*Bundahišn*, ed. Pakzad
BDH	*Bundahišn, Codex DH*, ed. Anklesaria
BibMes	*Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* (vol. 24: Weisberg, *The Late Babylonian Texts of the Oriental Institute Collection*)
BM	British Museum (London), museum siglum
BOR	Babylonian and Oriental Record
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Piermont Morgan, ed. Clay
Chicago A	Asiatic Collection (Oriental Institute, Chicago), museum siglum
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* (vol. 46: Lambert and Millard, *Babylonian Literary Texts*; vol. 49: Kennedy, *Late Babylonian Economic Texts*)
D^2H	*Inscriptions of Dareios at Hamadan* [a–b]
D^2S	*Inscriptions of Dareios at Susa* [a–d]
DB	*Inscription of Dareios at Bisitun*

DE	*Inscription of Dareios at Elvend, Hamadan*
DG	*Inscription of Dareios from Gherla, Romania*
DH	*Inscription of Dareios at Hamadan*
DkD	*Dēnkerd,* ed. Dresden
DN	*Inscriptions of Dareios at Naqš-e Rostam* [a–e]
DP	*Inscriptions of Dareios at Persepolis* [a–j]
DS	*Inscriptions of Dareios at Susa* [a–z; aa–ad]
DT	Daily Telegraph (British Museum, London), museum siglum
DW	*Inscriptions of Dareios on Weights* [a–d]
DZ	*Inscriptions of Dareios from the Suez* [a–d]
IM	Iraq Museum (Baghdad), museum siglum
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
KAP	*Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān,* ed. Nöldeke
LBAT	Sachs, *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts*
MDP	*Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse / Mémoires de la Mission archéologique en Perse / Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Iran, Mission de Susiane*
MP	Middle Persian
NPi	*Inscription of Narseh at Paikuli*
OGIS	*Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones,* ed. Dittenberger
Pth.	Parthian
PFS	Persepolis Fortification Seal impression
RCT	R. Campbell Thomson Collection (Haskell Oriental Museum, University of Chicago), museum siglum
Rm	Rassam (British Museum, London), museum siglum
S.	Sellwood, *An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia*
SBH	Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*
SE	Seleucid Era
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SH	Tell Šemšāra (= Shemshara: Copenhague/Baghdad), find siglum
Š-KhM	*Šāhnāme,* ed. Khaleghi Motlagh
ŠKZ	*Inscription of Šābuhr I at the Kaʿabe-ye Zardošt*
Sp	Spartoli (British Museum, London), museum siglum
TD2	*Bundahišn, Codex TD2,* ed. Asa
$VA^{1}e^{a}$	*Inscription of Artaxerxes I on Vase* (four copies) [= $A^{1}I$]
VAT	Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung: Tontafeln), museum siglum

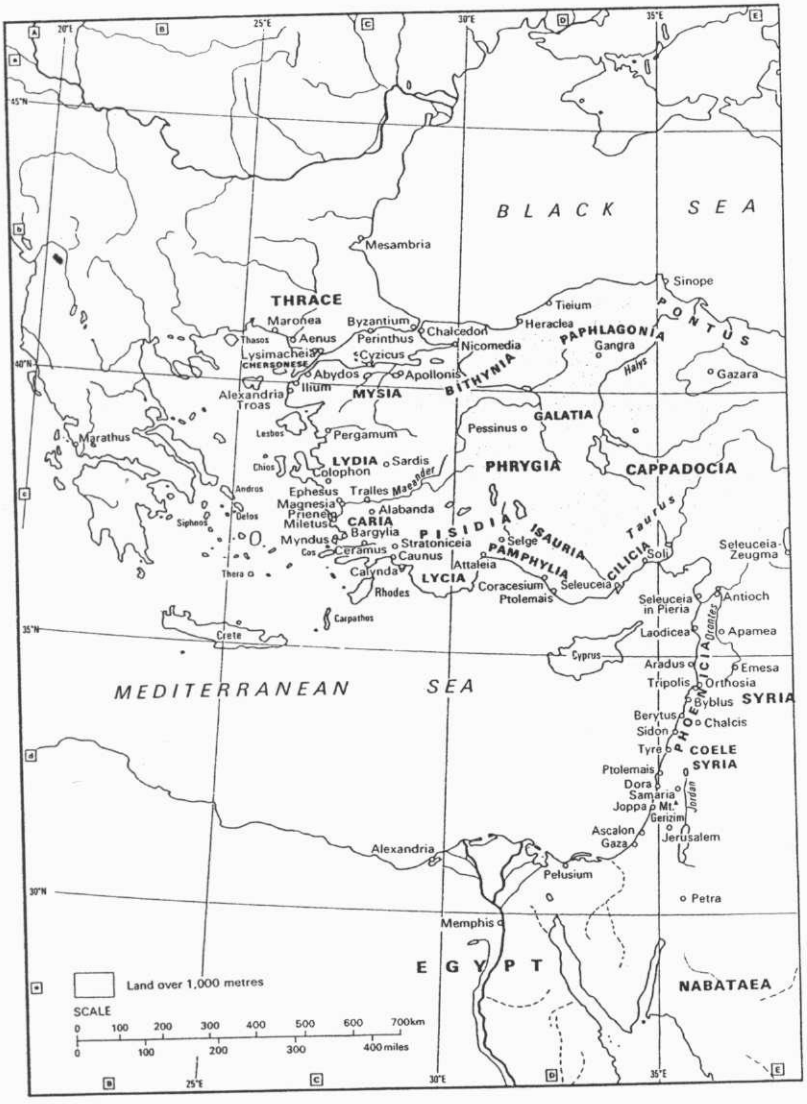
VAT	Vorderasiatisches Museum (Vorderasiatische Abteilung: Tontafeln), museum siglum
VS	*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen (Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin* (Leipzig 1907–1917); and *Neue Folge* (Berlin 1971–)
W	Warka (= Uruk, Baghdad/Berlin), find siglum
XE	*Inscription of Xerxes at Elvend, Hamadan*
XP	*Inscriptions of Xerxes at Persepolis* [a–r]
XV	*Inscription of Xerxes at Van*
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection (Yale University, New Haven), tablet siglum
Yt	*Yašt*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*



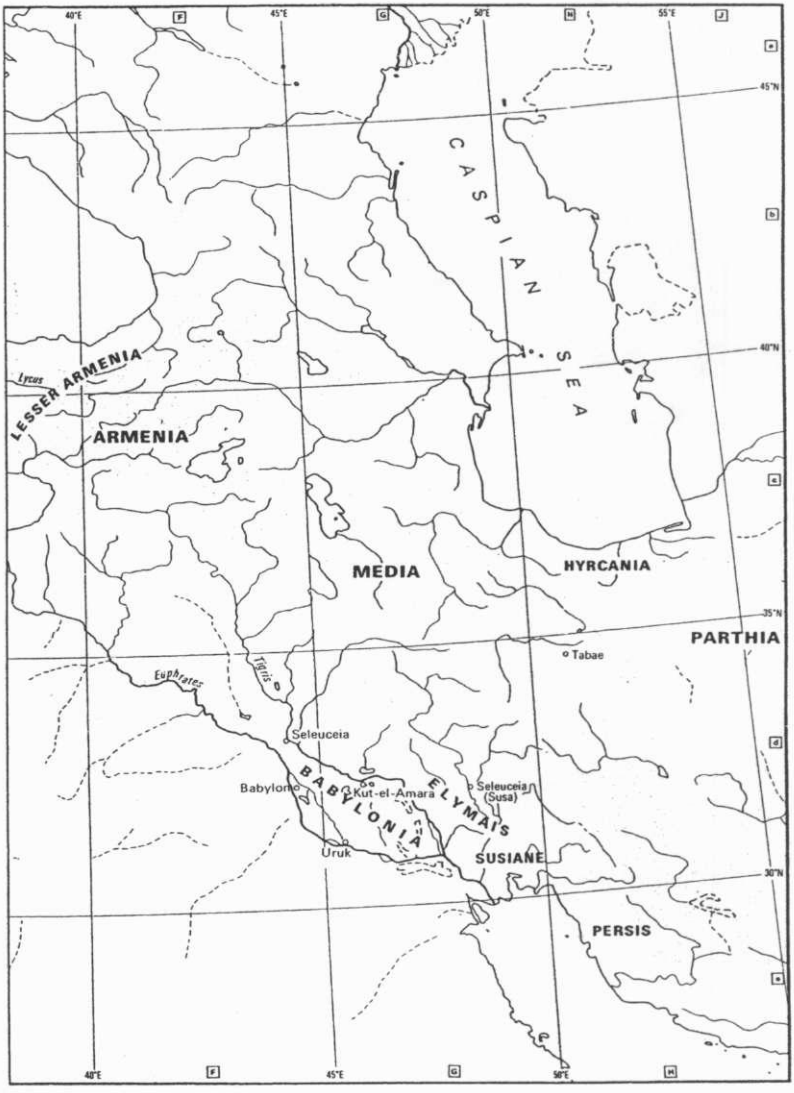
Map 1a Map of Hellenistic Asia



Map 1b Map of Hellenistic Asia



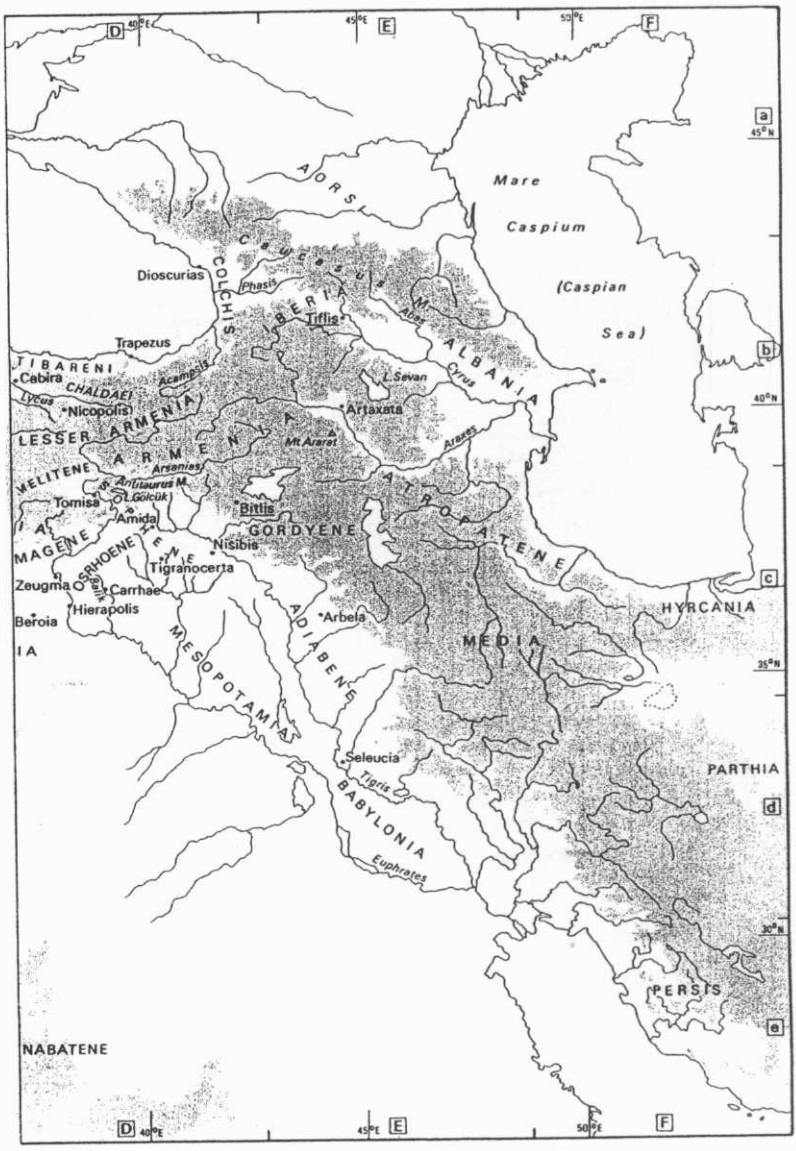
Map 2a Map of Asia Minor and Syria



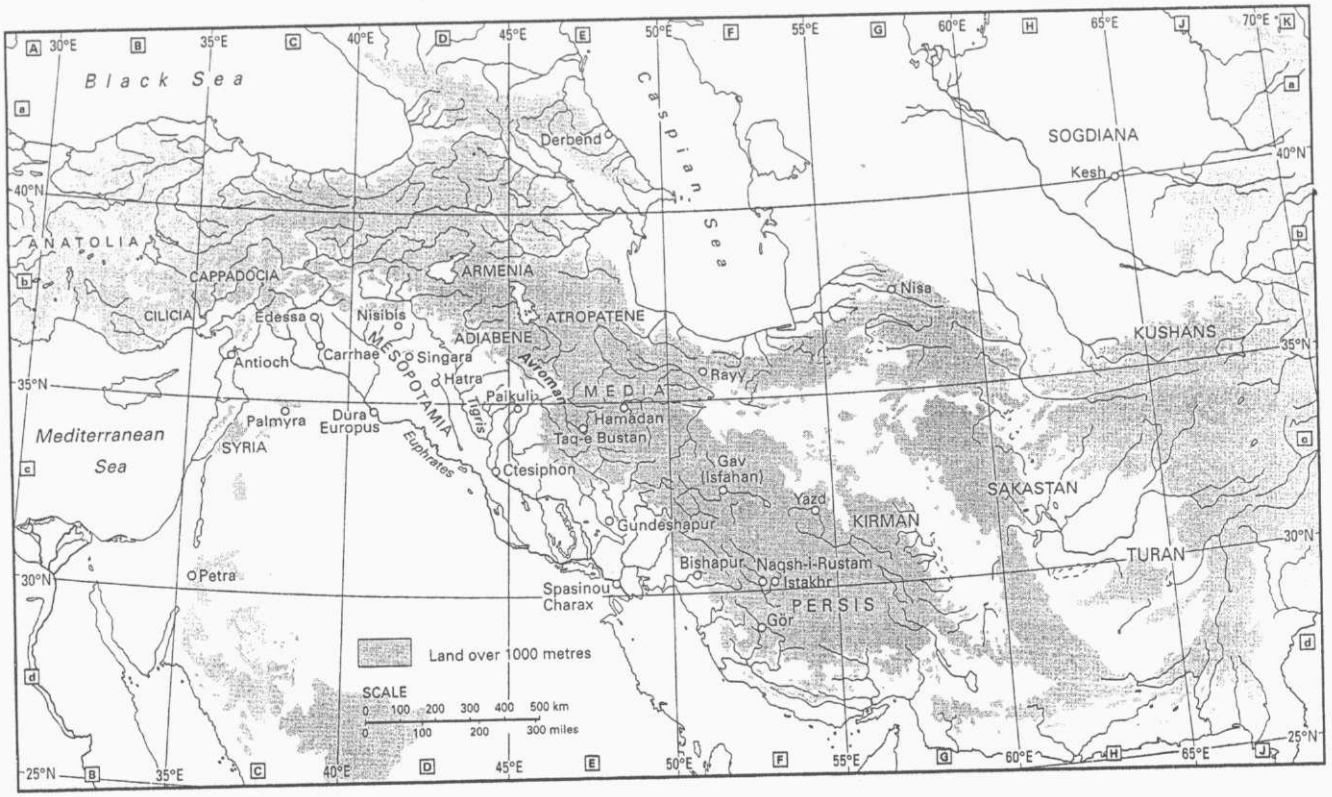
Map 2b Map of Asia Minor and Syria



Map 3a Map of the Parthian Empire



Map 3b Map of the Parthian Empire



Map 4 Map of the Sasanian Empire

Introduction
Achaemenids and Sasanians

Until recent times, modern scholarship had been firmly divided into two distinct camps over the issue of historical *continuity* between the Achaemenids and the Sasanians, with one camp regarding the Achaemenid reception as instrumental in the formation of the political ideology of the early Sasanians, and the very *stimulus* of their incursions into Roman territory, and the other dismissing Achaemenid echoes as an *interpretatio romana.*[1]

Due to the complexity of arguments favoring or rejecting such a continuity, we shall limit our discussion to those arguments that, in our opinion, best characterize the conflicting positions of scholarship.

The main tenets of the fraction of scholarship, which supports the idea of a conscious continuity of Achaemenid traditions into Sasanian times, may be summed up as follows[2]:

(1) significant literary parallels between Achaemenid and Sasanian inscriptions,[3] analogies in institutions,[4] and continuity in art[5] support the thesis that Sasanian kings, such as Ardaxšīr, Šābuhr I, and Šābuhr II, may have considered themselves heirs to their Achaemenid forebears;

[1] For a most important and recent survey of the *Problemstellung*, see Kettenhoffen, "Bilanz."

[2] *Among Iranists*, see Wiesehöfer, "Anfänge sassanidischer Westpolitik," 444; "Iranische Ansprüche," ; "Ardašīr I," 373; "Zum Nachleben," 389–393;, *Dunkele Jahrhunderte*, 15–22;, "Zeugnisse," 430–432; and "Gebete"; see also Gnoli, "L'inscription de Šābuhr" 57–63; and "Il pericolo persiano," 411: "Ardashir reclamò i suoi diritti, quale erede degli Achemenidi, sui territori che erano già appartenuti all'impero persiano prima di Alessandro." Also Calmeyer, "Zur Genese," 142–143; Daryaee, "National History," more recently, Shahbazi, "Early Sasanians' Claim," 61–73, especially 69. *Among classicists*, see Enßlin, "Senate and the Army," 68–72; Calderini, *Severi*, 120; Rémondon, *Crise de l'empire*, 98; Angeli Bertinelli, *Roma e l'Oriente*, 108; also Winter, *Friedensverträge*, 18–44; more nuanced, Panitschek, "Achaemenidennachfolge"; more recently, Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth*, 24–36; Winter and Dignas, *Rom und das Perserreich*, 75–77, and *eidem*, *Rome and Persia*, 61–62. Worthy of mention is also the recent article of Shahîd, "Sasanid-Byzantine Conflict," 223–244, especially 238–243; and the recent study by Canepa, *Two Eyes*, 46–52.

[3] See Skjærvø, "Parallels," 593–603; and Huyse, "Zu Parallelen," 177–184.

[4] See Frye, "Achaemenid Echoes," 247–252; and Wolski, "Achéménides et Arsacides," 63–89.

[5] Vanden Berghe and Schippmann, *Reliefs rupestres d'Elymaïde*, 112–118; for a more skeptical view, see Roaf, "Persepolitan Echoes," 1–7; see also Dignas and Winter, *Rome and Persia*, 61–62.

(2) religious minorities, notably, the Sasanian Jewish community, by virtue of the continuity of their literary and religious traditions ought to have known about the Achaemenid forebears, and may have been able to transmit this knowledge to other communities, as well as to the Sasanian elite;

(3) contemporaneous Roman sources—Cassius Dio and Herodian for the reign of Ardaxšīr I and Šābuhr I, and Ammianus Marcellinus for that of Šābuhr II—report of Sasanian claims to former Achaemenid territories, while in conflict with Rome;

(4) the historicity of Sasanian revendications may be substantiated mainly by the term *ahēnag/hasēnag* attested in Šābuhr I's inscription on the *Kaʿbe-ye Zardōšt*, as well as in the inscription of king Narseh at *Paikuli*, which is deemed to have alluded to the Achaemenids;

(5) the endeavor of Arsacid sovereigns who, prior to the Sasanians, also sought to legitimize their expansionism into Roman territories by referring to the Achaemenids, as reported by Tacitus for the reign of Ardawān (*Artabanos*) II, may have reflected an "Achaemenid program" as part of an Arsacid political ideology, which may have been presumably inherited by the Sasanians.

In contrast the fraction of scholarship that rejects Achaemenid reminiscences as the source of early Sasanian expansionism presents the following arguments[6]:

(1) there are no unambiguous references to the Achaemenids in Sasanian epigraphy;

(2) the Middle Persian Zoroastrian literature and the Iranian epic tradition as reflected in Islamic chronicles and Ferdousi's *Šāhnāme* have not preserved the memory of an *actual Achaemenid history*;

[6] See mainly Kettenhoffen, "interpretatio romana," 177–190; "Überlegungen," 99–108; Potter, "Alexander Severus and Ardashir," 147–157 = "Appendix III," 370–380; Strobel, *Das Imperium Romanum*, 287: "[d]arüber hinaus haben wir die immer wiederkehrende These aufzugeben, daß die ersten Sasaniden seit der endgültigen Etablierung der Dynastie 226/7 n. Chr. in Ktesiphon einen grundsätzlichen, ideologisch begründeten Anspruch auf die östlichen Gebieten des Imperium Romanum, soweit sie zum altpersischen Reich gehört hatten, konkret vertreten sowie mit entsprechenden großangelegten Eroberungs- bzw. Feldzugsplänen verfolgt hätten und dies die persische Außenpolitik für Rom zu einer ständigen Bedrohung mit weitreichenden Zielen gemacht hätte." Also Roaf, "Persepolitan Echoes," 1–7; Rubin, "Roman Empire," 178–185; and "Sasanid Monarchy," 646–647. For the application of the precepts of oral literature, as expressed by Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, to historiographical practices in Ancient Iran, see Schoeler, "Die Lücke," 375: "[w]ir können also füglich von einer Lücke in der einheimischen Tradition Irans sprechen, einer Lücke, in die die Geschichte der Meder, Achämeniden, und Seleukiden so gut wie ganz und weitgehend auch die der Parther fällt." Lately, although not always abreast of recent trends in scholarship, Frendo, "Sasanian Offensive," 25–36, especially, 29, 32–33; most recently, Mosig-Walburg, *Römer und Perser*, 12–113,19–21, 62, and 326.

(3) the presence of Persian kings in the Bible is not a reliable measure for gauging the familiarity of Sasanian Jewry with their Achaemenid predecessors; far more revealing in this respect is the later Rabbinic exegetical tradition, such as the Babylonian Talmud, which, interestingly, seems to indicate that knowledge of the Achaemenid past had frittered away amidst the sages of Babylon, in this, following the general Sasanian trend;[7]

(4) consequently, one may conclude that Roman sources, such as Cassius Dio, Herodian, and Ammianus Marcellinus, which ascribed an Achaemenid revival to the early Sasanians, represented in reality either the Roman interpretation of Sasanian political activities, or the Roman amplification of some vague memories of the Sasanians from their past. Moreover, the mere fact that Romans did have knowledge of the Iranian past and used it to label the expansionism of the new Persian power, is not a sufficient gauge for assuming that the Persians possessed the same knowledge of the past, or were inspired by it.

Most recently, however, a new tendency may be observed that identifies the *ahēnag/hasēnag*, not with the Achaemenids, but with the epic forebears of the Iranians, the Kayānids.

Intriguingly, as we shall elaborate in more detail below,[8] both (former) proponents[9] and opponents[10] of the view that the Sasanians may have possessed some historical memory of the Achaemenids seem now increasingly in agreement in identifying the *ahēnag/hasēnag* with the Kayānids. Indeed, the opposition between radically different positions has become in time less marked, and if opposition there still is, it relates to the path of demonstration, rather than the conclusions, which are remarkably close.

In the following, we shall discuss some of the problems associated with the notion of historical continuity between the Achaemenids and the Sasanians.

In the first chapter, we shall investigate the semantic *Umfeld* of the terms *ahēnag/hasēnag* in Sasanian inscriptions and their equivalents in other Iranian epigraphic corpora, in order to determine whether the *termini ahēnag/hasēnag* could have referred either to historical dynasties of the past, or alternatively to the Kayānids.

[7] See the recent study of Mokhtarian, "Rabbinic Depictions of Cyrus," 112–139.

[8] See below, 21–29.

[9] See Wiesehöfer, "Gebete," 113, 116–117; "Rūm," 113–114; *Iraniens, Grecs et Romains*, 141–142; see also Daryaee, "Memory and History," 11–14; "Construction of Past," 500–503; "Sasanians and Ancestors," 389–393.

[10] See most prominently Kettenhoffen, "Bilanz," 63; and Huyse, "Revendication," 302–303.

In the second chapter, we shall look into the main tenets of our classical sources—Cassius Dio, Herodian, and Ammianus Marcellinus—reporting on early Sasanian claims to Achaemenid territories, and explore whether they may contain any historical veracity.

In the third chapter, we shall examine the alleged "Achaemenid program" of the Arsacids, and whether it, if substantiated, may have affected the political ideology of the early Sasanians.

Finally, in the fourth chapter, we shall discuss how the reception of the classical age and the impact of the Alexander imitation in Rome would cause the identification of the eastern neighbor with the Achaemenids both in Roman propaganda and, beginning with Šābuhr II, in Sasanian political ideology.

CHAPTER 1

Sasanian Epigraphy

The early Sasanian political ideology and agenda are known from various contemporary sources: on the Sasanian side we have the trilingual inscription of Šabuhr I on the *Kaʿabe-ye Zardošt* in Persis (ŠKZ),[1] (see figures 1 and 2) also known as the *Res Gestae Divi Saporis,*[2] and on the Roman side, the narratives of Roman historians, such as Cassius Dio, Herodian, and Ammianus Marcellinus. In the present chapter, I shall first investigate the ideological rationale behind Sasanian territorial claims, subsequently, I will seek to determine the extent of those revendications by comparing our sources.

According to Šābuhr's inscription, the king's campaigns against Rome were triggered by a Roman offensive against Sasanian territory. The actions of Šābuhr are accordingly depicted as defensive reactions to the Roman aggressors, who are qualified as liars: *Kaysar bid druxt (drōžād) ō Armin winās kerd* "the Caesar lied again (and) did wrong to Armenia." The emergence of *deceit* or *lie* (Old Persian *drauga-*; Middle Iranian *drōγ/drō)* announces the rule of *evil*, which it is the king's duty to uproot.[3] Thus, by accusing the Caesar of deceit, Šabuhr associates him with evil and so provides an ideological rationale for the "defensive" character of his campaigns, as the following passages illustrate:

[1] On the ŠKZ, see now Huyse, *Dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs*; also Back, *Sassanidische Staatsinschriften.* Still valuable, Sprengling, *Third Century Iran;* Maricq, "Res Gestae," 37–101. For a recent survey of the Sasanian epigraphic material, see Huyse, "Sāsānidische Inschriften und Felsreliefs," 109–123. In the following, I will exclusively cite the Parthian (Pth.) version of the ŠKZ, as it is better preserved than the Middle Persian version.

[2] Rostovtzeff, "Res Gestae," 17–60.

[3] DB IV.33–40; DB is cited after the edition of Schmitt, *The Bisitun Inscriptions.*

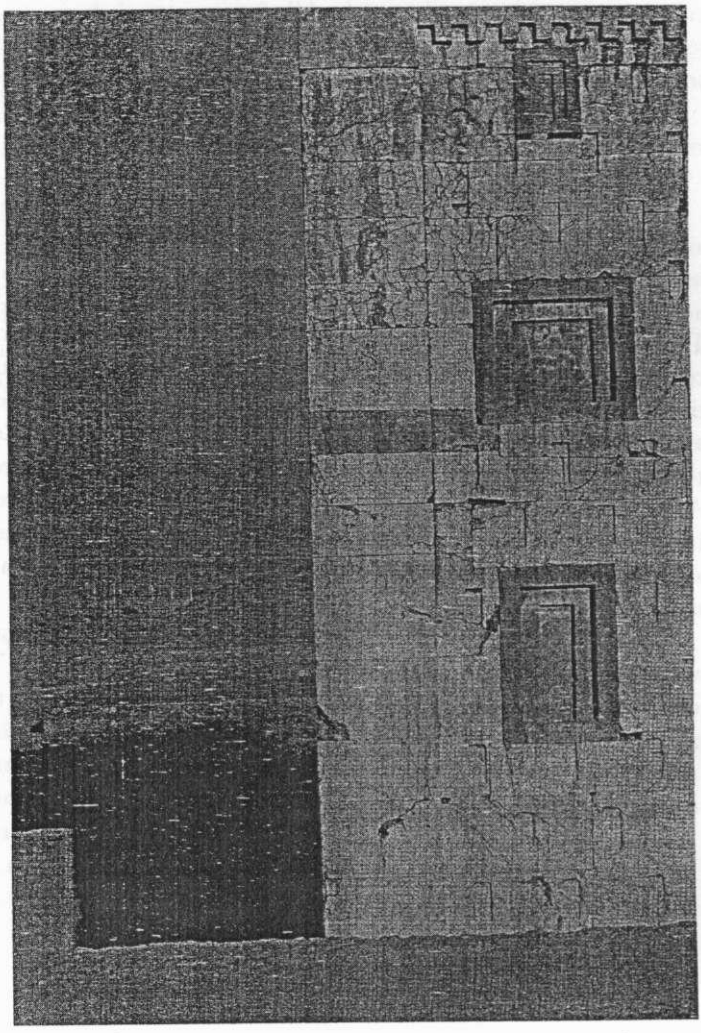


Figure 1 The Edifice of *Kaʿabe-ye Zardošt* at *Naqš-e Rostam* in Persis.

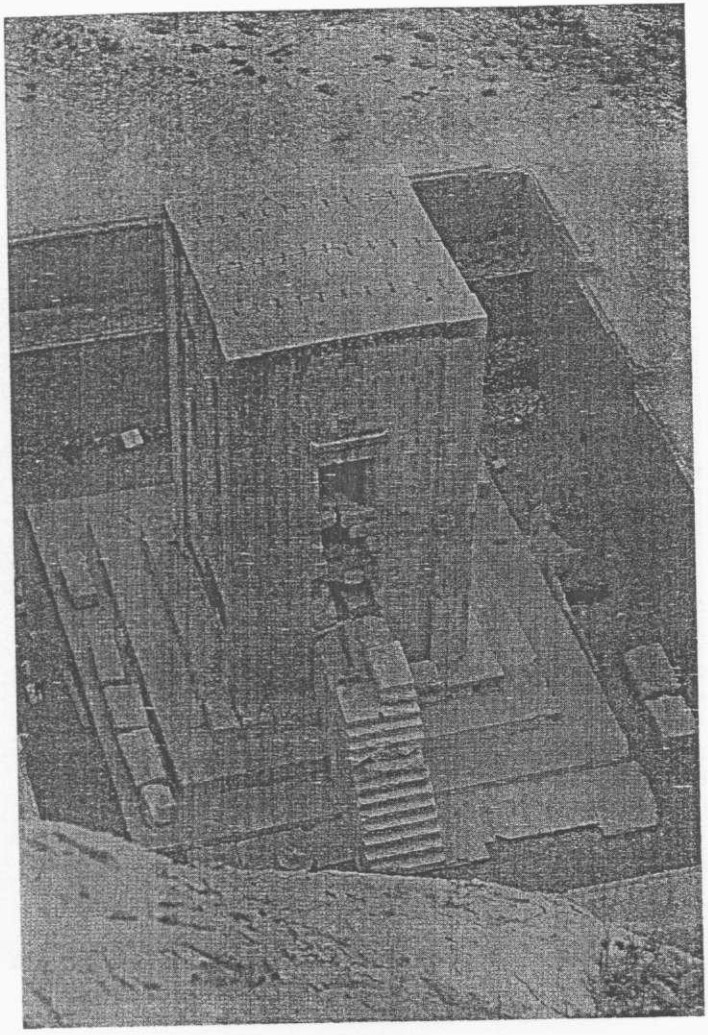


Figure 1 (*cont.*)

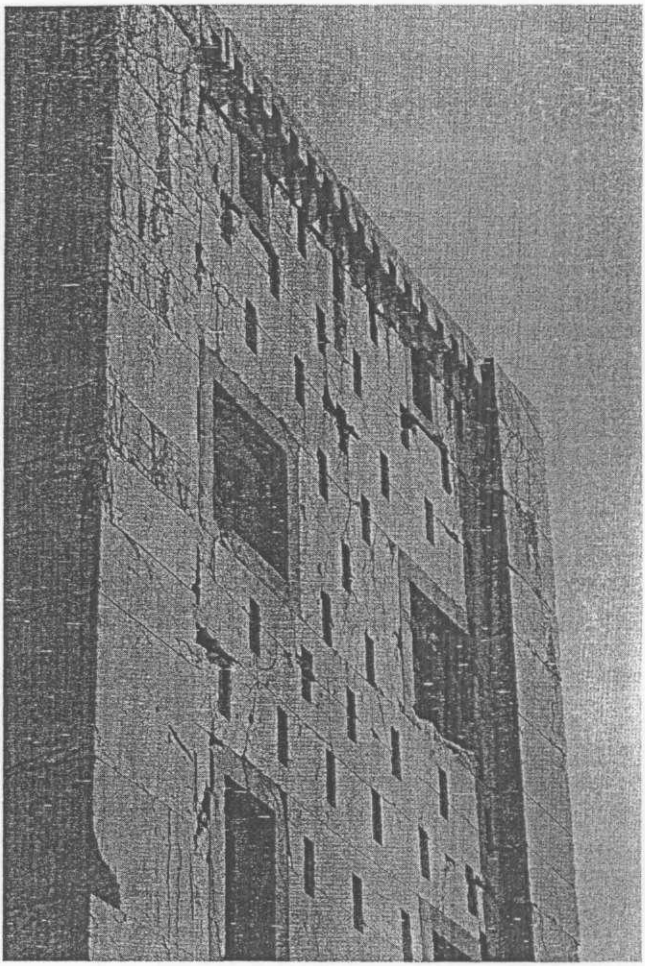


Figure 1 (*cont.*)

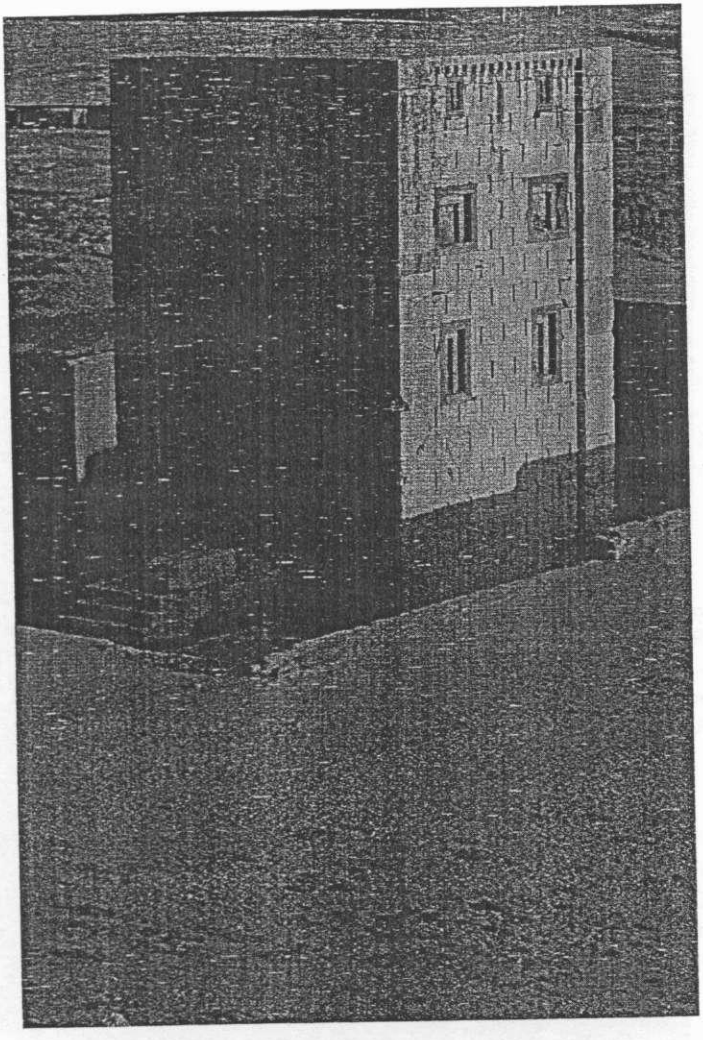


Figure 1 (*cont.*)

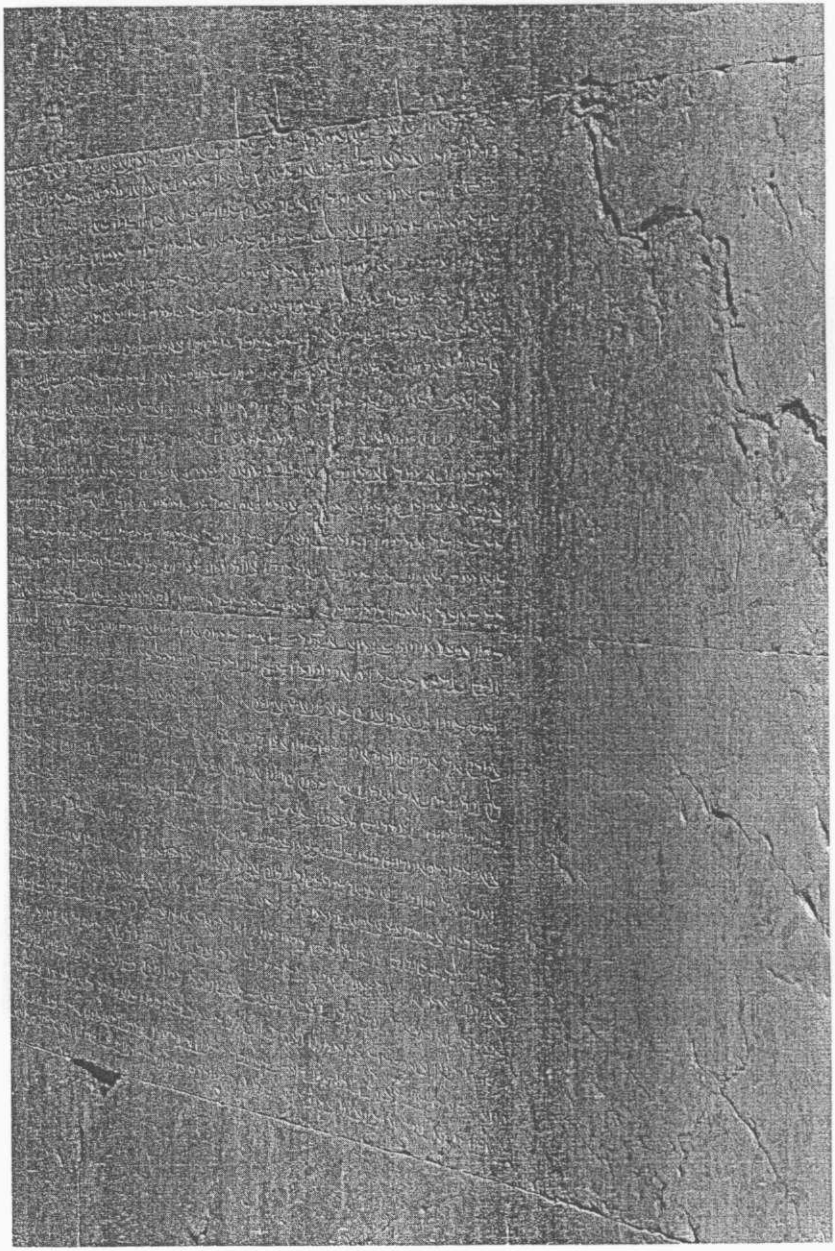


Figure 2 Detail of the Parthian version of Šābuhr I's *res gestae* on the *Kaʿabe-ye Zardošt*.

First Roman Campaign

[ŠKZ, Pth., 3–4]

*ud kaδ naxwišt pad šahr awištād/ištād ahēm *Gordanyōs Kaysar až hamag Frōm Gōt ud Garman šahr zāwar *hangāwišn kerd ud ō Asūrestan abar Aryānšahr ud amāh ā[γad] ud pad Asūrestān (ma)[rz] andar (M)išīg paddēmān wuzurg zambag būd Gordanyōs Kaysar ōžad Frōmāyān zāwar *wānād.*

"And when I ascended (the throne of) the empire, Gordianus, the Caesar, *assembled a force from all of Rome, Gothia, and Germania and came to Asūrestan against the empire of Ērān and Us. And at Mišīg, at the frontier of Asūrestān, there was a great frontal battle. Gordianus, the Caesar, died, (and) the Roman force was destroyed."

[ŠKZ, Pth., 4]

*ud Frōmāyān Filipōs Kaysar kerd ud Filipōs amāh ō nemastīg āγad ud gyān *guxan dēnār 500 hazār ō amāh dād pad bāž aweštād ud amāh Mišīg až ēd kerd Perōz-Šābuhr nām awestād.*

"And the Romans made Philippus Caesar, and Philippus came to Us in homage and paid 500 thousand dēnār blood-money and became tributary; and We named Mišīg, for this reason, Perōz-Šābuhr (Triumphant is Šābuhr)."

Second Roman Campaign

[ŠKZ, Pth., 4–5]

*ud Kaysar bid druxt (drōžād) ō Armin winās kerd [ud amāh] abar Frōmāyān šahr wihišt ahēm ud Frōmāyān zāwar 60 hazār andar Bēbāliš ōžad ud Asūryā šahr ud čē abar Asūryā šahr parβār būd hamag ādurwaxt awērān ud *wardāz kerd.*

"And the Caesar lied again, he did wrong to Armenia, and We moved into the Roman empire and destroyed 60 thousand of the Roman force at Barbalissos and burned, laid waste, and made captive all of Assyria and its surroundings."

Third Roman Campaign

[ŠKZ, Pth., 9–11]

*hridig yāswar kaδ amāh abar Harrān ud Urhā wihišt ahēm ud Harrān ud Urhā *paywadād Walarnyōs Kaysar abar amāh āγad ud būd abāg . . . zāwar 70 hazār.*

"The third time, when We moved against Carrhae and Edessa and besieged Carrhae and Edessa, Valerianus, the Caesar came against Us, and there was (with him) . . . an army of 70 thousand."

[ŠKZ, Pth., 11]

*ud až hō ārag Harrān ud Urhā abāg Wālarnyōs Kaysar wuzurg raf būd ud Wālarnyōs Kaysar xwad pad xwēbēh dast dastgraβ kerd ud *ōyādag *rabēsf sanātōr ud hēgemōn kē hō zāwar sārār būd harw dastgraβ kerd ud bē ō Pārs wāst ahēnd.*

"And, on that (other) side of Carrhae and Edessa, there was a big battle with Valerianus, the Caesar, and (We) Ourselves with Our own hand made Valerianus, the Caesar, captive, and the others, the Praetorian Prefect, senators, and generals who were the leaders of that force, all (We) made captive and led to Persis."

[ŠKZ, Pth., 11–15]
*ud Sūryā šahr Kilikyā šahr ud Kapōdakyā šahr ādurwaxt awēran ud *wardaz kerd ud grift hō yāwar až Frōmāyān šahr: Aleksandryā ud Katisōs šahrestān aδ parβār hangōs . . . hamsāg šahrestān aδ parβār hangōs 36.*

"And Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia (We) burned, **laid waste,** and made captive, and (We) **took from** the Roman empire: Alexandria **and** Katison, . . . altogether 36 districts **with surrounding** regions."

Accusing enemies of *deceit*[4] is a *locus communis* of Iranian royal inscriptions. Already, the Achaemenid king Dareios I in his inscription at Bisitun uses a similar motif when he relates the usurpation of the magus *Gaumāta:*

[DB I.32–39]
pasāva Ka^{m}būjiya Mudrāyam [ašiya]va yaθā Ka^{m}būjiya Mudrāyam ašiyava, pasāva kāra arīka abava [utā] drauga dahąyauvā vasiy abava utā Pārsaiy utā Mādaiy ut[ā a]niyā^{h}uvā dahąyušuvā . . . pa[sāva] aiva martiya maguš āha Gaumāta nāma hauv udapatatā . . . hauv kārahąyā avaθā [a]durujiya . . .

"Afterwards, Cambyses went to Egypt; when Cambyses **had** gone to Egypt, then the people became disloyal, and Deceit grew greatly in the country, in Persia, Media, **and** in the other countries . . . afterwards there was a man, a magus, by the name of Gaumāta, he rose up . . . he lied to the people thus . . ."

A similar theme is found in the Sasanian inscription of king Narseh at Paikuli (NPi), in which a certain Wahnām, son of *Tatrus, is accused by king Narseh of having attached, through trickery and with the help of Ahriman and the devils, the diadem of kingship to Warahrān's head, king of the Sakas, whom Narseh considers to have ascended the throne without any legitimacy:[5]

[NPi, A8.02–A15.02]
*ud Wahnām ī *Tatrusān [pad] *xwēš drōzanīh ud [pušt] ī Ahriman ud dēwān [pad Sagān šāh sar] dēhēm bandēd ud pad ān xīr nē amā āfrāh kunēd.*

"And Wahnām, son of Tatrus, [through] his own **falsehood and** [with the help] **of Ahriman and the devils,** attached the Diadem [to the head of the king of Sakas] and did not inform Us of that matter."

[4] See more recently Skjærvø, "Truth and Deception," 383–434, in particular, 416–423.

[5] Narseh in his letter to his nephew Warahrān explicitly expresses his belief that Warahrān has usurped the throne. Narseh says: *[ōy gāh kē pidar ud] niyāgān kē tō abēniyābag [. . . niš]ast hē [–],* "that throne of your father and ancestors which you in unfitting manner have sat [upon . . .]; [NPi, 24d3,04–E18,01]. My transcription and translation of NPi is based upon the edition and translation of Humbach and Skjærvø, *Paikuli.* Due to the considerable damage that NPi has suffered, it has not been always possible to cite entire passages consistently in one of the two languages (Parthian and Middle Persian), in which the inscription was composed; I have therefore alternately cited in the language in which it is best preserved. On the Gaumāta "usurpation," see Shayegan, *Epic and History,* forthcoming.

[NPi, E5–8.06–e1–2.03]
*ud amāh fram[āyām kū ...] kē hō drōžan [. . .] naxwišt pad yazadān ud amāh [ud] bid pad Aryānšahr ud hamag šahr *ahā[d u-š] pad sar [. . .] pā[dif]rās karām.*

"And We commanded [that:] '[. . .] who to that liar [who] was firstly against Ourselves and secondly against Ērānšahr and the whole realm, him first [. . .] We shall punish.'"

Since accusing enemies of falsehood and deceit seems to have been a traditional theme of royal Iranian inscriptions,[6] repeatedly used by Iranian sovereigns to disguise their own often doubtful or illegitimate seizure of power, the occurrence of the same theme in ŠKZ, though now directed against an exterior foe (*Kaysar*), is insufficient to establish the "historical" cause for Šābuhr's Roman wars. Indeed, far from providing any clues as to the political motivations of the early Sasanian kings, the epigraphic material mainly demonstrates to what extent its narrative is embedded in the mold of traditional oral diction, which renders its historical value ambiguous.[7]

Moreover, the Sasanian epigraphic material does not offer evidence for the claim that the early Sasanians sought to re-conquer former Achaemenid territories. On the contrary, judging from ŠKZ,[8] the extent of Sasanian territorial revendication seems to have been restricted to Mesopotamia, Syria, and Cilicia in the south by west, and Armenia and Cappadocia in the north by west of the empire. More recently, however, G. Gnolis in his attempt to refute E. Kettenhoffen,[9] suggested that a certain passage of ŠKZ clearly alludes to the Achaemenids, a claim, which, if substantiated, would

[6] Intriguingly, the virtues ascribed to the righteous king (Narseh) in NPi, namely *frazānagīh* "wisdom; *virtus?*" and *farroxīh* "*fortuna,*" as well as the vices of which the evildoer Wahnām is accused, that is, *drōzanīh* "deceit" and *jādūgīh* "sorcery," are all attested in a comparable configuration in the *Šāhnāme,* in a passage in which the rule of *Zahāk* is contrasted with the (more fortunate) state of the realm prior to his accession:

[Š-KhM, I, 55, 1; 4–5]
"As Zahāk became lord of the throne, he ruled for a thousand years ...
Virtue was despised, and sorcery dear, absent (was) rectitude, manifest the wrong,
The devils reached for the evil, there was no word of goodness, unless in secret."

Moreover, in NPi, Wahnām is accused of being a liar (*drōzan*) and an evildoer (*wadgar*), the very instrument of Ahriman and the devils (*Ahriman ud dēwān*).

[7] For a discussion of orality in Sasanian inscriptions, see Skjærvø, "Parallels," 593–603; Huyse, "Zu Parallelen," 177–184; and more recently Skjærvø, "Royalty," 99–107. On the orality of royal Iranian inscriptions and their use as historical sources, see Shayegan, *Epic and History,* forthcoming. For a novel examination of Iranian epic and religious texts from the perspective of orality, see Skjærvø, "Hymnic Composition," 199–243; "Iranian Epic," 187–223; and "Epic Traditions I," 545–658.

[8] ŠKZ, Pth., 5–15.

[9] Kettenhoffen, "Einforderung," 177–190, especially 188, where the author states: "Das Fehlen achämenidischer Reminiszenzen in Šāhpuhrs Inschrift, in einem offiziellen Dokument also, wiegt hier schwer, und daß Šāpuhr die territoriale Forderung nach dem alten Achämenidenerbe, wie sie uns Herodian von seinem Vater Ardašīr im 6. Buch überliefert, verschwiegen hätte, ist schwer einsehbar."

corroborate the tenor of contemporaneous and later classical sources indicating Achaemenid reminiscences as the cause of Sasanian incursions into Roman territory.[10]

The passage reads as follows:

[ŠKZ, Pth., 15–16]
*ud mardōhmag čē až Frōmāyān šahr až Anaryān pad āwār wāst andar Aryānšahr andar Pārs Pahlaw Xūzestān Asūrestān ud any šahr ō šahr kū amāh ud pidar ud niyāgān ud hasēnagān dastgerd būd ōδ *nibast.*

"and the people who were from the Roman empire (We) led away from Anērān into Ērānšahr, (into) Persis, Parthia, Xūzestān, Asūrestān, and other various places where We, (Our) father, (Our) grandfathers and (Our) ancestors had properties, (and) there (We) settled (them)."

Gnoli considers that the terms *pid*, *niyāg*, and *ahēnag* (Pth. *hasēnag*)[11] refer to Ardaxšīr (*pid*), the early Sasanians (*niyāg*), and the Achaemenids (*hasēnag*) respectively. However, there is no inherent semantic reason to interpret *ahēnag/hasēnag* as an allusion to the Achaemenids; on the contrary, there is better reason to believe that it referred to the eponymous founder of the dynasty Sāsān and his immediate descendants. Similar sequences are found in other inscriptions: in the inscription of Narseh at Paikuli (NPi), the sequence *pid ud niyāg* (oblique: *pidar ud niyāgān*) "father and ancestors" occurs frequently, where *pid* undoubtedly refers to the sovereign's father, Šābuhr I.

But who are the *niyāg(s)*? In a further passage of NPi, in the context of a message sent as response to Narseh by the nobles and grandees of the realm, it is stated that:

[NPi, f7.06–f13.06]
kū yad [y]azdān farrah ud šahr-xwadāyīf ō tōhm čē Sāsānagān dād[12] *[ud hawin bayān Ardaxšahr šāhān] šāh kē-tān niyāg bawēd pad yazdān nām hamag šahr [. . .] kerd.*

"(but) because (ever) since (?) the gods gave glory and rulership to the family of Sāsān [and (ever since) His Majesty Ardaxšīr?], King [of Kings?], who was your grandfather, in the name of the gods had made the whole realm . . . "

[10] See Gnoli, "L'inscription de Šābuhr," 57–63; supportive of Gnoli's interpretation: Wiesehöfer, "King of Kings," 59; "Zum Nachleben," 392; and "Zeugnisse," 432.

[11] In the clause . . . *kū amāh ud pidar ud niyāgān ud hasēnagān dastgerd būd . . .*, *pidar*, *niyāgān*, and *hasēnagān* are all in the oblique case, *pidar* in the singular oblique and *niyāgān* and *hasēnagān* in the plural oblique; their respective direct cases are *pid* (sg.), *niyāg* (pl.), and *hasēnag* (pl.). For an exhaustive discussion of the nominal "two-case system" in inscriptional Middle Persian, Parthian, and the Pahlavi Psalter, see Skjærvø, "Case," 47–62, 151–181, especially 51, 154, and 176–178; also Humbach and Skjærvø, *Paikuli*, vol. III, 2, 132–135. See also Shayegan, "Rationale," 115–119.

[12] For variant with a potential subjunctive *kū yad [y]azdān farrah ud šahr-xwadāyīf ō tōhm čē Sāsānagān dād [kerānd ud hawin bayān Ardaxšahr šāhān] . . .*, see Skjærvø, *Paikuli*, Addenda et Corrigenda for 114 (unpublished).

The sequence *hawīn baγān Ardaxšahr šāhān (šāh)* before *kē-tān niyāg bawēd* is a conjecture proposed by Prods Oktor Skjærvø, but it is difficult to find an alternate restoration.[13] Indeed, the term *šāh* is clearly attested after the name of the person whom the nobles and grandees reckon to be Narseh's grandfather (*niyāg*). Since the eponymous founder *Sāsān* appears at the beginning of the passage as the family's primogenitor (*tōhm čē Sāsānagān*), he cannot be identified with the *niyāg*, thus leaving two further possible candidates to fill in the gap: Narseh's grandfather *Ardaxšahr šāhān šāh* and great-grandfather *Pabāg šāh*. By process of elimination, *Pabāg šāh* has to be discarded, for, according to ŠKZ,[14] he did not carry the title *šāhān šāh,* but merely the title *šāh*. Since the lacuna in NPi, however, is too large to have contained only the sequence *Pabāg šāh,* the reading *Ardaxšahr šāhān šāh* has to be given preference.[15] Thus, here at least, Ardaxšīr must be a *niyāg,* but since the term is repeatedly used in the plural, we have to assume that it was attributed to other(s) as well. In the following, some attestations of the term *niyāg* are collected, which may shed some light on the usage and attribution of the term *niyāg:*

[NPi, B1.03–B3–4.04]
ud ka amā pad kerbagīh [ō handēmān hišt] hē(nd) ēg (a)z wispuhrān ud hargbed [ud wuzurg]ān [ud] āzādān frē[s]tag ō amā āmad kū šāhān šāh pad kerbagīh az Armin ōrōn ō Ērānšahr ēw wihēzēd ud ***farrah ud šahr ud xwēš gā[h ud] padixšar ī niyāgān*** *az yazdān padg[rīft az] wad[gar ī yazdān ud] mardōm ēw [dārēd].*

"And when We graciously [admitted?] them, then the messengers from the Princes and the Hargbed and the Grandees and the Nobles came to Us (saying) that: 'May the king of kings graciously move from Armenia hither to Ērānšahr. And (as for) **the glory and the realm and His Own throne and honour,** which (His) **ancestors** received from the gods, may (He) [take them back from?] the evil[doers of/against] gods and men.'"

[NPi, d3.04–E18.01]
[ōy gāh kē pidar ud] niyāgān kē tō abēniyābag [... niš]ast hē [. . .].

"**[that throne of your father and] ancestors** which you in unfitting manner have sat [upon ...]"

[NPi, G6.06–G13.06]
[ēg pad x]wēš gāh ud padix[šar ī] pidar ud [niyā]gān ēstēd kū [... Ērān]šahr tis gām rā[st ...] (ud) askādar (Pth.) [hād].

"[therefore (do now)] ascend **Your throne and (receive) the honor(s) [of] (your) father and ancestors,** so that [henceforth . . . in Ērān?]šahr things . . . [will be more?] righteous(?) [. . .] and higher."

[13] See Humback and Skjærvø, *Paikuli*, vol. III, 2, 114 and 109.
[14] ŠKZ, Pth., 1.
[15] On the intricacies of the restoration adopted by Skjærvø in this passage, see Humback and Skjærvø, *Paikuli*, vol. III, 2, 114 and 109.

[NPi, H9.02–H14.02]
[p]as amā pad puš[t] ud [n]ām ī yazdān ud xwēš [... pad gāh ī] pidar ud niyāgān ēstēm.

"then We with the support and in the name of the gods and our own [. . .] ascended [the throne of?] (our) father and ancestors."

[Šābuhr, Sagān šāh, Ps. I, 9–11]
u-š wuzurg šādih kerd u-š yazdān kerdagān framād kerdan u-š [p]idar ud niyāgān āfrīn kerd u-š Šābuhr šāhān šāh āfrīn kerd u-š xwēš āfrīn kerd ōy-iz āfrīn kerd kē ēn mān kerd.

"And he (=Šābuhr Sagān šāh) made a big celebration, and he ordered services for the gods, and he prayed for his father and ancestors, Šābuhr, King of Kings, himself, and also for the one who made this dwelling."

As the above passages bear witness, *niyāg,* in most occurrences in NPi, is preceded by the term *pid* "father"; they are often associated with the insignia of sovereignty, e.g., *gāh* "throne," *šahr* "realm," *padixšar* "honor," and *farrah* "glory."

In order to determine who, apart from Ardaxšīr, the other *niyāg(s)* is/are, we must first examine the occurrences of the term *ahēnag/hasēnag*; aside from the aforemenrioned passage of ŠKZ, *ahēnag/hasēnag* occurs in three other passages of NPi, of which only one is relatively unequivocal:

[NPi, 35G6.01–32f6.02]
*agar-in hasēnag andar tōh[m ...] kerd ud *šāyād*[16] *ahēndē*[17], *aδyān-iž až amāh xwēbēh [.... pad pušt čē] yazdān wehkārīf čē Aryānšahr.*

"if Our forebear in the family (?) [. . .] had made [. . .] and had ruled (?), then also We from Our own [... with the help of] the gods, the well-being of Ērānšahr."

Here, *ahēnag/hasēnag* is used with *tōm/tōhm* "family, seed," which we saw above in *tōhm čē Sāsānagān* "the family of Sāsān."[18] The fact that, on the one hand, the family's origin is attributed to Sāsān, and, on the other hand, NPi mentions a forebear in the family who is neither identical with Ardaxšīr, the *niyāg,* nor with Šābuhr I, the *pid,* it stands to reason that *ahēnag/hasēnag* refers to the family's founder Sāsān himself. However, can we rule out with certainty that *ahēnag/hasēnag* did not designate other(s) as well, such as *Pabāg šāh,* or even Pabāg's other (older?) son, who briefly ruled before the accession of his brother Ardaxšīr I, namely, *Šābuhr šāh*[19]?

[16] On the meaning of *'š'ywt: šāyād* ~ **šāy-* "rule?," see Skjærvø, *Paikuli,* vol. III, 2, 108. On Parthian participles with the element *-yw-* in phonetic forms, see Skjærvø, "Verbs," 430–431; and *idem,* "Verbal Ideograms," 437–438.

[17] On the development of the distinctive optative ending *-ēndē,* see Skjærvø, "Verbs," 429–430.

[18] The term *tōm/tōhm* "family, seed" is attested with certainty only in two instances: one the above-mentioned *tōhm čē Sāsānagān* "the family of Sāsān," and the other *(andar) tōhm čē amāh bē Ardaxšahr šāhān šāh* . . . "(in) our family, except for Ardaxšīr, king of kings ..." [NPi, e12,04–e13,04].

[19] See ŠKZ, Pth., 20: *Sāsān xwadāw ud Pābag šāh ud Šābuhr šāh Pābagān ud Ardaxšahr šāhān šāh* "the Lord Sāsān, King Pābag, King Šābuhr son of Pābag, and King of Kings Ardaxšīr." The legend

Now, recall that the terms *ahēnag/hasēnag* and *niyāg* were both used in the plural in ŠKZ, so that presumably other(s) responded to the appellation of *ahēnag/hasēnag*, aside from Sāsān, and to that of *niyāg*, aside from Ardaxšīr. Furthermore, we have seen above that *niyāg* and *pid* in the majority of their occurrences are linked with the paraphernalia of sovereignty, such as *gāh* "throne" (*gāh ud padixšar ī pidar ud niyāgān*). Thus, it is likely that the term *niyāg* referred to the first Sasanian rulers who ever assumed the regal throne in Persis, that is, apart from Ardaxšīr, Šābuhr šāh and Pabāg šāh. Consequently, the *ahēnag/hasēnag* could designate those members of the Sasanian family (*tōm/tōhm*) who ruled in Persis (as petty rulers?) prior to the rise of the Sasanians to royal dignity, such as the patronym Sāsān, whose rank is attested by ŠKZ as that of a *xwadāy/xwadāw* "lord."[20] Since Sāsān is not explicitly mentioned in ŠKZ as Pabāg's father, it is probable that the reason for his citation at the top of the list of Šābuhr I's predecessors had less to do with him being the immediate precursor of Pabāg šāh than with him being the eponymous founder of the dynasty. Accordingly, *ahēnag/hasēnag* possibly referred to Sāsān himself, as well as to those forgotten? Sasanian *xwadāy/xwadāw,* who succeeded *Sāsān xwadāw* prior to the rise of *Pabāg šāh*. In short, the terms *niyāg* and *ahēnag/hasēnag* both probably referred to Sasanian ancestors, but they distinguished between those who held the royal dignity and those who did not.

Hence, in the discourse of Narseh in NPi, *pid*, *niyāg*, and *ahēnag/hasēnag* probably referred to Šābuhr I (*pid*), Ardaxšīr plus Šābuhr šāh plus Pabāg šāh (*niyāg*), and Sāsān (*hasēnag*) respectively; and in the narrative of Šābuhr I in ŠKZ, to Ardaxšīr (*pid*), Šābuhr šāh plus Pabāg šāh (*niyāg*), and Sāsān plus the unknown *xwadāy/xwadāw* "lords" (*ahēnag/hasēnag*).

Additional support for the use of *niyāg* and *ahēnag/hasēnag* as designations of ancestors and forebears within a *single dynasty* is provided by parallels in the Old Persian epigraphy. As pointed out to me by P. O. Skjærvø, the term *niyāg* seems to correspond to both Old Persian (OP) *niyāka-* "grandfather," from which it is derived, and OP *apanayāka-* "great(-great)-grandfather." In the OP version of Dareios I's inscription at Susa (DSf),[21] *niyāka-* refers to Dareios' grandfather Arsames (*Aršāma-*):

on Šābūhr šāh's coinage reads: *bay Šābūhr šāh* (obverse) / *pus bay Pābag šāh* (reverse): "His Majesty king Šābuhr / son of His Majesty king Pābag"; see Alram, *Nomina propria*, 185.

[20] ŠKZ, Pth., 20.

[21] There is yet another OP inscription of Dareios at Susa that probably contained the term *niyāka-*, namely, DSz, of which, however, some seven fragments have survived. Only the well-preserved fragment of DSz serves as a comparison to the OP and Elamite versions of DSf; see Vallat, "Deux inscriptions," 3–13; for the OP and Akkadian versions of DSf, see Stève, *Nouveaux mélanges*, 69–77; see also Lecoq, *Inscriptions*, 234–237, 243–245.

[DSf, 12–15]

vašnā Aʰuramazdāha haya ma[nā] pitā Vištāspa utā Aršamā haya manā [ni]yāka avā ubā ajīvatam yadiy Aʰuramazdā mām xšāyaθiyam akunauš ahayāyā būmiyā.

"by the favor of Ahuramazda my father Hystaspes and my grandfather Arsames were both alive when Ahuramazda made me king over this earth."

In the late inscription of Artaxerxes II (404–359; A^2Sa),[22] where the king provides a lengthy genealogy, it is possible to observe precisely the distribution of the terms *niyāka-* (*nayāka-*) and *apanayāka-* (<**apa-niyāka-*):

[A^2Sa, 1–5]

θātiy Artaxšaçā XŠ vazarka XŠ XŠyānām XŠ DHyūnām XŠ ahayāyā BUyā

"Says Artaxerxes the great king, king of kings, king of the countries, king of this earth,

Dārayavaušahayā XŠhayā puça

son of Dareios the king,

Dārayavaušahayā Artaxšaç[ā]hayā puça

of Dareios (who was) the son of Artaxerxes the king,

Artaxšaçāhaya Xšayārcahayā XŠhayā puça

of Artaxerxes (who was) the son of Xerxes the king,

Xšayārcahayā Dārayavaušahayā XŠhayā puça

of Xerxes (who was) the son of Dareios the king,

Dārayavaušahayā Vištāspahayā puça Haxāmanaiiya

of Dareios (who was) the son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.

imam apadāna Dārayavauš apanayākama akunauš abayapara upa Artaxšaçā nayakama aθavā [vaš]nā AM [Anaha]ta utā Miθra adam nastāya apadānā imam akunaiy

This palace Dareios my great-grandfather made, later, under Artaxerxes my grandfather, it burnt; by the favor of Ahuramazda, Anahita, and Mithra, I ordered this palace to be done.

AM Anahata utā Miθra mā[m pātu]v [hacā] vi[sp]ā gastā utā imam taya akunā mā yātum mā kayadā vi[nāθ]itu[v][23]

May Ahuramazda and Anahita and Mithra protect me from all evil, as well as what I have done; let not the sorcerer, nor the astrologer destroy(?) (it)."

Artaxerxes II mentions four kings that have preceded him: his father Dareios II; his grandfather Artaxerxes I, the *niyāka-* (*nayāka-*); his great-grandfather Xerxes; and his great-great-grandfather Dareios I, the *apanayāka-*; conceivably Xerxes was also called *apanayāka-*. Particularly revealing in this inscription is the fact that the Achaemenids used the same term as the Sasanians to designate their ancestors, but whereas the Achaemenids distinguished between the grandfather *niyāka-* and great

[22] The Old Persian version of A^2Sa is cited after the collation of Stève, *Nouveaux mélanges*, 88–90; see also Mayrhofer, *Supplement*, 30–31.

[23] Stève, *Nouveaux mélanges*, 90.

(-great)-grandfather(s) *apanayāka-*, the Sasanians used the same term (*niyāg*) to designate both, and whereas the Sasanians called their eponymous ancestor *ahēnag/hasēnag*, the Achaemenids called theirs merely by name: *Haxāmaniš*.[24] In spite of these differences, the fact remains that *niyāg* corresponded to both *niyāka-* and *apanayāka-*, but *ahēnag/hasēnag* always to *apanayāka-*.

A *tertium comparationis* is provided by the recently published Rabatak inscription of the Kušān king Kaniška that dates to the first half of the second century.[25]

Therein, Kaniška mentions his immediate forebears, that is, his father, the πιδα; his grandfather, the νιαγο (< *niyāka-*); and his great-grandfather, the φρονιαγο (< **fra-niyāka-*):

[Rabatak Inscription, lls. 12–14]
ηια φρομαδό αβειμοανο βαοναηο κιρδι αβο κοζουλο καδφισο βαο αβο ι φρονιαγ(ο ο)δο αβο οοημο τακτοο βαο αβ(ο) ι νιαγο οδο αβο οοημο καδφισε βαο αβο (ι) πιδα οδο αβο ι χοβισαρο κανηκε βαο.

"He [Kaniška] gave orders to make [images of] these kings: king Kujula Kadphises (his) great-grandfather; and king Vima Taktu (his) grandfather; and king Vima Kadphises (his) father; and himself, king Kaniška."

The Bactrian terms for grand- and great-grandfather, which had not been attested before in Bactrian,[26] show a distribution similar to the other two epigraphic corpora: whereas the νιαγο refers to the grandfather, the φρονιαγο alludes to the forebear in the third generation, but still within the selfsame dynasty.

Intriguingly, as shown persuasively by Joe Cribb,[27] Kujula Kadphises (κοζουλο καδφισο), the φρονιαγο, who in the context of the Rabatak

[24] DB I.6. On the meaning of the name *Haxāmani-*, as "he who has his friend(s) at heart," see Skjærvø, "Avestan Quotations," 35. Skjærvø, who derives *Haxāmani-* from *haxā-* "friend" and *man-* "think," relates it to the Vedic formula *sákhāyam man-* "to think about/consider as one's friends," as attested in *Rig Veda* 10.7.3: *agním manye pitáram agním āpím agním bhrấtaraṃsádam it sákhāyam* "I think (of) Agni as a father, as a fellow, as a brother, always as a friend [Skjærvø's translation and emphasis]." See also Kellens, "L'idéologie religieuse," 424–425, who states: "On observe en védique comme en avestique, que le verbe *man* ne régit le nom de l'ami qu'en double accusatif: ainsi RS 10.7.3 *agním manye . . . sákhāyam* et Y46.13 *tōm . . . mōhmaidi huš.haxāim*. Haxāmaniš porte donc un nom elliptique, peut être cité de Y46.13, qui invite à deviner qui il considérait comme son ami. La strophe védique fournit probablement la réponse: le feu rituel."

[25] See Sims-Williams and Cribb, "Inscription of Kanishka," 77–142; for the dating, 105–107; the text of the Rabatak inscription was subsequently re-read by Sims-Williams, "Rabatak: New Reading," 55–57, and 65 for commentary.

[26] Sims-Williams and Cribb, "Inscription of Kanishka," 86.

[27] *Ibid.* 100; and Cribb, "The 'Heraus' Coins," 130–132.

inscription is presented as the father of king Vima Taktu (οοημο τακτοο), seems to have been referred to with the mere eponym *Kušān* in several inscriptions.[28] Indeed, Vima Taktu[29] is called *Kuṣāṇāputro* "son of Kušān,"[30] notably, in the inscription of Vima on the sculpture of Māṭ—that is, Vima's inscription placed between the feet of a seated giant royal figure, near the village of Māṭ.[31]

Thus, what the Bactrian evidence and the Sasanian epigraphy have in common is the mention of their respective eponymous dynastic founders, *Kušān* here, and *Sāsān* there, as forebears, that is, φροναγο, and *ahēnag/hasēnag*. In conclusion, we may say that not only the Sasanian evidence, but also the comparison with other epigraphic corpora, do not support the notion that the term *ahēnag/hasēnag* may have ever alluded to another historical dynasty than the Sasanians, such as the Achaemenids, or to any epic predecessors, such as the Kayānids, but, in concert with the semantic field of the terms *apanayāka-* and φρονιαγο, always to the immediate ancestors within the selfsame dynasty, from the third generation past, up to, and including, the eponymous ancestor, but never farther than that.

[28] See Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions*, 67–70 and 70–77. In the Panjtār inscription, a certain *Gushaṇa maharaya* "the Great King Gusha?" is mentioned, in whom Sten Konow has recognized Kujula Kadphises; (*ibid.* 68); in the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription, we read *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Kuṣāṇa* . . . "the great king, king of kings, son of god(s), the Kušān," (*ibid.* 76).

[29] Fussman, "Rabatak, Bactriane, et les Kouchans," 268–274, contests the attestation of the name Vima Taktu either in the Rabatak inscription ("[l]a séquence OHNO TAKTOO est fort douteuse. Les incertitudes sont si nombreuses que R[abatak], à elle seule, n'assure pas que le grand-père de Kanishka ait porté le nom de Wima Taktu," (*ibid.* 268); or on the inscription of Dašt-e Nūr (DN1) "S[ims]-W[iliams] donne à la fin de son article de 1996 une nouvelle édition des sept premières lignes de l'inscription bactrienne de Dast-e Nawur (DN I), qu'il lit et traduit entièrement. Il y trouve le nom de Vima Taktu. Je crains que celui-ci n'y soit pas . . .," (*ibid.* 271). However, Fussman does not offer an alternate interpretation of the name Vima Taktu in those passages of the inscriptions of Rabatak and DN1, where Sims-Williams has read it, and in the end concedes, since Kaniška mentions three of his immediate ancestors, that one of them ought to have been the contested Vima Taktu, whom he considers not to have ruled as a king: "R[abatak] nous livre aujourd'hui les noms des quatre rois, Kujula Kadphisès, (Wima Takto?), Wima Kadphisès et Kaniska, dont on connaît la parenté et l'ordre de succession, mais dont on ignore toujours la chronologie absolue exacte et la durée de règne respective, sauf en ce qui concerne Kaniska." For a similarly critical assessment of reading Vima Taktu's name in the Rabatak inscription, to the point of calling it an "imaginative restoration," compare MacDowell, "Rabatak Inscription," 163–169; in response, Sims-Williams, "Rabatak: New Reading," 65, has re-affirmed his reading of the name Vima Taktu, and severely rebuked MacDowell's verdict. See also Bopearachchi, "Premiers rois kouchans," 1438, who reads the name τακ δου (genetive) on a recently discovered coin.

[30] See Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, 135: "[1] *mahārājo rājātirājo devaputra* [2] *Kuṣāṇapu[t]r[o ṣā-] hi [Vema] Ta[kṣu]masya* [3]. . .," "The great king, king of kings, son of god(s), son of Kušān, king Vema Takto." Although Lüders, (*ibid.* 135), n. 5, deems *Ta[kṣa]masya* an alternate restoration for *Ta[kṣu]masya*, Fussman, "Rabatak, Bactriane, et les Kouchans," 269, finds that: "*Taksumaya* est absolument sûr."

[31] See Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, 131–138.

Thus, nothing in the Sasanian inscriptions supports the view that *ahēnag/hasēnag* referred to the Achaemenids. Still another point makes the equation of *ahēnag/hasēnag* with the Achaemenids unlikely. If Šābuhr I, as Gnoli seems to suggest, were referring to the Achaemenids in his *res gestae* in order to sustain the legitimacy of his claims over newly conquered territories, then one would expect the term *ahēnag/hasēnag*, if a reference to the Achaemenids, to be used in conjunction with *Anēran*. The reference to the Achaemenids is only useful as an ideological rationale for revendicating formerly Achaemenid territories that were either not under Sasanian dominion or contested by the Romans, both of which were classified as *Anēran*. Šābuhr I, however, when describing the re-settlement of Roman prisoners of war, clearly indicates that they were carried from Non-Iran (*Anēran*), where they were made captives, into possessions (*dastgerd*) held by Šābuhr's father (*pid*), ancestors (*niyāg*), and forebears (*ahēnag/hasēnag*) in Iran proper (*Ērānšahr*): *mardōhmag čē až Frōmāyān šahr až Anaryān pad āwār wāst andar Aryānšahr . . . kū amāh ud pidar ud niyāgān ud hasēnagān dastgerd būd ōδ *nibāst* "and the people who were from the Roman empire, (We) led away from *Anērān* into *Ērānšahr* . . . where We, (Our) father, (Our) ancestors and (Our) forebears had possessions, there (We) settled (them)." There is clearly no merit in the Sasanians referring to their remote ancestors, the Achaemenids, to justify their ancestral rights over territories that already belonged to them, a fact not even the Romans disputed.[32] We must, therefore, conclude that the term *ahēnag/hasēnag* did *not* refer to the Achaemenids, but probably to the first member(s) of the Sasanian dynasty who held estates in some of the territories which under Ardaxšīr's rule were to constitute *Ērānšahr*.

Most recently, however, a new tendency may be observed that identifies the *ahēnag/hasēnag*, not with the Achaemenids, but with the epic forebears of the Iranians, the Kayānids.

As we have already indicated, the opposition between former proponents and opponents of the view that the Sasanians may have possessed some historical memory of the Achaemenids has become less marked in recent scholarship and the conclusions strike one as particularly close. Thus, Erich Kettenhoffen in a recent survey article on the entire topic,[33] although true to his prior position in opposing the historicity of Sasanian claims to former Achaemenid territories—either because the classical sources were reflecting a Roman interpretation of the ideological *impetus*

[32] See also Rubin, "Roman Empire," 179–180.
[33] See Kettenhoffen, "Bilanz," 49–75.

behind Sasanian forays into the Roman empire, or the Sasanian epigraphy did not offer unequivocal evidence for an Achaemenid reception among the early Sasanians, or again the political deeds of Ardaxšīr I and Šābuhr I did not corroborate the grandiloquent Achaemenid ambitions ascribed to them by our classical sources[34]—seems, nonetheless, to endorse the possibility of the *ahēnag/hasēnag* referring to the Kayānids.[35] On the other side of the spectrum, Josef Wiesehöfer who has been among the most outspoken proponents of Achaemenid reminiscences in early Sasanian times, but has continuously reminded us of the likelihood that the Sasanians, due to the nature and impact of the Iranian oral history on their knowledge of the past, might have not known their Achaemenid predecessors by name, seems also increasingly inclined to contemplate the terms *ahēnag/hasēnag* as a possible reference to the Kayānids.[36] Among the most notable and recent representatives in this debate, we should signal Philip Huyse, who,

[34] *Ibid.* 73: "Die moderne Forschung hat erkannt, in wie starkem maße die Sāsāniden eher Erben der Arsakien als Erben der Achaimeniden gewesen sind ... aber selbst wenn, wie Wiesehöfer schreibt 'in Kultur und Kunst, aber auch in Verwaltung und Staatsbau vieles an achaimenidische Zustände erinnert,' so besagt dies nicht ohne weiteres, daß Arsašīr und šāhpuhr I. ein Großreich zu schaffen beabsichtigten, das die Ausmaße des alten Achaimenidenreiches haben musste. Erst dies, wenn es denn gesichert wäre, schafft die Voraussetzung dafür, dass sie gegenüber Rom im Westen alle Territorien zu gewinnen trachteten, die einst achaimenidisch, inzwischen aber längst zum Imperium Romanum gehörten, auch wenn ich nach wie vor nicht überzeugt bin, dass die ersten Sāsānidenherrscher bis zur Ägäis oder gar zum Strymon vorstoßen (und dieses gesamtes Gebiet dann auch ihrem Reich einverleiben) wollten."

[35] *Ibid.* 61: "Es ist also m. E. nicht abwegig zu behaupten, dass die 'Uhrahnen' (ŠKZ, parth., Z. 16: hsynkn), von denen Šapuhr I. in seinen *res gestae* spricht, mit den Kayāniden zu identifizieren sind; jedenfalls halte ich es für methodisch unstatthaft, nur die Gleichsetzung mit den Achaimeniden zu erwägen ..."

[36] Wiesehöfer, "Gebete," 113: "Während mit dem Terminus *niyāgān* zweifellos auf Šābuhrs Großvater Pābag und den 'Dynastiegründer' Sāsān angespielt wird, herrscht Uneinigkeit in der Forschung bzgl. der *ahēnagān*. Doch ganz gleich, ob die Sasaniden mit letzteren die mythischen Könige Irans (etwa die Kayāniden) oder historische, ihnen aber nicht mehr bekannte Könige Irans (und damit letztlich die Achaimeniden) gemeint haben, das Verschwinden genauer Erinnerungen an Meder und Achaimeniden muß auf jeden Fall vor dem Aufstieg der Sasaniden zur Herrschaft über Ērān und Anērān stattgefunden haben ..." See also Wierehöfer, "Rūm," 113–114: "When Šābuhr I 'worships' his 'forebears' (who, like his 'father' and his 'ancestors,' have a special connection to Fars), when he derives his own claims from their achievements and possession rights, when he stresses the special position of Ērānšahr in his empire ... all acts stand in *casual* connection to the impressive inheritance of the 'ancestors' and 'forebears.' This can only mean that the Sasanians saw themselves as proud heirs to a glorious Iranian past of either a Kayānid-legendary or an uncertain 'historical' mould." Wiesehöfer states the same idea further in "Gebete," 116–117, as well as in *Iraniens, Grecs et Romains*, 141–142, where he also expresses his skepticism as to whether the early Sasanians could have derived legitimacy from the Kayānids: "Cependant il reste la question de savoir si déjà les premiers Sassanides s'apuyèrent sur les Kayānides pour se légitimer. Aucune référence à l'origine kayānide de la dynastie ne se trouve en effet dans l'inscription de Narseh de Pāikūli et les noms kayānides n'apparaissent qu'à la fin du V^{ème} siècle dans la nomenclature royale"; *ibid.*, *Grecs et Romains*, 145, n. 254; most recently, Wierehöfer "Reich der Sasaniden," 537, n. 21.

while opposing the historicity of the Sasanian claims to the Achaemenid heritage,[37] seems not to oppose an equation between the *ahēnag/hasēnag* and the Kayānids,[38] and Touraj Daryaee, who in several contributions has identified the *ahēnag/hasēnag* as the Kayānids, while being a proponent of the early Sasanians possessing some historical knowledge of the Achamenids.[39]

The main drawback of this argument remains the lack of evidence in associating the *ahēnag/hasēnag* with mythical or epic lines, or historical rulers beyond the Sasanian dynasty. As the occurrences of the terms *ahēnag/hasēnag* in Sasanian inscriptions, in comparison with their equivalents in other Iranian epigraphic material, that is, *apanaγāka-* and φρονιαγο, have demonstrated, the *ahēnag/hasēnag* seem to have referred to the forebears of Šābuhr I and Narseh in the third generation past, including the eponymous ancestor Sāsān, but never beyond him.

Thus, the same reasons, for which the *ahēnag/hasēnag* could not designate the Achaemenids, also apply to the Kayānids. But, beyond these philological reasons, there are still others, which make it rather unlikely that the terms *ahēnag/hasēnag* ever referred to the Kayānids.

Recently, Wiesehöfer[40] and Daryaee[41] have argued that the myth of Frēdōn/Fereydūn dividing the world among his three sons, with the oldest Sarm/Salm being allotted with the empire of the West Hrōm/Rūm; the puîné Tōz/Tūr with the empire of the East Tūrān/Turkestān; and the youngest Ēriz/Ēraǰ with the heartland of the empire, Ērānšahr, might have constituted the background against which Sasanian claims to their ancestral territories may have taken place. Consequently, the Sasanians, under the impression of their oral epic history, may have considered themselves heirs to Ēriz/Ēraǰ and entitled to Roman territories, which once were part of the empire of Frēdōn, their common ancestor.

Despite its inherent merit in providing an ideological underpinning grounded in the Iranian epic narratives for Sasanian claims to former Achaemenid territories, the argument may not hold without further ado. Indeed, we simply may not assess when the myth of Frēdōn's division of

[37] Huyse, "Revendication," 302: "[n]on seulement les Sasanides n'avaient qu'un souvenir confus des Achéménides, mais ils prenaient le fondateur éponyme donc comme descendants des Kayanides et non des Achéménides."

[38] *Ibid.* 303: "si Šābuhr a vraiment eu une idée quelconque de ces ancêtres, ce sont au mieux les Kayanides auxquels il aurait songé."

[39] See Daryaee, "Memory and History," 11–14; "Construction of Past," 500–503; "Sasanians and Ancestors," 391.

[40] See Wiesehöfer, "Rūm," 114–116; and *Iraniens, Grecs et Romains*, 114–145.

[41] See Daryaee, "Sasanians and Ancestors," 389–393.

the world was formed in the recensions transmitted to us in the Pahlavi literature and the *Šāhnāme*. If the presence of the Frēdōn myth can be established already in Arsacid, or early Sasanian, time, then, despite the reserves we have expressed above as to the semantic boundaries of the word *ahēnag/hasēnag*, a case could possibly be made for the contention that Rome having been equated with the kingdom of Sarm/Salm already in the Arsacid period, the early Sasanians could have regarded Roman possessions in the East as belonging to Frēdōn's empire, and laid claim to them. Otherwise, if the myth of Frēdōn's division of the world is to be situated in the later Sasanian empire, then obviously the argument may not be used for early Sasanian territorial claims.

Elements of the mythical tripartite division of the world may be found in the *Frawardīn Yašt*, in the long procession of sacrifices made to the *frauuaṣ̌i-* of original poets and heroes of the past; there, the *frauuaṣ̌i-* of the men and women of the Aryan (*Airiia-*), Turian (*Tūiriia-*), and Sairimian (*Sairimiia-*) lands, which later shall constitute the names to which we are accustomed in the Zoroastrian Middle Persian writings and in the epic literature, namely, Ēriz, Tūr, and Sarm/Salm, are mentioned:

[Yt.13.143]	
airiianąm daxiiunąm narąm aṣ̌aonąm frauuaṣ̌aiiō yazamaide	"We sacrifice (to) the pre-souls of the Orderly men of the Aryan lands.
airiianąm daxiiunąm nāirinąm aṣ̌aoninąm frauuaṣ̌aiiō yazamaide	We sacrifice (to) the pre-souls of the Orderly women of the Aryan lands.
tūiriianąm daxiiunąm narąm aṣ̌aonąm frauuaṣ̌aiiō yazamaide	We sacrifice (to) the pre-souls of the Orderly men of the Turian lands.
tūiriianąm daxiiunąm nairinąm aṣ̌aoninąm frauuaṣ̌aiiō yazamaide	We sacrifice (to) the pre-souls of the Orderly women of the Turian lands.
sairimanąm daxiiunąm narąm aṣ̌aonąm frauuaṣ̌aiiō yazamaide	We sacrifice (to) the pre-souls of the Orderly men of the Sairimian lands.
sairimanąm daxiiunąm nāirinąm aṣ̌aoninąm frauuaṣ̌aiiō yazamaide	We sacrifice (to) the pre-souls of the Orderly women of the Sairimian lands."

Other indicators suggesting the old age of the myth of Frēdōn dividing the world might be found in the depiction of the Turian arch-enemy Fraŋrasiian in the Avesta. Fraŋrasiian who is invariably called the "Turian villain Fraŋrasiian" *(mairiiō tūiriiō Fraŋrase)* is once mentioned as a sacrifier to *Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā*, demanding as boon (*āiiaptəm*) the *x*ᵛarənah-*, which belonging to the Aryan lands (*yaṯ asti airiianąm daxiiunąm*), was denied to him:

[Yt.5.42–43]
āaṯ hīm jaiδiaṯ
auuaṯ aiiaptəm dazdi mē
arəduuī sūre anāhite
yaθā azəm auuaṯ x"arənō apaiiemi
†yim vazaite maiδim
zraiiaŋhō vouru.kaṣahe
yaṯ asti airiianąm daxiiunąm
zātanąm(ca) azātanąmca
yaṯca aṣaonō zaraθuštrahe

nōiṯ ahmāi daθaṯ taṯ auuaṯ aiiaptəm
arəduuī sūra anāhita

"Thus he asked her:
Give me that boon,
O good Arəduuī Sūra Anāhitā,
that I (may) obtain that Fortune,
which is swimming in the middle
of the Vourukaṣa Sea,
which belongs to the Aryan lands,
to the born and the unborn,
and to the Orderly Zarathustra.

She gave him not that boon,
Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā."

Notwithstanding the denial, Fraŋrasiian sought to capture the *x"arənah-*, as the *Zamyād Yašt* reports, but failed after three consecutive attempts.[42] Thus, at least the consequence, if not the act, of Frēdōn's division of the world, that is, the opposition of the Aryan to the Turian lands, and the enmity of Fraŋrasiian to Iran is clearly articulated in the *Yašts*. This enmity is most explicitly expressed in the prayers of Haoma and Kauui Haosrauuah to Duuāspā and Aši for a boon, so that Kauui Haosrauuah may extract revenge from Fraŋrasiian for the killing by deceit (*zūrah-*) of his father Siiāuuaršan:

[Yt.9.18]
auuaṯ āiiaptəm dazdi mē
vaŋ"hi səuuište druuāspe
yaθa azəm baṇdaiieni
mairīm tūirīm fraŋrasiiānəm
uta bastəm vāδaiieni
uta bastəm upanaiieni
†bastəm kauuōiš haosrauuaŋhahe
janāṯ təm kauua haosrauua
pašne varōiš caēcastahe
*jafrahe *uruuiiāpahe*
puθrō kaēna siiāuuaršānāi
zūrō.jatahe narahe
aγraēraθaheca narauuahe

"Give me that prize,
O good Druuāspā, most rich in life-giving strength,
so that I may bind
the Turian villain Fraŋrasiian
and (that) I may lead him bound
and I may bring him bound,
bound (before) Kauui Haosrauuah
(so that) Kauui Haosrauuah may kill him
on the shore of Lake Caēcasta,
the deep, with wide waters,
as the son in revenge for (his father) Siiāuuaršan,
the hero killed through deceit,
as well as Aγraēraθa, son of Naru."

[42] Yt.19.55–64.

A comparison with the Scythian myth of origins may further suggest that Frēdōn's division of the world reached back to Old Iranian mythical themes. As Émile Benveniste,[43] Georges Dumézil,[44] and Marijan Molé[45] have pointed out not only Herodotos' report on the Scythian myth of origins, which in essence is comparable to Frēdōn's division of the world, but also the presence of the tri-functional ideology in the structure of the two myths, would suggest that Frēdōn's division of the world derived from an older original.

Indeed, according to Herodotos, the ancestor of the Scythians, a certain Tragitaos, had three sons, respectively Lipoxaïs, Arpoxaïs, and Kolaxaïs. During their lifetime golden objects consisting of (1) a plough and a yoke, (2) a sword, and (3) a flask fell from the sky, and only the youngest, that is, Kolaxaïs was able to touch them without risk of burning his hands, on account of which feat, he was, by common accord with his brothers, given the royal power. Accordingly, each of Tragitaos' three sons became the ancestor of one (or two) Scythian *γένος*.[46] What is more, Kolaxaïs' empire being too large, he, in turn, divided it between his three sons, with the largest and more important part being allotted to the one, in whose kingdom the golden objects were to be held.

Whereas the division into tri-functional social classes dominates in the first partition of Scythian land among Tragitaos' sons,[47] the accent is undoubtedly placed on the geographical nature of the division in the second generation, among the three sons of Kolaxaïs.[48]

As shown by Molé, the social and geographical/ethnical dimensions, which in the Scythian myth of origins spanned two generations, are simultaneously present in the myth of Frēdōn, most explicitly in the Middle Persian text *Ayādgār ī Jamāspīg*, and in the *Šāhnāme*. The *Ayādgār ī Jamāspīg* thus reports:

[43] See Benveniste, "Traditions," 529–549; also Benvenist, "L'Ērān-vēž," 265–274.

[44] See Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée*, vol. I, 446–452; 586–588.

[45] See Molé, "Partage du monde," 455–462; and "Note complémentaire," 271–273.

[46] See Molé, "Partage du monde," 456–457.

[47] See Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée*, vol. I, 449–452. Also Molé, "Partage du monde," 456: "On y voit la superposition de la tripartition ethnique à une tripartition sociale (ou inversement). Encore que les opinions sur l'importance relative des deux facteurs divergent, la coexistence de ceux-ci est hors de doute. Les quatre objets d'or symbolisent les trois états sociaux de la société scythique, l'état sacerdotal (ou royal), guerrier et agricultureur." Compare Benveniste, "Traditions," 534–537.

[48] See Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée*, vol. I, 449: "Il y a deux générations de frères: 1° les trois fils de Tragitaos: Kolaxaïs le roi, de qui descendent les Παραλάται, Arpoxaïs, de qui descendent les Κατίαροι et les Τρά(σ)πιες, Lipoxaïs, de qui sont nés (γεγονέναι) ceux qui sont appelés la race (γένος) des Αὐχάται; 2° les trois fils de Kolaxaïs, pour lesquels leur père divise la Scythie en trois royaumes, un plus grand où est gardé l'or, et deux plus petits. La valeur géographique de la division est affirmée dans le second cas."

[*Ayādgār ī Jamāspīg*, 4.39]
*Az Frēdōn zād sē pus: Salm ud Tōz ud Ērīz nām būd hēnd u-š sē ō pēš xwānd ō awēšān ēk ēk guft kū gēhān abar ašmā hamāg baxšēm harw ēg ān-itān weh sahēd xwāhēd tā-tan awiš dahēm Salm was-***xīrīh Tōz tagīgīh ud Ērīz az ān čiyōn-iš xwarrah ī Kayān abar būd dād ud dēn xwāst. Frēdōn guft kū ēdōn čiyōn-itān xwāst u-tān hamgōnag bē rasēd. Zamīg ī Hrōm tā ō drayā bār ō Salm dād ud Turkestān abāg wiyāb tā ō drayā bār ō Tōz dād Ērānšahr ud Hindugān tā drayā bār ō Ērīz mad*

"Three sons were born to Frēdōn: their names were Salm, Tōz, and Ērīz. He summoned the three of them before him, and told them one by one that: 'I shall bestow the entire world upon you. Each of you shall request that which he deems more proper, so that I may grant it to you.' Salm demanded much wealth, Tōz much courage, and Ērīz, since the Glory of the Kayān was upon him, demanded Justice and Religion. Frēdōn said: 'as you have desired, in the same manner shall it be allotted to you.' The land of Rome up to the shores of the see, he gave to Salm, and Turkestān with the desert up to the sea he gave to Tōz, and the Empire of Iran and India fell to Ērīz."

However, whereas there is some support for conjecturing that the myth of Frēdōn dividing the world among his three sons, who were each to occupy one of the world's climes, belonged to the Old Iranian literary traditions, there are equally good chances that the fully developed myth was only formed later, under historical dynasties. We may not for sure establish when the land of the Sairimians (*Sairimaŋam daxʿiiu-*) became identified with Rome,[49] and that of the Turians (*Tūiriianąm daxʿiiu-*) with the eastern foes of the Iranian empires, such as the Saka, the Hephtalites, and later the Turks. Evidently, the earliest the land of the Sairimians could have been identified with Rome would have been in the first century BCE, when the Roman polity first entered into the political orbit of the Arsacid empire—which a few decades before had wrested Mesopotamia from the defunct Seleucid empire.[50]

Indeed, Wiesehöfer has suggested that the fully developed myth was already in circulation in Arsacid time, basing himself on Ṯaʿālibī's report

[49] See Bundahišn 14.37 (= BDH 58.6–11; TD2 106.14–107.3): *pad ēd mar ān ī pad Ērān dehān ān ī pad Anērān deh ān ī pad Tūr deh ān ī pad Salm deh ast ī Hrōm ān ī pad Sēn deh ast ī Čīnestān ān ī pad Dahīy deh ān ī pad Sind deh ān-iz ī pad ān ī šaš kišwar didīgar hamāg az paywand ī Frawāg ī Syāmak ī Mašīy hēnd*, "According to this account, those who are in the Iranian lands, those who are in the land of Anērān, those who are in the land of Tūr, those who are in the land of Salm, that is, Rome, those who are in the land of Sēn, that is, China, those who are in the land of the Dahīy, those who are in the land of Sind, and also those who are in the other six regions, they all are from the union of Frawāg, son of Siyāmak, son of Mašīy."

[50] On the Arsacid conquest of Babylonia, see Shayegan, "Demetrius II," 83–103.

on the Arsacid king Pakōr's western campaign against Rome,[51] according to whom Pakōr, called *Aqfūr-šāh* (*Afqūr-šāh*), having recovered the Kayānid banner, went to war against Rome to extract revenge for the murder of Dārā (Dareios III) by Alexander (the Great).[52] However, several details may render the assumption that Pakōr's war against Rome was inspired by the mythical opposition between Iran and the Western clime, and, thus, ultimately fed off Frēdōn's tripartite division of the world, less conclusive. Despite the indubitable reference to the Kayānid banner in Ṭaʿālibī's narrative, Pakōr is, nonetheless, expressly reported to have *ghazā r-rūma waṭalaba bi-thaʾri Dārā* "invaded Rome and demanded revenge for the blood of Dārā," rather than for that of Ēraj. Indeed, the same story is again told in a passage transmitted by Ḥamze Eṣfehānī. Here, it is a certain Šāpūr, son of Ašk, who is reported to have undertaken a campaign against the Greeks for the sole purpose of avenging Dārā, without any allusion to the mythical dimension of Iran's enmity with the West.[53] And again in Ṭabarī, it behooves Ardaxšīr I to avenge Dārā,[54] who had succumbed to Alexander. What transpires from a cursory look at Muslim sources is that the bellicose stance of Iranian princes—such as the Arsacid Pakōr, and the Sasanians Ardaxšīr I, Šābuhr I, and Šābuhr II—against Rome may have been indiscriminately interwoven in the accounts of Muslim authors without further distinction of the individual ruler's exploits or political motivation. Accordingly, whether the Achaemenid reminiscence—expressed in the desire to avenge Dārā (Dareios III)—which may have well been a constitutive element in the political ideology of the Sasanian king Šābuhr II, was ever of bearing on the policies of Pakōr, Ardaxšīr I, and Šābuhr I, we may

[51] See Wiesehöfer, "Rūm," 115: "[m]uch speaks in favor of the notion that the tripartition of the empire of Frēdōn was an Arsacid 'invention,' and that the antagonism between Iran and its neighbour in the west (now called Rūm) was particularly stressed during the second half of Parthian rule, when the conflicts between the Arsacids and the Romans took on increasing seriousness. It was a time during which, on the whole, more attention was paid to the Iranian foundations of Arsacid rule, a time the allegedly existing Zoroastrianised and negative view of Alexander gained increasing significance, and when Iranian heroes and kings were said to have campaigned again Rūm . . . This becomes increasingly apparent for Afqūr šāh (Pacorus), who, the Muslim author aṭ-Ṭaʿālibī tells us, not only won the Kayānids' banner, but was able to avenge Alexander's victim Dārā by launching successful attacks against Rūm. Such a story can hardly be of Sasanian origin; it must have been a survival of the Parthian view of the conflict between East and West." See also, Wiesehöfer, *Iraniens, Grecs et Romains*, 144.

[52] See Zotenberg, *Histoire*, 458–459.

[53] See Gottwaldt, *Hamzae Ispahanensis*, 42 (= 30).

[54] See Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 58–59: "[e]r [Ardašīr] erhob sich nun, wie er behauptete, um das Blut seines Vetters Dârâ, Sohnes des Dârâ, Enkels des Spendijâr, zu rächen, den Alexander bekriegt und den seine beiden Kämmerlinge ermordert hatten."

not assess. Although, we may surmise that the political rationale of Šābuhr II may have been projected, within the narratives of later Muslim authors, upon the motivations of former Iranian princes who, like Šābuhr II, had contested Roman territorial possessions.

In the same vein, the Kayānid reception attributed to Pakōr, based on Ta'ālibī's report, which is deemed as an indication for the presence of the myth of Frēdōn's tripartite division of the world already during the Arsacid period, might merely have been the result of an analogical retrojection, by Muslim authors or their late Middle Persian sources, of the realities of the fifth century CE, when the concerted collection of the legendary and epic material under the late Sasanians took place.[55]

Consequently, Šābuhr I's bellicosity against Rome may not be ascribed to the myth of Frēdōn's division of the world, for there is little evidence for a Kayānid reception before the fifth century CE, nor is there any evidence for an Achaemenid *Rückbesinnung* among the Sasanians before the age of Šābuhr II.

In conclusion, we may assert that the Sasanian inscriptions do not provide any evidence in support of an Achaemenid reception as the *leitmotiv* for Sasanian incursions into Roman territories,[56] and should, therefore, turn to the narratives of classical authors to discover whether there is any truth in the alleged Sasanian endeavor to conquer Achaemenid territories.

[55] See Huyse, "Orality and Literacy," 151–152; Huyse, *apud* Wiesehöfer, *Iraniens, Grecs et Romains*, 139, n. 240; *ibid.* 145, n. 254. Also, Molé, "Partage du monde," 459.

[56] See Kettenhoffen, "Einforderung," 188; also Kettenhoffen, "Überlegungen," 103, 105. Similarly also Potter, "Alexander Severus and Ardashir," 147–157, especially 152–153; see also somewhat modified Potter, "Appendix III," 375–376.

CHAPTER 2

Classical Sources
Dio, Herodian, Ammianus Marcellinus

In contrast to Šābuhr's *res gestae,* the testimonies of Cassius Dio, Herodian, and Ammianus Marcellinus *explicitly* interpret the expansionist policy of Ardaxšīr into Roman territory as an endeavor to restore the territories of the Achaemenid empire.

In the last book of his *Roman History*, reported to us in the epitome of John Xiphilinos, Cassius Dio exposes his views on the eastern danger threatening the Roman empire, by alluding to Ardaxšīr I's forays into Mesopotamia and Syria. Dio indicates the reason for the Sasanian king's bellicosity as the desire to conquer all which was held by the ancient Persians (*οἱ πάλαι Πέρσαι*), whom Ardaxšīr allegedly considered as his forebears (*οἱ προγόνοι*):

[D. C. 80.3.4]
οὗτος οὖν φοβερὸς ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, στρατεύματι τε πολλῷ οὐ μόνον τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐφεδρεύσας, καὶ ἀπειλῶν ἀνακτήσεσθαι πάντα, ὡς καὶ προσήκοντά οἱ ἐκ προγόνων, ὅσα ποτὲ οἱ πάλαι Πέρσαι μέκρι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἔσχον.

"Consequently, he [Artaxerxes] generated a cause of fear for us, for he was encamped with a large army (waiting to attack) not only **Mesopotamia**, but also **Syria**, menacing to recover all that the ancient Persians had once held as far as the Greek Sea, on the grounds that all this belonged to him by virtue of his ancestors."

In two passages of his *History*, Herodian recounts elaborate Sasanian claims to Roman territories that were deemed to have originally belonged to their Achaemenid ancestors. These ancestors the Sasanians are even reported to have known by name: Cyrus and "Dareios (III) the last king of the Persians" (*Δαρεῖος ὁ τελευταῖος Περσῶν βασιλεύς*). Unlike Dio's account of Ardaxšīr's campaigns, which may have drawn upon official reports,[1]

[1] On Cassius Dio's sources in general, see Millar, *Cassius Dio*, 28–46 and 170–173; see also Bering-Staschewski, *Zeitgeschichte*, 112–113; also Barnes, "Cassius Dio," 249. As to Cassius Dio's reliance upon official reports, see Alföldy, "Dio und Herodian," 234–235: "für die Lage in Persien müssen

and Dio's own observations,[2] Herodian's account, composed under the perception of Šābuhr I the Great's repeated offensives,[3] was neither an independent narrative on Ardaxšīr's campaigns, nor a substantial expansion on Dio's account, from which it depended in its core tenets,[4] as now, once more, conclusively established by Martin Zimmermann.[5] And, whenever Herodian, at least in the description of Alexander Severus' defensive campaign against the Sasanians, was deprived of Dio's *Vorlage*,

offizielle Meldungen und Lageberichte sein Quellenmaterial dargestellt haben." See also Shayegan, "Rationale," 113–115.

2 See Alföldy, "Dio und Herodian," 234; and de Blois, "Volk und Soldaten," 2652–2653. See Gagé, *Montée*, 120; also Chaumont, "L'Arménie," 162, where the author states that: "Dion Cassius a eu connaissance de ces revendications sassanides"; see also Wiesehöfer, "Anfänge," 444, n. 70.

3 See Kettenhoffen, *Einforderung*, 55–56. On the composition date of Herodian's work during the reign of Philippus Arabus (244–249 C.E), see Alföldy, "Herodians Person", 245–255, 270, and Zimmermann, *Kaiser und Ereignis*, 285–302, especially, 300: "[z]usammnfassend läßt sich dennoch festhalten, daß die . . . Datierung des Geschichtswerks in die Zeit Philipps und Verknüpfung mit der Tausendjahrfeier immer noch die überzeugenderen Argumente auf ihrer Seite hat"; and most recently, Frendo, "Sasanian Offensive," 25, 33, n. 3. For a later date of composition, between 260 and 268 CE, after Philippus Arabus' reign, compare Sidebottom, "Date of Composition," 271–276.

4 On Herodian's dependence on Dio, Alföldy's past judgment still prevails. See Alföldy, "Dio und Herodian," 229–237, especially 234–235, where the author states: "Das heißt mit anderen Worten, daß Herodian von keinem anderen als von Dio abhängig war"; and Alfoldy, "Zeitgeschichte," 290–291. See also the severe judgment of Alföldy, "Cleanders Sturz," 125 on Herodian: "[i]nsgesamt müssen wir uns davor hüten, Herodians Werk als eine authentische Quelle für die Geschichte Roms unter Commodus und den Severern zu betrachten: Es ist eine Unterhaltungsliteratur"; and Alföldy, "Über den Tod Mark Aurels," 18.

5 See Zimmermann, *Kaiser und Ereignis*, 242, 290, and 324: "[i]mmerhin gibt es aber ausreichend Hinweise dafür, daß Herodian bis zum sechsten Buch Material und Anregungen in erster Linie seinem älteren Zeitgenossen Cassius Dio verdankt." See also Zimmermann, "Konstruktion der Geschichte," 143: "[s]ein [Herodians] Werk ist letztlich Ergebnis einer abstrakten, praxis- und politikfernen Interpretation vorhandener Abhandlungen, insbesondere jener des Cassius Dio." For a survey of scholarly assessment of Herodian's *Quellenwert*, and the present *status quaestionis*, see Kettenhoffen, "Bilanz," 53–58, and more recently, Hidber, *Herodians Darstellung*, 45–71, especially 63–64, where the author concludes: "[s]o darf zunächst nunmehr als gesichert gelten, dass Herodian die zeitgeschichtlichen Bücher Dios bis zum Begin des sechsten Buches als wohl wichtige Informations- beziehungsweise Inspirationsquelle benutzt hat."; also: "[a]ls Konsequenz aus diesem Befund ergibt sich, dass Herodians Berichte für die historische Rekonstruktion der Ereignisse von 180–238 n. Chr. von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen praktisch nicht zu gebrauchen sind." See similarly Schmidt, "'Zeitgeschichtliche' Bücher," 2640–2644, and Huyse, "Revendication," 299. Compare Sidebottom, "Herodian's Historical Methods," 2780–2792, who, while recognizing the use of Dio by Herodian, is, nonetheless, very skeptical of Dio's being Herodian's main source: "Herodian claimed to have consulted various sources. He can be seen to have used contemporary art and classical literature to construct his narrative. That Herodian used Cassius Dio's history is incontrovertible. However, the modern theory that Dio was the *Hauptquelle* [Sidebottom's emphasis] for the first and a bit books of Herodian in the light of the current evidence and argumentation must remain unproven . . ."; compare also Kuhn-Chen, *Geschichtskonzeptionen*, 264–265: "[a]ndereseits gibt es trotz großer Ähnlichkeit zwischen den beiden Autoren auch signifikante Unterschiede, so daß Dio, wenn überhaupt, keinesfalls als einzige Quelle in Frage kommt." Most recently, see Hartmann, "Literarische Quellen," 30 with additional bibliography.

he seems to have erred towards scarcely reliable oral traditions circulating within the empire.[6] Herodian reports:

[Hdn. 6.2.1–2]

... *Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὸ Παρθυαίους καθελεῖν καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἀρχῆς παραλῦσαι, Ἀρτάβανόν τε τὸν πρότερον καλούμενον Μέγαν Βασιλέα καὶ δυσὶ διαδήμασι χρώμενον ἀποκτεῖναι, πάντα τε τὰ περίοικα βάρβαρα χειρώσασθαι καὶ εἰς φόρου συντέλειαν ὑπαγαγέσθαι, οὐχ ἡσυχάζει οὐδ' ἐντὸς Τίγριδος ποταμοῦ μένει, ἀλλὰ τὰς ὄχθας ὑπερβαίνων καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὅρους Μεσοποταμίαν τε κατατρέχει καὶ Σύροις ἀπελεῖ, πᾶσάν τε τὴν ἀντικειμένην ἤπειρον Εὐρώπῃ καὶ διαιρουμένην Αἰγαίῳ τε καὶ τῷ πορθμῷ τῆς Προποντίδος, Ἀσίαν τε πᾶσαν καλουμένην, προγονικὸν κτῆμα ἡγούμενος, τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ ἀνακτήσασθαι βούλεται, φάσκων ἀπὸ Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πέρσας μεταστήσαντος μέχρι Δαρείου τοῦ τελευταίου Περσῶν βασιλέως, οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν καθεῖλε, πάντα μέχρις Ἰωνίας καὶ Καρίας ὑπὸ σατράπαις Περσικοῖς διῳκῆσθαι· προσῆκειν οὖν αὐτῷς Πέρσαις ἀνανεώσασθαι πᾶσαν ὁλόκληρον, ἥ πρότερον ἔσχον, ἀρχήν.*

"Artaxerxes [Ardaxšīr], king of the Persians, had defeated the Parthians and broken up their empire in the East; he had killed Artabanos, who used to be called Great King previously, and wore the double diadem. He had also subdued all the neighboring barbarians and reduced them to paying tribute. He was restless, and was not staying within the bounds of the river Tigris, but was crossing the banks that were the boundaries of the Roman empire. He ravaged **Mesopotamia** and threatened Syria. He intended to recover for Persia the entire land facing Europe, separated by the Aegean Sea and the Propontis [Sea of Marmara], all of which is called Asia [Minor], and which he **believed to be his ancestral possession**, affirming that from the time of Cyrus, who was the first to transfer the rule from the Medes to the Persians, up to Dareios [III], the last of the Persian kings, whose dominion Alexander, the Macedonian, had destroyed, the whole land, as far as Ionia and Caria, had been administered by Persian satraps. It was proper that he renew this empire wholly and entirely for the Persians, as they had once held it."

And:

[Hdn. 6.4.5–6]

ἔλεγε δ' ἡ πρεσβεία ὅτι κελεύει Μέγας Βασιλεὺς Ἀρταξέρξης ἀφίστασθαι Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Συρίας τε πάσης τε Ἀσίας τε τῆς Εὐρώπῃ ἀντικειμένης, ἐᾶσαι δὲ ἄρχειν Πέρσας μέχρις Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Καρίας καὶ ὅσα Αἰγαίῳ καὶ Πόντῳ ἔθνη διαιρεῖται· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὰ Περσῶν προγονικὰ κτήματα.

"The mission declared that by order of the Great King Artaxerxes [Ardaxšīr] the Romans and their ruler must abandon Syria and the whole of Asia facing Europe, allowing Persian rule to extend as far as Ionia and Caria and the peoples contained within the Aegean and Pontus seaboard, for these were the ancestral possessions of Persians."

[6] See Zimmermann, *Kaiser und Ereignis*, 242 and 247: "Mit Hilfe einer mehrfachen Wiederholung von Motiven und Formulierungen weitet Herodian seine sehr dürftigen, vermutlich auf im Reich kursierende mündliche Berichte zurückgehende Informationen über den Perserfeldzug des Severus Alexander . . . aus."

The third of the classical authors, Ammianus Marcellinus, reveals the causes of the Persian offensives in the description of a letter sent by king Šābuhr II to Constantius (ca. 356). Although Ammianus Marcellinus' sources for this episode are not well known, the extent of Šābuhr II's territorial claim (*usque Strymona flumen et Macedonicos fines*), which differs from the accounts of Cassius Dio and Herodian, could suggests an independent source.[7] Ammianus Marcellinus reports:

[Amm. Marc. 17.5.5–6]

ad usque Strymona flumen et Macedonicos fines tenuisse maiores imperium[8] *meos, antiquitates quoque vestrae testantur; haec me convenit flagitare (ne sit arrogans quod affirmo) splendore virtutumque insignium serie, vetustis regibus antistantem. Sed ubique mihi cordi est recta ratio*[9]*, cui coalitus ab adulescentia prima, nihil umquam paenitendum admisi. Ideoque Armeniam recuperare cum Mesopotamia debeo, avo meo composita fraude praereptam. Illud apud nos numquam in acceptum feretur, quod asseritis vos exsultantes, nullo discrimine virtutis ac doli, prosperos omnes laudari debere bellorum eventus.*

"that my forefathers' empire reached as far as the river Strymon and the boundaries of Macedonia even your own ancient records bear witness; these lands it is fitting that I should demand, since (and may what I say not seem arrogant) I surpass the kings of old in magnificence and array of conspicuous virtues. But at all times right reason is dear to me, and, trained in it from my earliest youth, I have never allowed myself to do anything which I had cause to repent. Thus, I am bound to recover **Armenia and Mesopotamia**, which through fabricated deceit was wrested from my grandfather. That (view) shall never be brought to acceptance among us which you exultantly maintain, that without distinction between virtue and deceit all successful outcomes of war should be praised."

[7] On Ammianus Marcellinus (A.M.) in general, see Matthews, *Roman Empire of Ammianus*, and Barnes, *Historical Reality*. On A.M.'s sources, see Thomson, *Historical Work*, 20–41, especially 39–40, where the author not only underlines the diversity of sources A.M. worked into his narrative, but also the excellence and accuracy of his *historiae*: "he [A.M.] used a complex variety of sources . . . [b]ut these sources supplied him only with isolated facts and incidents, not with a steady stream of detailed and accurate historical knowledge which merely required of our historian that he should excerpt, adapt, and weld it into a unity. The basis of his narrative was supplied by his own notes and by the information which he so painstakingly extracted from a multitude of informants." See also the exhaustive study of Sabbah, *Méthode*, 115–239 and 65–111, the recent survey of Rosen, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, 52–86; and Szidat, "Ammian und historische Realität," 112–116. On the sources of Julian's Persian expedition and the Persian excursus, see Dillemann, "Ammien Marcellin," 87–158; also Brok, "Exkurs über Persien," 47–56. See also Fornara, "Studies II," 420–438; Barnes, "Ammianus Marcellinus," 55–70; Matthews, *Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 161–179; Smith, "Telling Tales," 89–104; and Teitler, "Visa vel lecta," 216–223. See also Straub, "*aemuli imperii*," 37–40. On the sources of the lost books of A.M., see Rohrbacher, "Sources," 106–124; see also the recent study by Kelly, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, 222–255, in particular 225–230, wherein the author, based upon the example of a no longer extant inscription on Constantius II's obelisk, to which A.M. alludes, shows the latter's ability subtly to manipulate his sources to express his own design. For a succinct and compact review of A.M.'s perception of the Sasanian empire and Persians, see Drijvers, "Image," 45–69; most recently, see Hartmann, "Literarische Quellen," 20, with additional bibliography.

Various elements in the letter ascribed to Šābuhr II seem to reflect an Iranian tradition, for they represent some similarities with expressions encountered in royal Iranian inscriptions.[10] Consequently, these similarities, if substantiated, could confer some measure of authenticity to Ammianus Marcellinus' report.[11] One should keep in mind, however, that the report, although having an Iranian core, must have been subjected to the author's interpretation and hence been transformed. Among the similarities with royal Iranian inscriptions are the following: Šābuhr II's description of his personal virtues can be compared with king Dareios I's self-portrayal in his inscription at *Naqš-e Rostam* (DNb)[12]. Šābuhr II's alleged confession that right reason (*recta ratio*) lies at his heart coincides remarkably with Dareios' statement that he strives only for what is right

[8] *Imperium* is an emendation of Clark's, ed., *libri*, 114, followed by the edition of John Rolfe, ed., *libri*, vol. I, 334. Subsequent editions, such as those of Sabbah, ed., *Ammien Marcellin*, vol. II, 52, and Seyfarth, ed., *libri*, vol. I, 112, have omitted *imperium*.

[9] The reading *recta ratio* is a conjecture based upon the editions of Wagner and Erfurdt, eds., *Ammiani Marcellini quae supersunt*, and Rolfe, ed., *libri*, 334. The edition of Clark, ed., *libri*, 114, as well as the more recent editions of Sabbah, ed., *Ammien Marcellin*, vol. II, 53 and Seyfarth, ed., *libri*, vol. I, 112, read, on the basis of the *Codex Fuldensis* (V), *recordatio* for *recta ratio*.

[10] Already Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 237–238, had recognized some striking similarities between the titulature of Šābuhr II, as reported by A.M., and the official titulature of Sasanian kings in their inscriptions, as well as the titles attributed to Sasanian kings by Armenian authors. According to A.M., Šābuhr II calls himself: *Rex Regum Sapor, particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunae* . . . "(I) Sapor, King of Kings, partner of the Stars, brother of the Sun and Moon . . .," which resembles the titulature of Šābuhr II in an alleged letter to Tiran, as reported by Moses Khorenats'i: "the most valiant of the Mazdaeans [*Mazdezants'k'aj*], the equal of the sun [*bardzakits' arekagan*], Shapuh, king of kings . . ."; see Thomson, ed., *Moses Khorenats'i*, 271, nn. 4–5. Also Winter, "Legitimität als Herrschaftsprinzip," 73–75. Compare for a diverging view Huyse, "Vorbemerkungen," 92: "Die Phantasie wird wirklich in höchstem Maße gefordert, um den Titel *Rex regum Sapor, particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunae* auch nur annäherend mit der offiziellen Titulatur vergleichen zu wollen, wie wir sie aus der sāsānidischen Staatsinschriften kennen"; see also Huyse, "Königstitulatur," 198. Of interest also are the Middle Persian titles attributed to Šābuhr II by Persian troops during the siege of Amida, as reported by A.M. (19, 2, 11), namely "saansaan" and "pirosen" which A.M. translates respectively as *rex regibus imperans* and *bellorum victor*, that is, Middle Persian *šāhān šāh* "king of kings" and *pērōz* "victor." See also Huyse, "Vorbemerkungen," 90–91.

[11] In his (above-mentioned) recent article, Huyse has thoroughly re-examined the tenor of Šābuhr II's letter to the Roman Caesar as reported by A.M. Although I agree with Huyse's conclusions that the introduction (17.5.3–4), the opening of the main part starting with the extent of Šābuhr's territorial revendication *ad usque Strymona flumen et Macedonicos fines* to *vetustis regibus antistantem* (17.5.5), and probably the entire conclusion beginning with *postremo* (17.5.7) do not contain much "echt Persisches" and are literary fabrications to be attributed to A.M. himself, I, nonetheless, think that—aside from the *Sprachgut* Huyse has shown to derive from Middle Persian—most of the main part from *sed ubique mihi cordi est* to *laudari debere bellorum eventus* (17.5.5–6) is based upon Iranian material, as the comparison of the aforesaid passage with the content of Iranian inscriptions clearly demonstrates. See Huyse, "Vorbemerkungen," 91–93.

[12] DNb is cited after the recent edition of Schmitt, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, 33–44; for the analogous inscription of Xerxes at Persepolis (XP1) compare Schmitt, "Epigraphisch-exegetische Probleme," 15–23.

(*taya rāstam*). Also, when, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, Šābuhr II states that he has never committed an act he had reason to regret (*nihil umquam paenitendum admisi*), he clearly means he is closely in control of himself and hence possesses supreme confidence in his actions, which recalls Dareios' assertion that he is in full control of himself by virtue of his mental force (*manahā ʰuvaipaišiyahạyā xšayamna dʰmiy*):

	[DNb, 11–12, 13–15]
sed ubique mihi cordi est recta ratio, cui coalitus ab adulescentia prima, nihil umquam paenitendum admisi.	*taya (rā)stam ava mām kāma . . . [yac](i)-maiy [p]ạrtanayā bavatiy dạršam dā(r)ayāmiy (ma)na[h]ā ʰuvaipai[š]i-yahạ-yā dạrša[m] xšayamna dʰmiy.*
"but at all times right (straight) reason is dear to me, and trained in it from my earliest youth, I have never allowed myself to do anything which I had cause to repent."	"what is right (straight) is my desire . . . " "whatever happens to me in a fight, I hold on[13], by my mind I am strongly in control of myself."

Another striking similarity is between the reasons asserted by Šābuhr I before launching his second campaign and those advanced by Šābuhr II to justify his demands over Armenia and Mesopotamia, which, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, Šābuhr II claimed were wrested from his grandfather (*avus*).[14] Šābuhr I's denunciation of the Roman Caesar as *deceitful*, that is, given to *deceit* (Pth. *drōy* / MP. *drō*), with respect to the Armenian question, is indeed comparable to the wrong of which Šābuhr II accuses the Romans in his claim over Armenia and Mesopotamia: he blames the Romans of having seized these territories through deceit (*fraus*):

Ideoque Armeniam recuperare cum Mesopotamia debeo, avo meo composita fraude praereptam.	*ud Kēsar bid drūxt (drōžad) ō Armin winās kerd [ud amāh] abar Frōmāyān šahr wihišt ahēm.*
"thus, I am bound to recover Armenia and Mesopotamia, which through fabricated deceit was wrested from my grandfather."	"and the Caesar lied again, he did wrong to Armenia, and We moved into the Roman empire."

[13] For the interpretation of *partanayā* as the locative singular in *-ịā* of *pạrtana-* "fight; battle," see Schmitt, "Epigraphisch-exegetische Probleme," 21–22.

[14] The grandfather (*avus*) is Narseh who in 296–297 suffered a defeat by the Caesar Galerius acting on the orders of the Augustus Diocletian. In the following peace treaty of Nisibis (297–298) between the Sasanian empire and Rome, Narseh gave up five Armenian provinces, as well as the suzereinty over Iberia; see Chaumont, *Recherches*, 113–129; Enßlin, "Zur Ostpolitik," 44–51; Winter, *Friedensverträge*, 152–215; Ziegler, *Beziehungen*, 144–146. Of interest is also the parallel between the terms *avus* and *niyāg* < **ni-áva-ka-*.

The accusation of *deceit* is followed by a fundamental distinction between the concept of *good* and *evil* among Romans and Persians. More specifically, Romans are denounced for their approval of all successful outcomes of war without distinguishing rectitude from deceit (*nullo discrimine virtutis ac doli*), that is, without any concern for the cause of the war, whether it arose from an evil act, or not. Thus, Šābuhr II seems to blame the Romans for not making a distinction—inherent in his own moral conceptions—between *good*, rendered by *virtus*, and *evil*, expressed by *dolus*, a deficiency that would never find acceptance among his Persians (*illud apud nos numquam acceptum feretur*).[15]

The well-known distinction between *good* and *evil* that dominates Iranian moral conceptions is also reflected in DNb, which is illustrated in the following next to Šābuhr II's allegation:

	[DNb, 6–8]
*Illud apud nos numquam in acceptum feretur, quod asseritis vos exsultantes, **nullo discrimine virtutis ac doli**, prosperos omnes laudari debere bellorum eventus.*	*av(ā)karam d^{h}miy taya rāstam dau[št]ā d^{h}miy miθa na[i]y daušta d^{h}miy.*
"That (view) shall never be brought to acceptance among us which you exultantly maintain, that **without distinction between virtue and deceit** all successful outcomes of war should be praised."	"I am thus made that **I am friend to right and not friend to wrong.**"

Thus we see that, although there is good reason to believe that the letter attributed to Šābuhr II is partly based upon genuine Iranian material,[16]

[15] See Pighi, *Nuovi studi ammianei*, 187: "ossia: che la morale non ha che fare con la vittoria, che ha ragione chi ha vinto.—Predicava bene, il divino Šāhpuhr, con la logica mistica e la mentalità puritana del mazdeismo."

[16] The authenticity of Ammianus Marcellinus' alleged letter of Šābuhr II has been variously assessed. Pighi, *Nuovi studi ammianei*, 187–188 suggests that A.M. was able to reproduce correctly the tenor of Šābuhr II's letter: "l'insistenza sul . . . non lascia alcun dubbio che Ammiano non abbia esattamente riprodotto il *pensiero* [my italics] di Šāpuhr"; Rosen, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, 64, shares Pighi's opinion. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 237–238 and Laistner, *Great Roman Historians*, 149, think that A.M.'s rendition of Šābuhr II's letter was probably based upon genuine Iranian material. Matthews, *Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 39–40, 485, n. 12, and "Ammianus and Eastern Frontier," 557–558, 563, argue that the letter represented the general tenor of exchanged messages between Šābuhr II and Constantius II: "Constantius and Sapor had exchanged messages, conveyed by Ammianus in two documents, which he does not claim to represent more than the general purport of the messages—that is to say they are legitimate inventions for a historian to offer"; "Ammianus and Eastern Frontier," 557–558. Along the same line is the position of Winter and Dignas, *Rom und Perserreich*, 83–84: "Dennoch ist nicht auszuschließen, daß in dem Schreiben des Sāsānidenkönigs tatsächlich die Formulierung *ad usque flumen et Macedonicos fines* gestanden

there is also good reason to believe that the limits allegedly vindicated by Šābuhr II, that is, the river Strymon and the boundaries of Macedonia (*ad usque Strymona flumen et Macedonicos fines*) are merely literary fabrication.[17] For, the only territories that Šābuhr II revendicates in his letter to Constantius from Rome are Mesopotamia and Armenia, that is, the territories lost by his grandfather Narseh, a fact that is further corroborated by Constantius' response to Šābuhr II: *Mesopotamiam poscis ut tuam perindeque Armeniam* "you request Mesopotamia as your own, just as Armenia," without any reference to the river Strymon and the boundaries of Macedonia.[18]

The comparison of the classical sources with ŠKZ, which together cover the periods extending from Ardaxšīr to Šābuhr II, suggest that the extent of early Sasanian territorial revendications were limited to Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilicia, Armenia, and Cappadocia. Under Ardaxšīr, according to Cassius Dio and Herodian, Mesopotamia and Syria were threatened; under Šābuhr I, according to ŠKZ, it was the Armenian problem that led to the Persian offensive concentrating on Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilicia, Armenia, and Cappadocia; and, finally, under Šābuhr II, once again the operations revolved around Mesopotamia and Armenia. In all classical accounts, the notion of re-conquest of lost ancient (Achaemenid) territories serves as an attempt to explain the Sasanian offensive that never transgressed the boundaries of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Armenia in the early empire.[19] Consequently, the Achaemenid boundaries claimed by Ardaxšīr and Šābuhr II in Ammianus Marcellinus' narrative could have been merely literary *topoi*.[20] It is in this light that I want to discuss

hat. In den bei Ammianus Marcellinus überlieferten Forderungen Šāpūrs II. lediglich eine 'literarische Reminiszenz' zu sehen, hieße dem Werk wie dem Anliegen dieses Authors, dem ein hohes Maß an Vertrauenswürdigkeit zugebelligt werden muß, Unrecht tun." In contrast, Thomson, *Historical Work*, 36, Wirth, "Rom, Parther und Sassaniden," 312, n. 17, and Kettenhoffen, "Einforderung," 183–184, seem seriously to doubt the reliability of the letter attributed to Šābuhr II by A.M. Compare also de Jonge, *Commentary*, 134–144.

17 See also Kettenhoffen, "Einforderung," 190 and Huyse, "Vorbemerkungen," 93.

18 Amm. Marc. 17, 5, 11. See also the testimony of Zonaras (13.9.25) on the extent of territorial claims: "*τῷ μέντοι Κωνσταντίῳ ἀναζευγνύντι ἀπὸ τῶν ἑσπερίων καὶ ἐπανιόντι πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐξ τῶν Περσῶν πρέσβεις περὶ τὸ Σίρμιον συνηντήκασιν ἐσταλμένοι παρὰ Σαπώρου ἀπαιτοῦντος ἀποδοθῆναι Πέρσαις τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν ἵν' οὕτω παύσαιντο Ῥωμαίοις μαχόμενοι· ταύτας γὰρ τὰς χώρας ἀνέκαθεν ἐκ προγόνων αὐτοῖς διαφέρειν.*" See also Libanios, *Ep.* 35.3.

19 See also Mosig-Walburg, *Römer und Perser*, 326.

20 In a relatively recent article Frendo considers the more extended territorial claim (*ad usque Strymona flumen et Macedonicus fines*) earlier in the letter attributed by A.M. to Šābuhr II to be

whether the Achaemenid reception was an *interpretatio romana*, as suggested by Kettenhoffen.

identical with that attributed by Dio to Ardaxšīr. But, Frendo sees in Šābuhr II's more precise claim over Mesopotamia and Armenia (*Armeniam recuperare cum Mesopotamia debeo*) later in the same letter a "tacit concession to a radically altered reality," a "waiver, made over a century and a quarter after Ardashir's triumphant promise 'to recover everything that the ancient Persians once held as far as the Greek Sea' and twenty-seven years before the foundation of Constantinople." Although I agree that "the territorial claim attributed by A.M. to Shapur II is in fact much more the same as that attributed by Dio to Ardashir," I do so on other grounds. The agreement between the two classical authors results in my opinion from the perpetuation of a *literary topos* that I shall discuss below and which found its way into A.M.'s narrative. Šābuhr II's limited claim, *merely* over Mesopotamia and Armenia, which Frendo sees as a waiver in comparison to earlier revendication, had probably always been the extent of Persian territorial claims in the early empire. That this limited claim is reflected in A.M.'s account and not in the work of Dio is due to the fact that it presumably derived from a genuine Sasanian official document that A.M. had worked into his narrative, rather than a waiver of former revendication. See Frendo, "Sasanian Irredentism," 61.

CHAPTER 3

Arsacids and Sasanians

1. INTRODUCTION

Among the main conjectures for an Achaemenid revival under the Arsacids,[1] which, if substantiated, could support the historicity of a comparable phenomenon under the Sasanians, is a well-known passage of Tacitus according to whom, following the death of the Armenian king in 35 CE, the Arsacid king Ardawān II (*Artabanus*) placed his son Aršak (*Arsaces*) on the vacant throne of Armenia, confident that Tiberius, the Roman Caesar, would not interfere in the Armenian affairs because of his old age. Tacitus reports that Ardawān II justified his hostile act vis-à-vis Rome as follows:

[Tac. *Ann.* 6.31]
is [Artabanus] metu Germanici fidus Romanis, aequabilis in suos, mox superbiam in nos, saevitiam in populares sumpsit, fretus bellis, quae secunda adversum circumiectas nationes exercuerat, et senectutem Tiberii ut inermem despiciens avidusque Armeniae, cui defuncto rege Artaxia Arsacen liberorum suorum veterrimum inposuit, addita contumelia et missis, qui gazam a Vonone relictam in Syria Ciliciaque reposcerent; simul veteres Persorum ac Macedonum terminos, seque invasurum possessa primum Cyro et post Alexandro per vaniloquentiam ac minas iaciebat.

"He [Artabanus], faithful to Romans (and) equitable to his own (subjects) while in fear of Germanicus, soon assumed (an attitude of) haughtiness toward us and (of) fierceness toward (his) people, relying upon the wars that he had favorably carried out against surrounding nations and disdaining the old age of Tiberius as if defenseless, and longing eagerly for Armenia, installed the eldest of his sons, Arsaces, (on the throne of Armenia) after the death of its king, Artaxias, adding insult to injury by sending emissaries to claim back that, which was left behind by Vonones in

[1] For an extensive survey of indices exhibiting Arsacid knowledge of the Achaemenids, see Wiesehöfer, "Gebete," 112–113; on the above passage, see Wiesehöfer, *Iraniens, Grecs et Romains*, 120; see also the excellent study by Fowler, "Most Fortunate Roots," 125–155, in particular, 151: "[t]he Achaemenid strand in Arsacid royal imagery is present and significant, but not in my view central."

> Syria and Cilicia. At the same time he threw vain talk and menaces with respect to **the old boundaries of the Persians and the Macedonians** and (saying) that he would seize **what was held first by Cyrus and afterwards by Alexander.**"

The striking similarity between the political *leitmotiv* attributed by Tacitus to Ardawān II and those attributed to Ardaxšīr and Šābuhr II by Dio/Herodian and Ammianus could suggest at first glance that the Arsacids sought to enliven Achaemenid traditions and were followed in this endeavor by the Sasanians.[2] But, such an assumption stands or falls with the validity of the classical testimonies.[3] We must, therefore, inquire whether this alleged Achaemenid revival was a figment of Roman literary tradition or represented a historical reality that Roman *literati* had faithfully preserved; in other words, whether the apparent re-emergence of an "Achaemenid program" under the early Sasanians was due to the endurance of Achaemenid reminiscences on Iranian soil or due to the perseverance of Roman literary themes.

Prima facie, the following three scenarios seem possible: (1) the testimonies of classical authors asserting an Achaemenid revival under the early Arsacids and Sasanians are all true, (2) they are true for the Arsacids, but not the Sasanians, or (3) they are all untrue.

(1) The first possibility is to assume that the classical texts truthfully reflect an Achaemenid revival that originated under the Arsacids, possibly already prior to the reign of Ardawān II, and was subsequently pursued by the Sasanians.

(2) The second possibility is that an "Achaemenid program" existed under the Arsacids and was duly acknowledged by Roman historians, but, as the early Sasanians for reasons inherent to the exigency of Sasanian foreign policy initiated an aggressive Western policy, Roman *literati*, confronted with events that were reminiscent of the Arsacid expansionism, had recourse to the rationale that Roman historiography had provided to account for the Arsacid incursions in the past. Thus, a rationale that might

[2] See Wiesehöfer, "Iranische Ansprüche," 177–181; "King of Kings," 59; "Orodes," 714; "Sklaven des Kaisers," 296; "War, Peace, and Reconciliation," 128; also Panitschek, "Achaemenidennachfolge," 459–461; and numerous publications by Wolski, notably: "Monarchies hellénistiques," 373–379; "Alexandre et l'Iran," 8–9; "Roi des Rois," 15; "Alexandre le Grand," 108–109; "L'époque parthe," 53–55; and *L'empire*, 152–160; see also Dąbrowa, *Politique*, 103–117, and more recently, Wheeler, "*Völkerrecht* or Power Politics," 288–289.

[3] Similarly Panitschek, "Achaemenidennachfolge," 461.

have been a historical reality for the Arsacids could have been reduced by the time of the early Sasanians to a mere literary *topos*.

(3) As to the third scenario, it is conceivable that far from reflecting a historical reality, the alleged Achaemenid revival (under Ardawān II and Ardaxšīr) was the Roman interpretation of Iranian Western policy. In other words, the notion of the Arsacids and the Sasanians emulating the Achaemenids could have existed as the projection of the *Greco-Roman* historical and cultural continuity onto the history of Iran.

II. THREE CRITERIA FOR ASSUMING AN ARSACID "ACHAEMENID PROGRAM"

Since the assessment of the validity or fallacy of the alleged "Achaemenid Program" under the early Arsacids decisively determines the path of this investigation, we shall begin the discussion by scrutinizing the reported Achaemenid political revival under the Arsacids. In recent scholarship we mainly find three arguments for the existence of an "Achaemenid program" under the early Arsacids, which we shall discuss in some detail below:[4] (A) the introduction of the title of "king of kings" under Mihrdād II, (B) the large-scale invasion of Asia Minor under Urūd II, and (C) Tacitus' account of Ardawān II's political claim to the Achaemenid heritage.

(A) The Achaemenid title "king of kings" under the Arsacids

The use of the Achaemenid title *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων* "king of kings" as part of the Arsacid royal titulature was instituted under Mihrdād (*Mithradates*) II (mid 125?–fall/winter? 91), although segments of scholarship have continued to attribute the introduction of the imperial title to Mihrdād I (171?–early 133? BCE).[5] The immediate successors of Mihrdād I, namely, Frahād (*Phraates*) II (early 133?–mid? 127)[6] and Ardawān (*Artabanos*) I

[4] For an overview of these arguments, see Wolski, "Roi des Rois," 15–18; "L'époque parthe," 53–54; and *L'empire*, 81; also Wiesehöfer, "Iranische Ansprüche," 177–178; "King of Kings," 59; also Winter, *Friedensverträge*, 28–31. For a recent discussion of the royal titulature of the Arsacids as a token of their embracing the Achaemenid ideology, see Fowler, "Most Fortunate Roots," 141–143.

[5] For Mihrdād I's and Mihrdād II's royal titulatures on coinage, see Sellwood, "Parthian Coins," 281–282 and 283–285; *Introduction*, 29–43 and 63–84; see also Le Rider, *Suse*, 78–79, 153–154, 192, 195–196; also 312–324, 340–345, 361–376; and 85–92, 193–194, 386–394.

[6] On Frahād II's titulature and other royal epithets, see Sellwood, "Parthian Coins," 282–283; *Introduction*, 44–53; and Le Rider, *Suse*, 79–81, 83; 316, 366, 383–384.

(mid? 127–mid? 125)[7], carried the title of βασιλεὺς μεγάλος "great king" that Mihrdād I had introduced following his Median conquest.[8] Similarly, Mihrdād II's immediate successors—who have tradionally been viewed as his contemporaneous contestant(s)—that is, Gōdarz I (*Gotarzes*; fall/winter? 91–*ante* early spring 79) and possibly Urūd (*Orodes*) I (early spring 79–winter 76/75 [*terminus a quo*]), as well as Mihrdād II's other successors Sinatruces (*post* winter 76/75–spring 69?) and Frahād III (*post* spring 69?–58/7?) refrained from using the imperial title "king of kings" on their coins, but used the title "great king."[9] We have to wait until the accession of Mihrdād III (58/7?–55?) and Urūd II (58/7?–39/38?) for the imperial title to be used again on Arsacid coinage.[10]

Babylonian cuneiform tablets from the Arsacid period reveal a slightly different picture.[11] Under the reign of Mihrdād II, there is unequivocal evidence that the Achaemenid title "king of kings" (*šar šarrāni*) was adopted by Arsacid rulers.[12] Among Mihrdād II's successors up to the reign of Frahād IV (39/38? BCE–3/2? CE), under whom the last extant datable tablet was composed, only three other Arsacid sovereigns made use of the imperial title: Urūd I, Frahād III, and Frahād IV.[13]

Thus, we may observe that the use of the imperial title by Arsacid rulers on coinage did not always concur with its use on Babylonian cuneiform tablets, except for Mihrdād II and Frahād IV.[14]

How is this discrepancy to be explained?[15] The simplest explanation may be that, while the royal titulature on the Arsacid coinage reflected the various articulations of the royal ideology in response to historical change, the royal titulature as expressed in cuneiform tablets was equally tributary to the patterns of the Babylonian literary tradition(s), which had survived in spite of Achaemenid, Seleucid, and Arsacid dominations.[16]

[7] On the coin legends of Ardawān I see Sellwood, "Parthian Coins," 283; *Introduction*, 56–61; and Le Rider, *Suse*, 84–85; 366.

[8] See Le Rider, *Suse*, 317, 345.

[9] See below, table 11.

[10] See below, table 11.

[11] For more general and recent surveys of the cuneiform documents under Seleucid and Arsacid rule, see Oelsner, *Materialien*, 43–69; Del Monte, *Testi*; and Boiy, *Babylon*, 165–192.

[12] See below, table 11.

[13] See below, table 11.

[14] See below, table 11.

[15] See Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 38.

[16] On the continuity of Babylonian literary and cultural traditions under the Seleucid, see the recent studies of Kuhrt, "Seleucid Kings," 41–54, especially 43; "Berossus' *Babyloniaka*," 32–56, particularly 48–52; also Sherwin-White, "Seleucid Babylonia," 1–31, especially 22–31; also Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkand to Sardis*, 149–161, and 184–187; Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, "Seleucid Ideology," 71–86; "Transitions," 311–327. See also Oelsner, "Kontinuität und Wandel," 101–116,

The Babylonian cuneiform tablets show that the standard formula for the Arsacid kings consisted of the dynastic name "Aršak" followed by the title *šarru* "king": *Aršakâ šarru* "Aršak king."[17] During the rule of Frahād II, Mihrdād I's son, we can also find the standard Babylonian titulature *šar mātāti* "king of the lands."[18] Although this title occasionally occurred in the Seleucid period,[19] it was only attested once for the Arsacid period, namely under Frahād II.[20] Following his accession, in mid? 125, Mihrdād II was simply called *šarru* "king."[21] It was sometime during the span of time extending from March to August III BCE, that is, over a decade after Mihrdād II's accession, that the title *šar šarrāni* "king of kings" was first introduced,[22] and was to be subsequently employed exclusively until, at

especially 114–116. More recently, see the survey by Wiesehöfer, "Discordia et Defectio," 29–56. For the intriguing role of the Greek alphabet as a possible vehicle, next to the cuneiform, for the "Tradierung der akkadischen (und summerischen) Sprache und Literatur," see Oelsner, "Graeco-Babylonianca," 356–364, Westenholz, "Greco-Babylonianca Again," 202–313.

17 See Oelsner, "Königstitulaturen," 263.

18 See below, table II.

19 See Oelsner, "Königstitulaturen," 268–269. On Antiochus I's titles, notably *šar mātāti* on his foundation cylinder from Borsippa, see Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, "Seleucid Ideology," 71–86, especially 78–81 and 85–86. See also Olmstead, "Cuneiform Texts," 7.

20 See below, table II.

21 See Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 35–37; *Materialien*, 275–276. See also below, table II.

22 Some scholars have considered the adoption of the imperial titulature of "king of kings" as the work of Mihrdād I; so already Breccia, "Mithridate I," 39–54, especially 41–42, n. 1; Harmatta, "Parthia and Elymais," 202; Wiesehöfer, "Iranische Ansprüche," 178, and again in "King of Kings," 59–60; although the latter has since rejected his prior positions, compare Wiesehöfer, "Gebete," 113, n. 11; see also Wolski in numerous publications, notably "Roi des Rois," 16–17, and *L'Empire*, 81, n. 9. The arguments are based upon two premises: (1) the attribution to Mihrdād I of a cuneiform tablet bearing the title of *šar šarrāni* "king of kings," which had been edited already by Strassmaier, "Arsaciden Inschriften," 130; and (2) the discovery of a badly damaged Parthian inscription on the Arsacid relief of *Xong-e Nōrūzī* in Elymais, which Harmatta, "Parthia and Elymais," 200–201, had reconstructed as: m[t]rdt ML[KYN MLKA] "Mithradates[I], king of kings." However, (1) there is no reason to ascribe the cuneiform tablet to Mihrdād I, for whom the title of "king of kings" is not otherwise attested on cuneiform documents; the tablet may well have belonged to the reign of Mihrdād II, from which time numerous tablets bearing the title of "king of kings" are known; similarly already Strassmaier, "Chronologie der Seleuciden," 111–112; Minns, "Parchments," 36, n. 35; more recently Oelsner, "Königstitulaturen," 270–71, n. 30. Lately, however, Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –140 C upper edge 1 (= 152–153), have proposed the reconstruction [1]*Ar-šá-ka-a* LUGAL LU[GAL^{meš}] "Arsaces, king of kings," for the diary belonging to Mihrdād I's reign, and dated 3/4.xii.140–31.i/1.ii.139 BCE (= ix–x.171 SE), thereby suggesting that already Mihrdād I used the imperial title of "king of kings"; they are followed in this interpretation by Del Monte, *Testi*, 244–245. However, as highlighted by van der Spek, "New Evidence," 173, n. 28, and "Raḥiemesu," 212, a new collation by Mark Geller (personal communication to van der Spek) has revealed that the reading LU[GAL^{meš}] was impossible; instead van der Spek proposes the reading LUGAL KUR.[KUR^{meš}]. The oldest unequivocal records of the title of "king of kings" thus would be in the diary no. –110 'rev.' 1′ (= 346–347), dated to 6/7.viii–5/6.x.111 BCE (= v–vi.201 SE), as well as in the Goal Year text no. 93 flake 3′, dated to the years 112–111 BCE (= 200 SE); see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. VI, no. 93 flake 3′ (= 360–361). But although Hunger and Sachs, *Astronomical Diaries*, 348, indicates that the diary no. -110 'rev.' 1′ is probably the earliest

least, mid 91. Simultaneous to its occurrence on cuneiform tablets in spring or summer 111, the imperial title of "king of kings" also made its appearance on coinage.[23]

Thus, it is worth asking whether the revival by the Arsacids of the old Achaemenid title of "king of kings," almost a decade following the conquest of Mesopotamia, was in fact attributable to Babylonian scribal practices,[24] who, due to the vigor and continuity of the Babylonian cultural and literary tradition, were able to draw upon their past to qualify the *Iranian* dynasty of the Arsacids with the imperial title of their ancestors; or

attestation of the title "king of kings" in cuneiform documents: "[i]f correctly restored, this is the earliest occurrence of the title 'king of kings,'" it seems, relying on the opinion of another scholar, to ignore this early attestion, and doubt the validity of the Goal Year text no. 93 flake 3′ dated only one year earlier (200 SE): "[h]owever, the title 'king of kings' is not attested before SE 203; in SE 201, the title is still attested as 'king' only." Prior to the publication of the aforementioned diary dated to August/September 111 BCE, the oldest known occurrence of the title of "king of kings" was recorded for the year 108/7 BCE (= 204 SE), see Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 35–37; and *Materialien*, 275–276, and 311, n. 116. As for Harmatta's reading of the Parthian inscription (2), one must admit that unless reliable pictures are published that would permit one to verify the latter's proposals, it is difficult to venture any judgment on them; it certainly does not help Harmatta's cause that Vanden Berghe, after repeated visits to the site, already in his initial publication mentioned that the inscription was irremediably illegible: "sous la patte avancée du cheval se trouvait peut-être une courte inscription, mais qui serait aujourd'hui *totalement deteriorée* [italics mine]"; see Vanden Berghe, "Hun-i Naurūzi," 155–168. This opinion he reiterated in his last publication on the subject, in which he seems to disagree with Harmatta's conclusions; see Vanden Berghe and Schippmann, *Reliefs rupestres d'Elymaïde*, 32–38 and 89–92. See further De Waele, "Sculpture rupestre d'Elymaïde," 61, n. 2; Kawami, *Monumental Art*, 123: "[i]n the absence of inscriptions. . .the approximate date of Hung-e Azhdar relief may be deduced from the relief itself"; also Mathiesen, *Sculpture*, vol. I, 121, n. 4; also Invernizzi, "Hung-e Azhdar," 231, n. 37: "the presence of an inscription—or at least any legible inscription—must be considered unlikely." See most recently Haruta, "Inscriptions from Khūzestān," 473, who on two subsequent visits to the relief's site in the springs of 2000 and 2003, was unable to read the inscription: "though I could recognize the traces of the heavily damaged inscription, I could manage to read only one letter {m} in the second (?) line on the surface under the left foreleg of the horse of the rider. Thus, I think that we can reject Harmatta's 'reading'; one of the earliest attestations of the title 'king of kings' in the Parthian period also fades away." All of this makes us skeptical of Harmatta's reading and restoration and renders the inscription useless for scholarly purposes.

[23] Le Rider calculated the approximate year 110/109 for the introduction of the imperial title, although acquiescing to the fact that in the absence of any concrete dates on most Arsacid coinage, hard chronological evidence could only be provided by Babylonian documents, of which the earliest record of the title of "king of kings" used to belong to the year 110/109: "[t]rois ans plus tard, vers 109/108, apparaît la légende Βασιλέως Βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου . . . [c]es dates ne sont qu'approximatives (à une ou même deux années près), puisque nous les avons obtenues d'une part en plaçant peut-être arbitrairement la première émission de Mithridate II en 123/2, d'autre part en les calculant comme si nous connaissions toutes les séries susiennes de ce souverain. Toutefois la datation à laquelle nous avons provisoirement abouti n'est pas pour l'instant infirmé par le témoignage des tablettes cunéiformes. Dans ces textes, en effet, on trouve encore en 110/109 la simple mention d'"Arsace Roi'; aucun d'entre eux n'est explicite sur ce point pour l'année 109/8, mais on rencontre en 108/7 la formule 'Arsace Roi des Rois.'" See Le Rider, *Suse*, 389–390.

[24] On the identity of the *literati*, see Sherwin-White, "Seleucid Babylonia," 28; Oelsner, *Materialien*, 47; also McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 15–24, and concluding remarks on 183–190.

whether the introduction of the imperial title on coinage and Babylonian documents emanated, without any noticeable Babylonian bearing, from the sole will of the Arsacid state to affirm its political supremacy and subscription to the Achaemenid idea.

Indeed, the endurance of the Akkadian language and written literary tradition carrying forth a glimpse of the vestiges of Achaemenid culture, makes Babylonia a likely candidate for the renewal of the old Achaemenid title. Similarly to what happened in Seleucid Babylonia, where Mesopotamian traditions mingled with Macedonian elements continued to shape the Seleucid royal titulature with expressions of kingship particular to the Babylonian (Babylonian-Achaemenid) tradition(s), such as *šarru rabû* "great king," *šar mātāti* "king of the lands," and even *šar kiššati* "king of the world,"[25] it is conceivable that consequent upon the conquest of Babylonia by a new *Iranian* dynasty, the old Achaemenid title of "king of kings," which was consciously avoided by the Seleucids, may have been re-introduced by the intermediary of Babylonian scribes once more to designate the sovereign power.

The facts that on cuneiform tablets of the Arsacid period, the Babylonian title of "king of the lands" was used next to the old Achaemenid title of "king of kings" and that the titulature of the tablets did not always concur with that of the coins could suggest that the cuneiform literary tradition not only resurrected and inextricably blended Achaemenid elements with Mesopotamian ones, but also operated with some measure of (literary) freedom. The independent use of the imperial titulature in Babylonian tablets, in my opinion, renders the hypothesis of a Babylonian origin for the revival of the old Achaemenid title more likely.

(1) The evolution of the title "king of kings"

At first glance, there are several problems that can seriously imperil, if ever substantiated, the hypothesis of a Babylonian inspired revival of the title of "king of kings" under the Arsacids.

First, assuming that the Achaemenid title "king of kings" was consciously re-introduced by Babylonian scribes to mark the emergence of a new Iranian dynasty presupposes that the use of the selfsame title was already attested in Babylonian documents of the Achaemenid period.

[25] See Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, "Seleucid Ideology," 78–79. See also the pertinent remark by Funck, "König Perserfreund," 208: "[d]er Bereich der iranischen Kultur erschließt sich eher über indirekte Quellenbelege, ist also für die Frage des Selbstverständnisses der Seleukiden als Nachfolger der Achämeniden nur mittelbar bzw. in Parallelschluß mit dem babylonischen Material nutzbar."

However, although the title "king of kings" is well known from the Achaemenid inscriptions, it never occurs in Babylonian economic documents and the *Astronomical Diaries* of the Achaemenid period, for which the titles *šar mātāti* "king of the lands" and *šarru* "king" are the norm. Hence the need to demonstrate upon what the Babylonian scribes, if indeed responsible for the resuscitation of the imperial title, have drawn, should their own literary tradition not offer any evidence for the use of the title of "king of kings" for their Iranian suzerain.

Second, having discussed the possible Achaemenid *Vorlage* for the introduction of the imperial title in Arsacid Babylonia, we shall subsequently proceed with identifying the historical and ideological rationale for the title's appearance under Mihrdād II in the spring or summer of the year 111. The publication of the *Diaries*, however, having profoundly altered our view of Arsacid history, which at the very least ought to be reconsidered in light of their testimonies for their entire span, that is, from 12/13.iv.141, date of Mihrdād I's first attestation in Babylonia, to the year 7/6, date of the last extant Arsacid cuneiform tablet—pertaining to the rule of Frahād IV—it behooves us to provide such a survey of the Arsacid history, prior to setting forth our line of inquiry.

Third, by conceding to the independent re-introduction of the title "king of kings" by Babylonian scribes, we also have to presume that they enjoyed a certain measure of (literary) autonomy within the Arsacid realm and could operate without strict directives from the central authority in their appellation of the Arsacid rulers. This assumption, however, begs to be verified through other examples of comparable Babylonian (literary) autonomy vis-à-vis the central government. The *secundum comparatum* shall be the scribal practices of Achaemenid Babylonia, which, as we hope, may shed some light on the Arsacid ones.

Thus, we shall first turn our attention to the use of Achaemenid titles as reflected in Babylonian documents.

The title of Achaemenid rulers in Babylonian documents

The evidence of Babylonian legal and economic documents as regards the title of the Achaemenid kings is unequivocal: from Cyrus to Dareios, the title was *šar Bābili, šar mātāti* "king of Babylon, king of the lands"; under Xerxes the title changed considerably and became in its extended form tripartite, whereby multiple variations, be it the combination of all, or be it the omission of several, elements could occur: *šar (māt) Parsu (u) (māt) (Mādaya) / (šar) Bābili / (šar) mātāti* "king of (the land of) Persis (and) (the land of) (Media) / (king) of Babylon / (king) of the lands." Under

Artaxerxes I the title of *šar mātāti*, which had risen to prominence already under Xerxes, became the norm.[26]

The testimony of *Astronomical Diaries* is relatively straightforward as well: the king was either called with his bare given name, or with his throne name alone (that is, without any title accompanying either name). When his given name differed from the adopted throne name, the given name could be followed by the formula: [given name] *ša* [throne name] *šarru šumšu nabû* "[given name], who is called king [throne name]."[27]

However, among the multitude of administrative documents, astronomical *Diaries*, fragments of chronicles and of prophecies composed during, or in the immediate aftermath of, the Achaemenid rule, there is but one possible attestation of the title of "king of kings."

In a Late Babylonian fragmentary chronicle (chronicle 8) first published by A. K. Grayson,[28] subsequently re-edited by Jean-Jacques Glassner,[29] and most recently again by Robartus Jan van der Spek,[30] the name of Dareios [III] is possibly followed by the title of "king of kings." Although this single attestation is contested, and does not supply by itself irrefutable evidence for the claim that the title of "king of kings" was re-introduced by Babylonian scribes under Arsacid rule, it may, as we shall see, provide some support to our hypothesis. Disturbing, aside from the scarcity of attestations of the imperial title in late Babylonian documents, is also the fact that the title never occured in economic and legal documents of the Achaemenid era, while it is attested in profusion in administrative documents of the Arsacid period. Whereas the scarcity of the imperial title in historical and literary documents of the Achaemenid period, such as the chronicles and prophecies, could be explained with the fortunes of survival and discovery of such texts, the same justification cannot be applied to the economic and legal documents of the Achaemenid period, as sufficient number of documents have survived for us safely to infer that the title "king of kings" was not used in Achaemenid administrative documents.[31]

This constatation adds yet another layer of difficulty: one has to presuppose that in their assumed endeavor to designate the new Arsacid suzerains with a title pertinent to their Achaemenid predecessors, Babylonian scribes in search of a *Vorlage* for the Arsacid titulature had had recourse to literary

[26] See below, 247–257.

[27] See below, 257–258.

[28] See Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 8, 112–133.

[29] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 29, 240–243; *Chroniques*, no. 29, 205–207.

[30] See van der Spek, "Darius III," 301–310.

[31] On Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid archives, see now Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Documents*, 60–152.

texts, instead of administrative records; one would have expected that they (scribes) consult the same type of writings as the ones in which they eventually introduced the new title, although it remains uncertain to what extent archival material of the past would have been intellectually available to them, in order to draw upon. Indeed, it is more likely that the Babylonian scribes, in their efforts to define their new Iranian overlord, summoned a precedent that was more immediately accessible to them from within *literary* traditions, rather than contended with administrative documents, which, even surmising their accessibility to them, would still have embodied evidence of past *realia* of unknown ideal bearing upon the present.

It is thus within the literary traditions, rather than the documentary sources, that we may anticipate unraveling the sources for the re-introduction of the title "king of kings." In this vein, chronicle 8 is of paramount importance.

Chronicle 8 in Grayson's edition = Text 3 of van der Spek's edition

Returning to chronicle 8, which represents a Seleucid copy of a Late Babylonian record depicting an armed confrontation between the Achaemenid king Dareios III and the Hanaeans (Macedonians); the beginning of the chronicle (the first two lines being too broken for rendition), which follows van der Spek's edition, states:

obv. 3′ [Year 330[?] month IV[?].....from] his [thr]one they removed him. Be[ssos[?]]
4′ [whom Artaxerxes[?]] as his name they named, and Alexa(nder) and his troops
5′ [.....with] his few [troop]s from the troops [.....(. . .)]
6′ [(. . .).....]he killed/defeated. The Hanaean troops, his troops wh[ich.....]
7′ [.....*from*] ˹Babylon[?]˺[32] Dareios, **king of kin[gs].**

Although Grayson has conjectured that the name of Xerxes might be expected in line 7′—in the lacuna preceeding Dareios' name and title—in which case, the Achaemenid king in question could be Dareios' son and heir Xerxes,[33] and the Hanaeans, the Greeks of the mainland, and the

[32] Babylon is a conjecture proposed by Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 29, obv. 7′, 240–241; *Chroniques*, no. 29, 205–207; and van der Spek, "Darius III," no. 3, obv. 7′, 303–304, and 305, l. 7′.

[33] Grayson reads in place of *Bābili* the term apil (< *aplum*) "eldest son; heir," preceded by a lacuna that he surmises could have contained the name of Xerxes: [. . .] ***an ˹apil? mDa?˺-ri-˹ia?˺-a-muš šàr šarr[ānimeš]*** "[. . .] . . . *son of Darius*, king of kin[gs]"; and further: "[t]his line is in very bad condition and the reading of the beginning of the preserved portion is by no means certain. If the reading is correct then one expects to find the end of the name Aḫšiwari/Xerxes (I) where the AN sign appears"; *Chronicles*, no. 8, obv. 7, 112, commentary 7; see also 23–24.

entire episode a reference to the Persian Wars, yet the recent editions of the text by Glassner and van der Spek clearly suggest that the chronicle has to be attributed to the reign of Dareios III and the Macedonian invasion of Iran, and the episode possibly reports on the deposition and killing of Dareios III by Bessos (obv. 3′–7′).

Grayson and Glassner read in their editions the title "king of kings" following the name of Dareios [Ir]*da-ri*-*ia-a-muš* LUGAL LUG[AL^{meš}],[34] whereas van der Spek restores [Ir]*da-ri*-*ia-a-muš* LUGAL GIN[^{meš}] "[to] king Dareios they went." Van der Spek indeed considers the second LUGAL to be the verb GIN *alākum* "to go" and to refer to the Hanaean troops (*ummāni Ḫanî*) that occur in line 6′.[35] The only issue with this interpretation is that, if one agrees with van der Spek and Glassner that the passage indicates how Bessos had already removed Dareios III from the throne,[36] and killed (*idduk*) him,[37] then it would be somewhat puzzling that the Hanaenan troops would go (from Babylon?) to the defunct king Dareios III! Thus, we have left unchanged the reading of Grayson and Glassner as far as the title of Dareios is concerned: *šar šarrāni*.

Grayson's "Dynastic Prophecy" = Text 5 of van der Spek's edition

In this context another Late Babylonian document might provide some insight as to the identity of our Achaemenid king in chronicle 8.

Among the "prophecies"[38] contained in the tablet published by Grayson under the name of *Dynastic Prophecy*, and most recently re-edited and extensively commented upon by van der Spek,[39] one is of singular importance for our purposes. Therein, the rise of a prince (*rubû*) is announced, who being attacked and initially defeated by an invading army of Hanaeans (*ummāni māt Ḫanî*), will regroup his forces and with the help of Babylonian divinities defeat the Hanaean invaders. The passage, which in Grayson's edition is ascribed to columns iii and iv, due to the latter's assuming two columns on each side of the tablet, has been

[34] See Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 8, obv. 7, 112.

[35] van der Spek, "Darius III," no. 3, obv. 6′, 303: ^{lú}ERÍN *ha-ni-e*.

[36] *Ibid.*, no. 3, obv. 3′–4′: "[. . . *ina* ^{giš}G]U.ZA-*šú id-de-ki-šu* ^{m}*bi-*^{r}*e*-[*es-su*] / [*ša* ^{m}*Ar-tak-šat-su* (?)] MU-*šú* MU-^{r}*u-u*." See also Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 29, obv. 3′–4′, 240–241.

[37] van der Spek, "Darius III," no. 3, obv. 6′, 303, and 305, l. 6′.

[38] On the definition of Akkadian prophecies as predictions of past events *vaticinia ex eventu*, see Grayson, *Historical-Literary Texts*, 6: "[a]n Akkadian prophecy is a prose composition consisting in the main of a number of 'predictions' of past events. It then concludes either with a 'prediction' of phenomena in the writer's day or with a genuine attempt to forecast future events. The author, in other words, uses vaticinia ex eventu to establish his credibility and then proceeds to his real purpose, which might be to justify a current idea or institution or, as it appears in the Dynastic prophecy, to forecast future doom for a hated enemy."

[39] van der Spek, "Darius III," 311–342.

assigned to columns v and vi in the edition of van der Spek, who follows W. G. Lambert in surmising three columns on each side of the tablet,[40] with columns iii and iv missing altogether. Although van der Spek's translation is followed below, the original column designation of Grayson's *editio princeps* has been maintained.[41]

[iii] 1 .....
2 [. . . the sc]eptre[?] of kingship .. [.....]
3 of his father [.....]
4 For two years [he will exercise kingship]
5 That king a eunuch [will murder]
6 A certain [rebel[?]] prince
7 will set out and [seize] the thr[one]
8 Five years [he will exercise] king[ship]
9 Troops of the land of Hani [.....]
10 will set out a[nd[?] ..].'*-ship*' *th*[*ey will*[?]. . .]
11 [his] troop[s *they will defeat*]
12 booty from him they will take [and his spoils]
13 they will plunder. Later [his] tr[oops SOMEONE]
14 will assemble and his weapons he will ra[ise (. . .)]
15 Enlil, Shamash, and [Marduk (?)]
16 will go at the side of his army [(. . .);]
17 the overthrow of the army of the Hanaean troops he will [bring about]
18 Extensive booty He will car[ry off] from him(!) [and]
19 into his palace he [will bring it]
20 The people who had [experienced] misfortune
21 [will enjoy] well-being.

[40] Lambert, *Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 13: "Columns on cuneiform tablets run from left to right on the obverse and from right to left on the reverse, and tablets are turned from top to bottom, not from side to side like our pages. As edited this text passes directly from Cyrus at the bottom of column II to Arsaces at the top of column III, which is most peculiar. Where is Darius I, Xerxes and the rest? The solution is that the tablet originally had three columns each side, not two as postulated in the *editio princeps*, and the completely missing columns III and IV covered these missing kings. What survives therefore are columns I and II, and V and VI."

[41] If we were to follow Lambert's hypothesis, then one would have to attribute a disproportionate number of columns to the Achaemenid rule, from the end of column ii to the end of column v, that is, over three columns out of a total of six! In contrast, Grayson's assumption of four columns in total allows us to keep the balance between the different dynasties; furthermore, since the main purpose of the Dynastic Prophecy is to show the rise and fall of each dynasty, one should not expect more than a few kings within each dynasty, the founder, the dynasty's last king, and sometimes the latter's immediate successor: "[a]s to the purpose of the Dynastic prophecy, two facts stand out: each of the first three columns contains a description of a change or fall of a dynasty (column i: fall of Assyria, rise of Babylonia; column ii: fall of Babylonia, rise of Persia; column iii: fall of Persia, rise of Macedonia); and each change results in the reign of the founder of the new dynasty being either 'good' or 'bad,' 'good' reigns alternating with 'bad' (the reigns at the end of columns i and iii are 'good'; the reigns at the end of ii seem to be 'bad'"; Grayson, *Historical-Literary Texts*, 16–17.

22 The heart of the land [will be happy].
23 Tax exemption [*he will grant to the Babylonians*]
Lacuna of ca. 25 lines

[iv] 1–6 (broken away)
7 [.....for x yea]rs
8 [kingship] (blank) he will exercise
9 [. . . *for kingship*] *they will be purified*
10 [A king/prince will set] out and seize the land
11 [*for x years he will exercise kingship*]
12 [*after him his sons*] will rule [the land].
13 [.....a secret/taboo of] the great gods
14 [You may show it to the initiated, but to the uninitiat]ed you must not show it
15 [It is a secret/taboo of Marduk, lo]rd of the lands
16 [. . . in accordance with] one tablet,
17 [. . . from the tablet of] Munnabtum
18 [according to the original] written, collated
19 [.....] . . .
20 [.....] . . .
Broken off; ca. 27 lines, most of it probably blank

The king (*šarru*), who supposedly was murdered by a eunuch or a high official (*ša rēši*) after two years of rule, can easily be identified as Ochos' son and heir, Arses, whose assassination was instigated by the eunuch Bagoas; what is more, the five years of rule ascribed to the next (Achaemenid) ruler corresponds well to the duration of Dareios III's reign, Arses' successor, who in the end succumbed to the Macedonians. As, judging from the *Diaries*, the invading Macedonians (*Makkadunû*) were also recurrently referred to as the *Ḫanû*,[42] there would be little reason *not* to attribute this prophecy to the reign of Dareios III, were it not for the surprising conclusion of the "prophecy" depicting a victorious outcome for the Persians. It is this inconsistency with the historical reality that has legitimately led sundry scholars to question whether this "prophecy" did relate to Dareios III and his foe Alexander of Macedonia.

Indeed, scholarship seems to be divided not only as to the identity of the actors alluded to in the "prophecy," but also over the significance and purpose of the "prophecy" itself.[43] In the following, we shall succinctly expose some of the diverging arguments on the subject:

[42] See Grayson, *Historical-Literary Texts*, 26; also van der Spek, "Darius III," 321.
[43] For a succinct survey of issues and tendencies in scholarship, see Kuhrt, "Survey," 154–155; and "Achaemenid Babylonia," 181–182.

(1) Grayson sees in this "prophecy" an unequivocal reference to Dareios III and Alexander of Macedonia: the Hanaean victory (iii: 9–12) would hint at the Macedonian victory at Issos, and the second encounter (iii: 12–19), in which, according to the "prophecy," Dareios triumphed over the Macedonians, would refer to the battle at Gaugamela, where, in reality, Alexander decisively defeated the Persians. Grayson has no explanation for the reported reverse of the Hanaeans, and finds it unlikely that the "'prophet' would deliberately falsify the outcome and aftermath of such a famous and well-known battle."[44] However, as Grayson assigns the date of the composition of the *Dynastic Prophecy* to the Persian and Seleucid periods and, furthermore, as he considers these tablets to be indicative of a strong anti-Hellenistic or -Seleucid sentiment,[45] he seems tacitly to suggest that the "prophecy" on Dareios and Alexander, with its favorable outcome for the Persians, could have indeed been inspired by an anti-Seleucid resentment,[46] possibly prompted by the eclipse of Babylon following the creation of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.[47]

(2) A diverging suggestion was made by Gabriele Marasco. The author sets out with a critique of Grayson's assumption that the *Dynastic Prophecy* was written in a climate of anti-Seleucid sentiments by drawing attention to the fragmentary condition of column iv, from which an explicit reference to the Seleucids, less so to the perceived nature of the rule itself ("good" or "bad"), cannot be inferred.[48] Once the Seleucids are cast out

[44] Grayson, *Historical-Literary Texts*, 26–27.

[45] Grayson's assumption of a strong anti-Seleucid bias is based upon the following, somewhat uncertain, premises: (1) each of the four columns is indicative of a change of dynasty with "good" reigns alternating with "bad" ones; (2) the fragmentary fourth column refers indeed to the Seleucids; hence (3) the Seleucid reign is considered to be "bad": "[t]hese facts suggest that the badly preserved column iv may have concerned the next change of dynasty, viz. the capture of Babylon by Seleukos I, and further that his reign may have been described as 'bad.' If this was the case, then the Dynastic prophecy is a strong expression of anti-Seleucid sentiment"; Grayson, *Historical-Literary Texts*, 17.

[46] *Ibid.*, 9; 16–19. "The copying and perhaps even the creation of epics, whose central theme was the Babylonian king and his relation to the gods and that in a time when there was no native monarch, is quite possibly more than just an attempt to preserve ancient traditions for posterity; it could well be an expression of rivalry with the Persian or Greek conquerors. There may even have been strong resentment against the new masters, if my analysis of the Dynastic prophecy is correct. These tablets not only confirm the fact that Babylonian tradition was still strong in the Persian and Seleucid periods; they are also indicative of a strong sense of regional pride with, possibly, an element of anti-Hellenism," 9.

[47] *Ibid.*, 18: "As already suggested, the Dynastic prophecy may have arisen in a similar climate of opinion [anti-Hellenistic feeling in Babylonia]. It is, of course, quite conceivable that such a climate existed at a time when Babylon was overshadowed by the creation of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. That disconsolate scribes would have used the prophetic form to express their hostility towards Hellenism is quite possible." See also Wiseman, Review of *Historical-Literary Texts*, 374.

[48] See Marasco, "Profezia dinastica," 530–531, especially, 531, where the author states: "D'altra parte, come le affermazioni del Grayson circa la diffusione di sentimenti antiseleucidi e di una resistenza

of sight, the author can attribute the "prophecy" to the Achaemenid period.[49] Indeed, the author considers the "prophecy" to have emerged after the Macedonian conquest of Babylon, that is, after the battle of Gaugamela,[50] where elements of the Babylonian priesthood, hostile to Alexander, due to the economic impact of the conquest upon their privileges, were hoping for the return of the Persian king.[51] Hence, the nature of the "prophecy" was not a prediction *ex eventu*, but a piece of propaganda in the guise of foresight.[52] In the fragmentary last column (iv: 4–6), in which Grayson discerned a reference to the Seleucids, Marasco sees an attempt at predicting the future in which a threat against Babylonia will be averted.[53]

(3) Yet another interpretation has been brought forward by Susan Sherwin-White[54] and Amélie Kuhrt.[55] In several publications, the authors consider the "prophecy" to belong to the post-Alexander era, as other reigns that are seemingly reported in column iv follow upon the episode of Dareios' reported victory over Alexander in column iii.[56] The authors further argue that the transformation of Dareios' defeat into victory could have been the work of Babylonians seeking to support a new ruler, possibly Seleukos, who was deemed apt to restore peace and order after the ravages caused by Alexander's invasion and the wars of the Successors. The favorable depiction of Dareios' rule in contrast to the critical stance against the

dell'elemento babilonese contro il domino di Seleuco mi sembrano assai poco attendibili, così l'identificazione del regno che sarebbe menzionato nella col. IV con quello di Seleuco è puramente ipotetica, dato lo stato estremamente lacunoso del testo."

[49] *Ibid.*, 532–534, especially, 532: "La previsione sull'esito della guerra fra Alessandro e Dario, l'unica errata dopo quelle relative agli antichi regni mesopotamici e persiano, può dunque giustificarsi, a mio avviso, *solo con una datazione della «profezia» in un periodo in cui Dario, pur avendo subito una sconfitta, era ancora vivo e le sue possibilità di riscossa erano tali da giustificare la diffusione di una profezia che prevedesse la sua vittoria finale* [italics mine]."

[50] *Ibid.*, 533: "Ancor più probabile mi sembra tuttavia una datazione dopo Gaugamela, allorché Alessandro s'impadronì di Babilonia."

[51] *Ibid.*, 535: "è dunque credibile che, nel periodo in cui Alessandro rimase lontano da Babilonia, impregnato nell'estrema lotta contro Dario, *le simpatie dei Caldei fossero indirizzate verso il re persiano, nella speranza di una sua rivincita che avrebbe salvato i loro interessi economici* [italics mine]."

[52] *Ibid.*, 532.

[53] *Ibid.*, 536: "Quanto a contenuto della col. IV, esclusa la possibilità di un accenno al dominio di Seleuco, si potrà supporre che l'autore del testo, dopo le profezie *ex eventu* sui sovrani mesopotamici ed achemenidi e quelle di caractere propagandistico relative alla presente lotta fra Dario ed Alessandro, abbia inteso corroborare l'attendibilità della profezia con previsioni anche su eventi futuri; gli accenni nelle ll. 4 e 6 sembrerebbero riferirsi ad una minaccia stornata da Babilonia."

[54] Sherwin-White, "Seleucid Babylonia," 10–14.

[55] Kuhrt, "Achaemenid Babylonia," 181–182.

[56] Sherwin-White, "Seleucid Babylonia," 11: "Since at least two other reigns were mentioned in the lacunary final column . . . before the colophon ending the text . . . there is every reason to suppose that the text is post Alexander, probably therefore from the early Seleucid period."

Macedonians thus reflected an idealized and peaceful state of affairs prior to the Macedonian invasion.[57]

(4) A variant to the prior argument (3) was provided by M. J. Geller.[58] The author suggests ascribing the "prophecy," commonly assigned to the Persian–Macedonian struggle, to the two intestine wars waged by Alexander's successors Antigonos and Seleukos.[59] Thereby, Geller avoids altogether the difficulty associated with Dareios' reported reversal of fortune in his struggle against Alexander,[60] but in the process generates all new ones, as we shall see.

(5) More recently, van der Spek investigated the entire question anew. His conclusions are twofold. First, on the strength of the argument that Dareios III did not defeat Alexander, he opines that the subject of the sentence in line 14 (iii: 14), which reads *ú-kaṣ-ṣar-ma* ^{giš}TUKUL^{meš}*-šú* . . . *(ukaṣṣar-ma kakkūšu . . .)* "(he) will prepare for battle and his weapons [he will raise]," can only be Alexander the Great, and not, as assumed by Grayson, Dareios III. However, in order to validate this argument, van der Spek has to explain why in line 17 (iii: 17) the presumed subject, Alexander, would overthrow the Hanaean, that is, the Macedonian, army: *su-kup-tu* ^{lú}ERÍN^{meš} *ha-ni-i* ˹*i*˺-[*šak-kan*] (*sukuptu ummāni Ḫanî i*[*šakkan*]) "the repulse of the Hanaean army [he will cause]." Towards that end, van der Spek has admittedly recourse to "extreme measures,"[61] by suggesting that the scribes committed an error while writing the word *Ha-ni-i* "Hanaean(s)"—in line 17—which they in reality intended to be *Gu-ti-i*

[57] Kuhrt, "Achaemenid Babylonia," 182: "Darius III seems to be quite unmistakably described as a vigorous and beneficent ruler, which perhaps reflects a wish for a return to the peaceful state of affairs before the major disruptions caused by Alexander's invasion and the long struggles between the successors in the course of which Babylonia suffered severely. It would thus seem better to take it as a text created to support a new ruler (Seleukos?) expected to restore order after a period of major disorder (i.e. the wars of the successors) and thus critical of the initial Macedonian impact. If this is right it provides a rare and precious insight into a perception of Persian rule entirely at odds with the traditional one."

[58] Geller, "Astronomical Diaries," 1–7.

[59] *Ibid.*, 6: "It is extremely unlikely that these lines refer in fact to Alexander's defeat of Darius at Gaugamela, an event which is actually referred to in an astronomical diary of 310/330 B.C. . . . The greater likelihood is that these lines in the Dynastic Prophecy refer rather to the two wars between Antigonus and Seleukos, both in 310–308 and 307 B.C. The first few lines of the passage refer to Antigonus's victory . . . [t]he second section . . . refers to Antigonus's defeat by Seleukos, and the mention of the rejoicing of the Babylonians and their reversal of fortunes accords well with Diodoros's own account. This interpretation of the passage not only fits the available evidence, but avoids the difficulty raised by Grayson of a defeat of Alexander the Great by the Babylonians."

[60] Similarly Stolper, "Mesopotamia," 241, no. 24.

[61] van der Spek, "Darius III," 329: "How then should we interpret 'the overthrow of the Hanaean army'? This is indeed a stumbling block of my interpretation and I must resort to extreme measures to remove it."

"Gutian(s)." Since the term Gutian(s) generally indicates people to the East of the Tigris, then the Persian, rather than the Macedonian, army would have been overthrown by Alexander, which in return could signify that the *Dynastic Prophecy* correctly reported both Alexander's success at Issos (iii: 9–13), as well as his triumph over the "Persian army" at Gaugamela (iii: 13–19). An alternate proposal by van der Spek is to consider this passage (iii: 13–19), where the overthrow of the Hanaean troops by an unknown agent—who will later carry extensive booty to his palace—is mentioned, as a genuine prophecy redacted under the impression of Alexander's portended end. The prophecy would have served as a warning to Alexander that his reign shall also pass like that of his predecessors.[62] Intriguingly, van der Spek suggests that the *Dynastic Prophecy*'s perceived "negative" stance on Alexander is to be connected with Babylonian scholars' predictions of Alexander's death, which they, although intent on preventing, were also eager to exploit, by pressing Alexander to restore the temple tower, the *Etemenanki*. By exhorting Alexander, thus goes the argument, Babylonian scholars would have shown Alexander the means to deflect the portent of death, and prevent his Hanaean army from being overthrown by a future ruler.[63]

Despite their ingenuity, the aforementioned arguments suffer from some shortcomings, which the following comments seek to mend, followed by yet another attempt to interpret columns iii and iv of the *Dynastic Prophecy*.

Any reading of the "prophecies" in columns iii and iv must, as a matter of method, set out from the premise that they are, in conformity with the general pattern of the *Dynastic Prophecy*, "predictions" *ex eventu*, rather than genuine prophecies in a body of texts otherwise distinguished by simulated "forecasts." Only after having in vain exhausted the implications of this premise, one may consider the texts of columns iii and iv to be genuine attempts at prophecy.

[62] *Ibid.*, 331: "the prophecy starts here with a real prediction and now turns to the gist of the composition. It would be a reminder to the newly installed dynasty from the land of Hani, that like the dynasties of Assyria, Elam (Persia), Haran (Nabonidus), 'later (but soon!)' this new power will also reach its end. A new king will come, destroy the Hanaean army and take 'his' (this must be Alexander's) booty."

[63] *Ibid.*, 340: "[w]hen the scholars predicted the end of Alexander on the basis of the stars, as reported by many classical authors and possibly by the *Dynastic Prophecy*, they need not have been negative about his policy. Even good kings could be st[r]uck by divine wrath. It was their job to try to avert the destiny ordained by the gods; and they fulfilled it, though to no avail. On the other hand, at no time in history have scholars been unbiassed and free from interpreting things to their own advantage. They will have used their predictions for their own ends, in this case using Alexander's army to restore the temple tower."

But, first, let us proceed based upon the premise articulated above. The need to account for the contents of columns iii and iv without recourse to a genuine prophecy leaves us with several alternatives: (1) to uphold the historicity of the episode depicted in column iii; (2) to assume that the anti-Macedonian or pro-Persian inclination(s) of a later age (Seleucid or Arsacid?) were projected into the "prophetic" account of the Persian–Macedonian conflict and altered its historical outcome; and, (3) to consider other actors for the episode reported in column iii.

Aside from alternative (1), which we can safely discard, the two others must also be met with some caution. The proposition (3) that the "prophecy" in column iii, as suggested by Geller, points to the wars between Antigonos and Seleukos and the latter's victory,[64] not only presupposes that a cataclysmic event such as the conquest of the Persian empire and Babylon by Alexander has been deemed less worthy of recording than the warfare of the Successors,[65] but does so with disregard of the nature of the document itself. The *Dynastic Prophecy* deals with the change and fall of dynasties, that is: (a) the fall of Assyria and the rise of Babylon; (b) the fall of Babylon and the rise of Persia; (c) the fall of Persia and the rise of the Hanaeans; and possibly (d) the fall and rise of another polity to be seen. The pattern of dynastic change, taken together with the introductory details supplied in the initial sentences of column iii to set the proper stage for the ensuing "prophecy," details referring to Dareios III's reign, unmistakably link this "prophecy" with the Persian–Macedonian conflict. Even assuming that the introductory details were inconclusive, we hardly would expect, in the sequential record of dynastic changes, a reference to Seleukos' triumph over Antigonos, without a prior allusion to Alexander's act of conquest.

Thus, by process of elimination, we would have to embrace the hypothesis (2), however improbable, that the "prophecy" in column iii alluded to the Persian–Macedonian conflict, and was presumably reflective of a political climate hostile to the Macedonian rule. As, furthermore, the outcome of the "prophecy" is known to be erroneous, we either have to surmise that an earlier "prophecy" with the accurate historical outcome was "revisited" and distorted, so as to reflect the anti-Macedonian stance of a later epoch (Seleucid or Arsacid?), or that an original "prophecy," driven by the selfsame motivation, was composed at a later time (Seleucid or Arsacid?)

[64] Geller, "Astronomical Diaries," 6, n. 25: "The omission of Alexander the Great from the Dynastic Prophecy can be understood from the point of view of this text, which is primarily concerned with those events directly affecting the fate of Babylon. Alexander's brief rule was less threatening to Babylon than Antigonus's hegemony . . ."

[65] See similarly van der Spek, "Darius III," 321, ll. 9–13.

with a deliberate disregard for the outcome of the historical conflict, to serve propagandistic purposes yet to be determined. Whatever the intricacies of this process, we still would have to assume that the "prophecy" in column iii was composed in support of a ruler announced in column iv (l. 10), whose *expected* reign, identified with that of the triumphant and benevolent Persians, would have contrasted with the *present* state of affairs, symbolized by the belligerent Hanaeans; or whose *established* reign contrasted with the *prior* state of affairs. As, however, any expectation would be at odds with the nature of "predictions" *ex eventu*, we have to opt for a hypothesis assuming the notice in column iv (l. 10) was alluding to the reign of an already established ruler.

But, who was this ruler and why the analogy with the Macedonian–Persian conflict?

As we have seen, Kuhrt and Sherwin-White made a case for this ruler to be Seleukos, who, as goes the argument, was expected to re-establish order in Babylon after the devastations of Antigonos. As to the analogy, the authors seem tacitly to indicate that the rule of Dareios III (who was perceived as "vigorous and beneficent") must have served as the archetypal "good rule" worthy of emulation by Seleukos; the conquest of Alexander, in contrast, must have been conceived as the source of all the disruptions and destruction that befell Babylonia. Disturbing in this argument remains the fact that the "prophecy" in column iii was directed against the selfsame Hanaeans—to whom Seleukos appertained—and was supportive of the Persian rule, which the advent of Seleukos promised conclusively to replace. One is indeed hard pressed to comprehend the merit of showing the Macedonian conquest in a light highly adverse to the legitimacy of the Seleucid rule. Although one cannot thrust aside the possibility of Babylonian scribes deliberately associating Seleukos with the Achaemenids as a means of expressing their desire for the type of regime they expected their ruler to adopt and set forth,[66] "the likelihood remains scant, and one still would have to account for the occurrences wherein the *diadochoi* are called Hanaeans, as we will see.

Aside from Alexander, to whom the *Astronomical Diaries* allude unequivocally as "the king who is from the land of the Hanaeans,"[67]

[66] Whereas there is evidence to sustain the supposition that a tendency, personified by Berossos, was at work under the early Seleucids to support the rule of the new dynasty by casting it into the long line of past Babylonian kings, there is no indication, to my knowledge, of a deliberate association by Babylonian scribes of the Seleucids with the Achaemenids with a view to legitimizing Seleucid rule. For the instrumentality of Berossos' *Babyloniaka* in the construction of a Seleucid "Babylonian" ideology, see Kuhrt, "Berossus' *Babyloniaka*," 32–56, especially 53–56.

[67] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -324 left edge 1 (= 190–191): ^{1}*A-le*[*k-sa-a*]-*n-dar-ri-is* LUGAL *šá* TA *mat Ha-ni-i*.

Antigonos and Seleukos are also referred to as Hanaeans. In a passage of the *Diadochoi Chronicle*, Antigonos is reported to have taken, in the seventh year of king Philipp III (Arrhidaois) the palace of Babylon with the help(?) of royal troops called Hanaeans:[68]

obv. 14′ The seventh year (of the reign) of Philip [III], in the month of Teštrit, the king's troops who [. . .] against *du*[. . .].
15′ From them, he [Antigonos] took the palace of Babylon by force and the tr[oops? . . .].
16′ The satrap of Akkad [. . .] of the reed huts.
17′ the Hanaeans whom the king [had installed] to reinforce the guard posts between [. . .]
18′ [. . .] . . . Antigonos, the satrap [was promoted? Strategos of the royal forces].

In a passage of the *Chronicle of Seleucus I*, dealing with his *fin de règne*, the king is reported to have crossed the sea "to Macedonia his land" (*ana māt Makkadunû mātīšu illik*),[69] where his troops rose up against him (before he was assassinated by Ptolemaios Keraunos ("Thunderbolt") as other sources recount)[70]:

rev. 1′ The thirty-[fir]st year, in the m[onth . . ., that same month, Seleukos, the king,] mustered his [army] from Sar[dis]
2′ he had it cross the sea [. . .] with him
3′ to [*ana*] Macedonia, his land, [he went. The general]s' of the troops
4′ rebelled against him [. . .]

As the Babylonian *Hellenistic King List* further specifies, Macedonia, wherein Seleukos found death, is the land of the Hanaeans: *šarru ina māt Ḫanî dīku* "[Seleukos], the king, was killed in the land of the Hanaeans."[71]

Van der Spek's suggestion, that the *subject* of the finite verb *ukaṣṣar-ma* "(he) will prepare for battle," (iii: 14) and the clause *sukuptu ummāni Ḫanî*

[68] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 30, obv. 14′–18′, 244–245; *Chroniques*, no. 30, 207–209; Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 10, obv. 14–18, 116; also, more recently, van der Spek, "Diadochi Chronicle (BCHP 3)," obv. 3 = 11′. On the struggle between Antigonos and Seleukos, see Oelsner, "Keilschriftliche Beiträge," 129–151, especially 138–139; Joannès, "Successeurs d'Alexandre," 99–116; Geller, "Astronomical Diaries," 1–7; van der Spek, "Nippur, Sippar, and Larsa," 235–259, especially 247.

[69] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 33, rev. 1′–4′, 250–251; *Chroniques*, no. 33, 211; and Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 12, rev. 3–4, 122; see also van der Spek, "End of Seleucus Chronicle (BCHP 9)," rev. 3′.

[70] Just. 17.2.4–5; on Seleukos' European expedition, see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkand to Sardis*, 21–22.

[71] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 4, obv. 8, 134–135; *Chroniques*, no. 4, 146; and Grayson, "Königslisten und Chroniken," 98–99, l. 8.

i[*šakkan*] "[he will cause] the overthrow of the Hanaean army" (iii: 17) is Alexander, is still in want of discussion. There are no difficulties with this hypothesis, as long as one admits that the Babylonian scholars mistakenly wrote *Ha-ni-i* "Hanaean (army)" for *Gu-ti-i* "Gutian (army)." Indeed, there are sundry attestations of Persian troops being referred to as troops of the land of Gutians. In a passage of the *Diadochoi Chronicle*,[72] partially re-edited by van der Spek most recently,[73] in the context of Seleukos' confrontation with Antigonos Monophthalmos in Babylonia, the troops of Antigonos' general in Media and Persia, Nikanor, having suffered a reverse at Seleukos' hand, are described as ^{lú}ERÍN KUR *Gu-ti-i* (*ummāni māt Gutî*) "troops of the land of Gutium." In a diary recounting the battle of Gaugamela and its aftermath, the defeated troops of Dareios III, having deserted him and returned? to their cities (*ummānīšu umašširūši-ma ana ālānīšinu*), are said to have fled to the "land of Gutium" (*ana māt Gutî*).[74] Thus, while attestations of "Gutian" as a reference to Persian troops lend support to van der Spek's hypothesis, it is, nonetheless, hard to imagine, that Babylonian scholars mistakenly wrote *ummāni Ḫanî*, where *ummāni Gutî* was expected. The immense consequence of this relatively minor alteration for the prophecy's outcome makes one wonder whether it was not done deliberately at a time of hostility towards Seleucid rule. For this enmity to manifest itself ostensibly in Babylonia, a new historical actor ought to have arisen, which is implicitly suggested by the reign(s) alluded to in column iv of the *Dynastic Prophecy*;[75] and since this new actor was "presaged" to replace the Hanaean Seleucids, it ought to have been the Arsacid dynasty.

Thus, as a working hypothesis, we may suggest that sometime following the Arsacid seizure of Mesopotamia, while the cycle of the *Dynastic Prophecy* was being completed with the addition of the Seleucid fall and Arsacid rise to the body of *vaticinia ex eventu*, the episode of the Hanaean victory over the Persians was also revisited and its outcome altered—by simply changing *Gutî* to *Ḫanî*—in order to stress the triumph of the new Iranian Parthian dynasty over their historical Hanaean foes.[76]

[72] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 30, rev. 12', 245; *Chroniques*, no. 30, 207–209; and Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 10, rev. 12, 117.

[73] van der Spek, "Size and Significance," 299–303.

[74] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. I, no. -330 'obv.' 17'–18' (= 178–179): LUGAL ERÍN^{meš}-*šú ú-maš-šir-ú-ši-ma ana* URU^{meš}-*šu-nu* [....] / [*ana m*]*at Gu-ti-i* ZÁḪ-*it-u*' (blank) [....] "the troops of the king deserted him and [went?] to their cities [....] / they fled to the land of the Guti [....]." See also van der Spek, "Darius III," 297–298.

[75] Compare van der Spek, "Darius III," 321–322.

[76] Please refer to the subsection "The *Dynastic Prophecy* and The Arsacid Dynasty" for the conclusions on this prophecy.

In the following, we shall investigate the political circumstances that gave rise to the perceived anti-Seleucid resentment in Babylonia, before attempting to substantiate our working hypothesis and identify the new ruler indicated in column iv (l. 10) of the *Dynastic Prophecy*.

(2) Survey of Seleucid and Arsacid history: From the eve of the Arsacid conquest of Mesopotamia in 141 BCE to the end of Urūd I's rule in 76/75 BCE

In the following, we shall provide a brief overview of political events in Mesopotamia beginning with the decline of Seleucid power synchronous with the advent and consolidation of the Arsacid hold on Babylonia. Our survey will rely on the *Astronomical Diaries*.[77]

The Seleucid Empire

Demetrios II Nikator and Kammaškiri I

Alexander I Balas' usurpation against Demetrios I Soter led to the establishment of the former's reign, possibly as early as 23².iv.150 BCE (= 1².i.162 SE),[78] but most probably in 20/21.vi.–19/20.vii.150 BCE (= iii.162 SE),[79] since the *Diaries* report several battles having taken place in iii.162 SE between Demetrios I and Alexander Balas, notably, on 12/13.vii.150 BCE (= 23.iii.162 SE),[80] which eventually ended with Demetrios I's demise.[81]

[77] Our survey has greatly benefited from the works of van der Spek, "New Evidence," 167–175; Dąbrowa, "Zeugnisse," 417–424; Del Monte, *Testi*; Potts, "Five Episodes," 349–362; and Boiy, *Babylon*, 162–192. In pursuit of comprehensiveness, some passages of the *Diaries* may have been cited more than once in different contexts. See also the recent surveys by Assar, "Chronology of 165–91," 87–158; "Chronology of 91–55," 55–104; "Elymais during 150/149–122/121," 27–91.

[78] Weisberg, *Late Babylonian Texts*, 10, n. 12, pl. 21, no. 12, rev. 15'; see also Del Monte, *Testi*, 96; and van der Spek, "New Evidence," 169, n. 11.

[79] Already in the diary –149 A 'rev.' 6'(= 86–87), dated to iii.162 SE, Alexander Balas is recognized king by the diarists: [. . . ¹*A*]-*lek-sa-an-dar* LUGAL, next to Demetrios I, whom the same diary (ll. 5', 8') also calls king: ʳ¹ᵀ*De-met-ri* LUGAL. At the latest, by the end of vii.162 SE (= 16/17.x.–13/14.xi.149 BCE), as another passage of the same diary –149 B obv.' 1 shows, Alexander solely is mentioned as king: [. . . ʳ¹A'-*le*]*k-sa-an-dar* LUGAL, which could indicate that Alexander Balas and Demetrios I might have ruled for a short while as rival kings, before Demetrios I succumbed in the battles of the month iii.162 SE; see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –149 A 'rev.'5'–6', 8', and no. –149 B obv.' 1 (= 85–87). Compare van der Spek, "New Evidence," 169, who argues that the date (23.)iii.162 SE in all likelihood indicated the date the diarists first heard of the battles of Demetrios I and Alexander Balas, and hence the events themselves, including the death of Demetrios I, ought to be placed a month earlier, that is at the beginning of June 150 BCE. See also Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 153; and Boiy, *Babylon*, 165, n. 143.

[80] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –149 A 'rev.' 10'–11'.

[81] *Ibid.*, no. –149 A 'rev.' 3'–13'(= 84–87): "[. . . I he]ard as follows: In Antioch which [. . .] / [. . .] the sea, (there was) a grave famine; the troops [. . .] / [. . . the . . .]s and the people who from the cities which the troops² of the king which . . ./ [. . .] king Alexander to Seleucia which is in the land of [. . .] / [. . .] . . . the sea, crossed over. That month, I [heard . . .] / [. . .] king Demetrius which 25

Having assumed control of the house of the Seleucids, Demetrios II Nikator, son of the vanquished king Demetrios I, was able with Lagid help to defeat Alexander Balas and to reclaim his father's throne upon the battle of Oinoparas,[82] by the summer or fall of 146 BCE, when we last hear of Alexander Balas in cuneiform documents.[83] Intriguingly, despite the fact that the Lagid king Ptolemaios VI Philometor had previously figured emongst Alexander Balas' decisive supporters in the latter's usurpation against Demetrios I Soter, and notwithstanding the further fact that this alliance had been sealed with the marriage of Ptolemaios VI's daughter Kleopatra Thea with Alexander Balas, Ptolemaios VI turned against his former ally and son-in-law and backed Demetrios II. The reasons for this volte-face have been commonly attributed to the Lagid king's desire to attach to his kingdom Coele-Syria, which he invested at the outbreak of the civil war between Alexander Balas and Demetrios II, under the pretext of providing help to his son-in-law. That the occupation of Coele-Syria was meant to be an act of conquest is demonstrated by Ptolemaios VI's endorsement of the pretender Demetrios II, whom he conveniently wedded with the selfsame daughter who had been earlier Alexander Balas' consort, Kleopatra Thea, thus, withdrawing the token of his alliance with Alexander Balas and bestowing it upon Demetrios II, probably at the price of annexing for good Coele-Syria.[84]

elephants and the troops [. . .] / [. . .]. . .they went out from Antioch and [. . .] / they brought about their defeat. On the 23rd, the troops [. . .] / [. . .] elephants defeated each other. [That] month, [. . .] / [. . .] . . .numerous troops of Deme[trius. . .] / [. . .Sel]eucia, the royal city [. . .]." Judging from the diary, the fortunes of the war seem to have changed several times: initially, Demetrios Soter's troops are reported to have inflicted a defeat upon the contingencies of Alexander (*they brought about their defeat*). This victory is followed by an indecisive battle (*the troops . . . elephants defeated each other*), leading ultimately to the defeat of Demetrios I, to which, however, I do not see any direct allusion in the *Diaries*. Similarly, Justin's account seems to depict a *tripartite* conflict, with the first encounter ending to Demetrios I's advantage, the second being one in which he held his ground, and the third being the one in which he fell: *nam et primo proelio hostem fugavit et regibus bellum restituentibus multa milia in acie cecidit. Ad postremum tamen invicto animo inter confertissimos fortissime dimicans cecidit* (Just. 35.1.10).

[82] On Demetrios II's rise and Alexander Balas' defeat, see Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. I, 340–346; Will, *Histoire*, vol. II, 377–379; and most recently Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 154–164.

[83] A Babylonian astronomical Goal Year text, dated to the year 146 BCE (= 10.i.–25.iii.166 SE), refers to Alexander Balas as king, as do several administrative records from Uruk, which acknowledge Alexander's rule in Mesopotamia in 14.vi.146 BCE (= 8.iii.166 SE), and, possibly, as late as 21.xi.146 BCE (= 20.viii.166 SE). On the Goal Year text, see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. VI, no. 88 'obv. 8'–10' (= 344–345). On the business documents, see Del Monte, *Testi*, 244; and Oelsner, *Materialien*, 274, n. 0; 420–421, n. 613 (BRM II 50); and 513, n. 420.

[84] See Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. I, 344, who states: "On ne se tromperait guère en admettant que Ptolémée, au moment où il prit les armes, avait le dessein bien arrêté de se faire l'arbitre de la situation et d'exiger, pour prix de ses services, la cession de la Cœlé-Syrie, qu'il n'avait pas réclamée en 150, peut-être par ce qu'il n'avait pas été seul alors à introniser Alexandre Bala. Cette

We first hear of Demetrios II in the *Diaries* in 7/8.ix.145 BCE (= 17.vi.167 SE), on the eve of the threat posed to Seleucid Babylonia by the ruler of Elymais, Kammaškiri, whose raids into Mesopotamia, and the danger of a looming campaign in Seleucid territory, must have prompted the mobilization of royal Seleucid troops.[85]

In the following month (21/22.ix.–20/21.x.145 BCE = vii.167 SE), we are informed of Demetrios II's operations, not, as expected, against the Elamite Kammaškiri, but against the cities of *Meluḫḫa*, thar is, the Ptolemaic empire:

[t]hat month [. . .] king **Demetrius marched around in the cities of Meluḫḫa / victoriously.**[86]

Demetrios II's victorious campaign against the Ptolemaic empire was in fact not conducted in Egypt proper, but was led against Lagid forces in Coele-Syria, freshly occupied by Ptolemaios Philometor's troops.[87] Following the battle of Oinoparas, in which Alexander Balas was defeated by the joint forces of Demetrios II and Ptolemaios VI, the latter succumbed to the injuries he had suffered on the battlefield. Subsequent upon his death, Demetrios II did not consider himself bound by the terms of the accord, to which he had acquiesced under pressure, and thus re-invested these terrirories to the detriment of the Prolemaic empire.[88]

The defense of Babylon against Elamite troops was imparred to Demetrios II's general of Babylonia (^{lú}GAL ERÍN^{meš} KUR URI^{ki}) with the Iranian name of Ardaya (^{I}*Ar-da-a-a*), who actively mustered the manpower as his disposal:[89]

cession, son but unique il l'obtiendrait, par la force ou à l'amiable, soit de l'un, soit de l'autre des prétendants." See also Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 162: "Ptolemaios VI. [brach] mit seinem Schwiegersohn, schickte eine Gesandschaft . . . an Demetrios (II.) und sicherte ihm Kleopatra zu Frau und die Königsherrschaft über Syrien zu. Dieses Angebot war die Neuauflage des Bündnisses von 150 und sollte dem Ptolemäer weiterhin die Möglichkeit geben, Einfluß auf die Politik in Syrien auszuüben."

85 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –144 'obv. 14'–18' (= 94–95). See also table 2.

86 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –144 'obv. 35' (= 96–97).

87 On Demetrios II's campaign against the cities of *Meluḫḫa* and the phraseological correspondence between the account of Demetrios II's war and that of Antiochos IV in the diary –168 A obv.'15, see van der Spek, "New Evidence," 170; also, Del Monte, *Testi*, 96. See also Habicht, "Seleucids and Rivals," 365. On *Meluḫḫa*, compare Salles, "Échanges," 71–96; see also Sollberger, "Magan and Meluḫḫa," 247–250; and Potts, "Road to Meluhha," 279–288.

88 See Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. I, 348.

89 According to Del Monte, *Testi*, 96, the population was counted according to a tripartite division corresponding to the similarly tripartite power structure in Babylon: first, the autochthonous Babylonian population, the *mār Bābili*, headed by the temple council, or the assembly (*kiništu*) of Esagil in concert with the head of the temple community, the *šatammu* of Esagil; *second*, the servants of the kings (*arad šarrâni*) commanded by the representative of the king, the *šakinu ša šarri*; finally, the Greek citizens, the *puliṭē* (οἱ πολῖται) led by the governor of Babylon the *pāḫât Bābili*. Compare also the pertinent remarks of van der Spek, Review of *Testi*, 433–434, and "Ethnic

That month at the command of? **Ardaya, the general of Babylonia,** they made a counting [. . .] of the Babylonians, the servants of the king / [. . .] the citizens who were in Babylon and Seleucia[90]

The same general set out later (2/3.xi.145 BCE = 12.viii.167 SE) to face the Elamite king, whom, he eventually forced out of Mesopotamia, not, however, before Kammaškiri successfully raided and plundered the area.[91]

Demetrios II Nikator and Tryphon

Meanwhile, the position of Demetrios II had considerably deteriorated.[92] His disbandment of Seleucid troops, his acts of reprisal against past supporters of Alexander Balas in Antioch, as well as the use of Jewish auxiliaries in order violently to subdue Antiochenes,[93] had prompted the successful uprising of the commander of the garrison city of Apamea, Diodotos, called Tryphon,[94] probably in late fall 145 or spring 144 BCE.[95] Tryphon was able to rally the dissatisfied soldiers and citizens of Antioch[96] around the juvenile son of Alexander Balas, the future Antiochos VI, as whose regent (*tutor*/*ἐπίτροπος*) he initially proclaimed himself.[97] Tryphon, having defeated Demetrios II in battle, finally captured the city of Antioch in spring 143 BCE (= 169 SE),[98] and contested Demetrios II's rule within the realm.[99] Thus, on the eve of the Arsacid conquest of

Segregation," 396–397, who distinguishes further social groups, such as the indigenous people living in the countryside, the *nišē māti* 'people of the land,' tantamount to the *λαοί* of Greek texts; and the temple slaves, the *širkē*. On the *puliṭē*, see also Boiy, *Babylon*, 204–209.

90 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –144 'obv. 36'–37' (= 96–97).

91 *Ibid.*, no. –144 rev.' 17–22 (= 98–101).

92 On this episode, see Shayegan, "Demetrius II," 83–84.

93 1 *Macc.* 11.45; D.S. 33.4.1–4; J. *AJ* 13.135–143.

94 On Tryphon's rebellion, see Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. I, 350–354; Will, *Histoire*, vol. II, 404–407; Fischer, "Zu Tryphon," 202–204; and Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 165–168.

95 See Houghton, "Revolt of Tryphon," 120, n. 3; Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 166, n. 458.

96 The exodus of Antiochenes consequent upon Demetrios II's persecution, as reported by Diodoros (33.4.1–4; 42.1–4), is confirmed by the numismatic evidence, that is, by the marks of numerous mint officials, formerly working at Antioch under Demetrios, on Antiochos VI's coinage of Apamea; see Houghton, "Revolt of Tryphon," 134.

97 See Liv. *Per.* 55.11: *Alexandri filius rex Syriae . . . a Diodoto qui Tryphon cognominabatur tutore suo per fraudem occisus est*; Just. 36.1.7: *in Syria Trypho qui se tutorem Antiocho Demetrii privigno substitui a populo laboraverat occiso pupillo*; J. *BJ* 1.49: *Τρύφων γὰρ ὁ τύραννος ἐπίτροπος μὲν ὢν τοῦ Ἀντιόχου παιδός*; J. *AJ* 13.218: *(τὸν) Ἀντίοχον . . . Τρύφων διέφθειρεν ἐπιτροπεύων αὐτοῦ . . .*

98 As demonstrated by Houghton, "Revolt of Tryphon," 120–121 and 138–141, Tryphon struck coins in the name of Antiochos VI first in Apamea in 144/143 (probably the summer of 144) BCE (= 168 SE); it is only in spring 143 BCE (= early 169 SE), following the defeat of Demetrios II, that the coinage of Antiochos VI is also attested in Antioch proper. Thus, judging from the numismatic evidence, until spring 143 BCE, Antioch was still under the control of Demetrios II; see also, Kritt, Hoover, and Houghton, "Three Seleucid Notes," 106; also, Dąbrowa, "L'expédition de Démétrios II," 10, n. 5. For a slightly different chronology, compare Fischer, "Zu Tryphon," 212–213.

99 On the duration of the reign(s) of Antichos VI and Tryphon, see Shayegan, "Demetrius II," 87–90.

Mesopotamia, the Seleucid empire was ruled by two potentates, with the better part of Syria and Phoenicia being in the hands of Tryphon and Cilicia, Mesopotamia, and the remaining oriental Seleucid possessions under the control of Demetrios II.

Already in 14.vii–11.viii.144 BCE (= iv.168 SE), that is, over half a year before Tryphon's conquest of Antioch in spring 143, the *Diaries* mention the rival king Antiochos VI in connection with Elymais:

> [th]at [month], I heard as follows: the troops which to Susa . . . of Susa [. . .] / [. . .] many[?] [. . .] which had . . . to Elam, they made enter Susa [. . .] / [. . .] the general of . . . and the troops of Antiochus, son of Alexander, who retur[ned[?] . . .] / [. . .] departed[100]

The fact that the troops of Antiochos VI are mentioned in the above diary does not inevitably indicate that Tryphon ruled over Babylonia, or that the young prince's party was recognized there,[101] for neither was Antiochos VI referred to with the royal title, nor do the extant *Diaries* date after him.[102] Furthermore, it seems highly improbable that prior to the conquest of Antioch by Tryphon in early 143 BCE Demetrios II's position would have been so deteriorated as to permit Antiochos VI's party to gain a foothold in Babylonia; Demetrios II was in control of Babylonia, as the *Diaries* clearly confirm, in the month immediately preceding (13/14.iii.141–11/12.iv.141 BCE) the Arsacid conquest of Mesopotamia on 12/13.iv.141 BCE.[103] For the same reasons, it is unlikely that the above diary alluded to the military activities of Antiochos VI's party, or echoed Tryphon's triumph over Demetrios II and his (Tryphon's) capturing of Antioch,[104] for, as stated before, the city continued to be under the control of Demetrios II as late as early 143 BCE.

Thus, the diary could either point to an opportunist attempt by Tryphon effortlessly to expand his authority into Mesopotamia following the devastation brought about by the Elamites once they had regained their base in

[100] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –143 A 'Flake' 18'–21' (= 104–105).

[101] Compare Potts, "Five Episodes," 352, n. 5, who suggests that "[t]his fact alone makes it necessary to correct the impression that Demetrius II was acknowledged king in Babylonia from 145 until the Parthian entrance into Seleucia-on-the-Tigris in early July, 141 BC . . . [i]t clearly suggests that Demetrius II was not in control of Babylonia and further that the legitimacy of Antiochos VI was acknowledged by the scribes at Babylon."

[102] See similarly, Boiy, *Babylon*, 166: "It is clear on the other hand that Antiochus VI was never acknowledged as king in Babylonia as he was not called 'king' in this passage. Also later he was not not accepted: no cuneiform document dates according to Antiochus VI and also in another historical note of the astronomical diaries he appears without royal title."

[103] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –141 F 'rev. 26' (= 128–129): "Diary from month VI_2 to the end of month XII of year 170, [king] Demet[rius]."

[104] As surmised by van der Spek, "New Evidence," 171. Compare also Boiy, *Babylon*, 166, 169.

Susa; or, it could indicate a possible intelligence between the Elamites and Tryphon to exploit in a concerted effort Demetrios II's relative weakness in Mesopotamia in order to gain a foothold in the region, a proposition, for which no support is to be found in our evidence.

Another passage, which might shed some light on this issue, was written on 28/29.i.140 BCE (= 27.x.171 SE) following the second raid of the Elamites in Mesopotamia, at a time when the region was firmly under Arsacid rule. The passage in which the forces of Antiochos VI and Tryphon are mentioned for the last time is correlated with the report on the alleged betrayal by the Arsacid general Antiochos,[105] accused of having sided with the Elamite enemy, and against whom retributions were extracted in response to his perceived treachery by the "people of the land":

[t]hat month I heard as follows: on the 4th day, the citizens who were in Seleucia which is on the Tigris set up a curse on Antiochus, / the general who is above the 4 generals, because? he made common cause with the Elamite; they had provided? . . . for the general, / and sent many troops with him towards the Elamite for fighting. / They held back this Antiochus, but he escaped with a few troops, and the people of the land who were in Seleucia / on the Tigris plundered his possessions which he had left in the land, and the troops of the king who were with him plundered the possessions which were in [. . .] / That [month], the 27th, one from the troops of the king, as they say, whom the general of An(tiochus), son of Alexander . . . [. . .] / entered Babylon, and in this year? the people of the land . . ., and one from his troops . . . [. . .] / opposite the . . ., the citizens, and the . . . with the rack of? [. . .] / [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . general [. . .] / [. . .] . . . people [. . .] . . . [. . .] / [. . .]. . .did not reach. . .I heard as follows: king Arsaces in (or: from) the city [. . .] / [. . .] they [ki]lled?.[106]

The passage reports that a warrior of the Elamite king "one from the troops of the king"[107] was sent by Tryphon "the general of Antiochos, son of Alexander"[108] to Babylon, possibly to be interrogated with the rack of interrogation (*simmiltu ša maš?alti?*)[109] in front of the Greek citizens, and

[105] See below, 78–79.

[106] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –140 C rev.′ 29′–42′ (= 150–153).

[107] *Ibid.*, no. –140 C rev.′ 36′ (= 152–153): *ištēn ištu ummāni šarri* (1-*en* TA ^{lú}ERÍN^{meš} LUGAL).

[108] *Ibid.*: ^{lú}GAL ERÍN^{meš} *šá* ^{I}*An* A *šá* ^{I}*A-lek-sa-an-dar.*

[109] Although our passage only attests *ina* ^{giš}*sim-mil-tu$_4$ š*[*a*?....] "with the rack o[f?....]," there is sufficient evidence from other diaries that the *simmiltu* was indeed meant as the rack of interrogation. See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. II, no. –175 B left edge 2 (= 426–427): *sim-mil-tu$_4$ ša maš-a-a-al-tú ša* [....]; *ibid.*, no. –168 A obv.′ A16′–A18′ (= 476–477), where the rack is reported being used in the interrogation of thieves: "the thieves who had peeled this god Nergal? were caught, held and taken into the temple courthouse. / The 13th, the thieves [. . .] were interrogated in the temple courthouse in front of the representative of the temple administrator and the temple judges / by means of the temple rack [*ina simmiltu maš?altu*], and were convicted. That day, they were burned." For further discussion and examples, see van der Spek, "Diadochi Chronicle (BCHP 3)," obv. 3 = 11′.

the Arsacid king's general "general (of Babylonia?),"[110] in connection with the desolation that had befallen the city of Seleucia.[111] It is not excluded that the captive was (also) questioned on the whereabouts of general Antiochos, charged with collaboration with the Elamite enemy, as he, from this time forth, vanishes from the *Diaries*, while his son is alluded to occasionally.[112] It is possible that Antiochos is the general ordered to be killed by Arsaces upon his return from Hyrcania, on 24/25.vi.138 BCE (18. iii.174 SE):

I heard that on the 18th day the general [. . .]/ [. . . a mess]age[?] **from king Arsaces to kill the general** [. . .][113]

Should our interpretation of this passage prove accurate, it would show that Tryphon, taking advantage of the *peripeteia* the Elamite advance had caused in Mesopotamia, again ventured into the region, but, faced with the re-establishment of Arsacid authority, possibly attempted to forge an *entente* with the Arsacids against Demetrios II, by relinquishing a captured Elamite warrior (informed of Antiochos' hideaway?) as a gesture of good will. We may hypothetically infer from this latter episode that Tryphon's first incursion into Mesopotamia was animated by the selfsame motives that led him into the region at the juncture of the second Elamite raid, that is, by the desire to expand his authority into Mesopotamia subsequent upon Elamite campaigns. There is no evidence that he ever compacted an alliance with the Elamite king Kammaškiri, and if the above episode, wherein Tryphon surrendered a captured Elamite warrior to the Arsacid

[110] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -140 C rev.′ 39′ (= 152–153): ˹lú˺GAL ˹ERÍN˺[meš] [....]. This general, probably distinct from the "general of Antiochos," may be identified with Mihrdād I's general of Babylonia, Nikanor [1]*Ni-i-ka-nu-ú-ru* [lúGAL ˹ERÍN˺]meš KUR URIki, who was among the generals of the supreme commander Antiochos; see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -140 A ′rev. 6′ (= 134–135) and no. -140 B rev.′ 10′ (= 140–141).

[111] For a contrasting interpretation of this passage, compare van der Spek, "New Evidence," 171, who regards the man sent by Tryphon as the ambassador of Antiochos VI seeking to find support in Babylonia: "it seems as though Tryphon ('the general of Antiochos') tried to find support in Babylonia. The position of his ambassador was apparently dubious ('of whom they say') and the soldier of his army seems to be convicted." However, in order for the man being sent by Tryphon to be Antiochos VI's ambassador, we would have to assume that the term "king" in the sequence *one from the troops of the king* referred to Antiochos VI. As, however, as indicated by van der Spek himself, Antiochos VI is not referred to with the title of "king" in the *Diaries*, we have to assume that the man sent by Tryphon to Arsacid Babylonia was a soldier of the Elamite king Kammaškiri, who is repeatedly distinguished by the title of "king," throughout the *Diaries*, whence our interpretation of the passage; see van der Spek, "New Evidence," 171: "Antiochos VI does not bear the title of king in the *Diaries*, neither here nor in No. -140 C: Rev.′ 36′–37′." Compare also Potts, "Five Episodes," 356.

[112] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -140 D ′obv. 13′; 15′ (= 152–153; 154–155); no. -136 B ′obv.′ 14′ (= 182–183).

[113] *Ibid.*, no. -137 B ′rev.′ 19′–20′ (= 164–165).

authority, were to count as a gauge of Tryphon's behavior during his first venture into Mesopotamian affairs, we could assume that Antiochos VI's party never sought an agreement with the Elamites.

The Arsacid conquest of Mesopotamia

On 12/13.iv.141 BCE (= 1.i.171 SE),[114] Babylon was already under Arsacid control. On 19/20.iv.141 BCE (8.i.171 SE), Mihrdād I seems to have initiated the procession of the New Year festival in Babylon, whereby Marduk was led along the processional way from the Esagil temple to the *bīt akīti,* by taking the hands of the goddess Ištar.[115]

Between 2/3 and 7/8.vii.141 BCE (= 22–28.iii.171 SE), Mihrdād I appears to have been still in Mesopotamia (possibly en route to Seleucia?), appointing his officials:

[. . .] went, were written on a parchment . . .[. . .] which is? year 171,. . . they were read? / [. . .] / [. . .] **cities of Media** [. . .] . . . who **from the city of Urqananu?**, a famous . . . [. . .] / [. . .] . . . That month, the 22nd day, a parchment written [. . .] to the governor of Babylon and these? citizens . . . [. . .] / [. . .] in? the position of general in Babylonia [. . .] was read in the house of observation. That day, I heard as follows: Ti'ugi? [. . .] / [. . .] **king Arsaces to Seleucia** [. . .] . . . the 24th day, Antiochos, son of king Ar'abuzana, . . . [. . .] / [. . .] of Assyria who before king Arsaces [. . .] was appointed [. . .] above the four generals of Babylonia. A . . . which was like a ga[rden?] / [. . .] **entered [Seleu]cia, the royal city.** That month, the 28th day, [. . .]kā appointed great . . ., **from Seleucia entered Babylon** [. . .][116]

It is not immediately apparent from the above diary whether Mihrdād I had recently come from Hyrcania, via Media, to Mesopotamia, on his journey to Seleucia, or whether the mention of Hyrcania and the cities of Media is without bearing on the prolonged presence (since the Akitu festival?) of the king in Mesopotamia.

Among the appointed officials indicated in the diary are Nikanor, general in Babylonia, whose appointment was announced to the governor of Babylon and the Greek citizens by dint of an official decree, Antiochos, supreme commander of Babylonia "the general who is above the four generals," and a certain [. . .]*kā,* about whose function we remain in the dark (*rabû?*),[117] but who could be identical with the one performing ritual

[114] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries,* vol. III, no. -141 F 'rev. 26' (= 128–129): "Diary from month VI_2 to the end of month XII of year 170, [king] Demet[rius]."

[115] *Ibid.*, no. -140 A obv.' 20–22 (= 134–135): " . . . Esang[il?. . .] / [. . .] the 8th day, after the minor cultic meal of the morning, **the hands of Ištar of Babylon** [. . .] . . . [. . .] / [. . . minor] cultic meal?, the hands of Ištar of Babylon **from the gate of the Gula temple** [. . .]." On the Akitu festival and the king's role in the official procession, see Labat, *Caractère religieux,* 166–176.

[116] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries,* vol. III, no. -140 A 'rev. 3'–9' (= 134–135).

[117] See Del Monte, *Testi,* 104–105; also, van der Spek, "New Evidence," 171.

offerings for the sake of the king to the cult of Antiochos III and queen Laodike,[118] maintained by royal decree:

[. . .] made [. . . offerings . . .] for the life of the king (and) prostrated himself. That[2] month [. . .] / [. . .] king Arsaces . . . houses[2] [. . .] / [. . .] of king Arsaces, a written scroll in the streets[2] . . . [. . .] / [. . .] Antiochos, queen Laodike . . . [. . .][119]

In 3/4.xii.141–2/3.i.140 BCE (= ix.171 SE), the *Diaries* relate the eruption of a second wave of hostilities by foraying Elamites, which compelled the king's return to Mesopotamia from Hyrcania.[120] As briefly mentioned above,[121] the danger of these Elamite forces to the stability of Arsacid rule must have been of such a nature as to oblige the supreme commander of Mesopotamia, Antiochos, to enter into negotiation with the Elamites, maybe at the price of numerous concessions, which was later perceived as an act of betrayal by the population of Seleucia,[122] and eventually by the king, who may have ordered his assassination.[123]

Demetrios II Nikator's anabasis

The next report on the state of Seleucid affairs is provided by an account dated to 7/8.vii.–4/6.viii.138 BCE (= iv.174 SE). The diary briefly depicts Demetrios II's fate consequent upon his ambitious *anabasis* against the Arsacid empire.[124] Indeed, setting out to overthrow the Arsacid realm, Demetrios II was vanquished, and captured together with his nobles:

[t]hat month I heard as follows: . . . king Demetrius who before [. . .] his troops from the cities of . . . [. . .] / [. . .] made [. . .] of Babylonia, and this king Arsaces went from the cities of Media to Babylonia, and . . . [. . .] / **brought about [the defeat] of his troops, and seized him and his nobles**, saying: king Arsaces [. . .] good peace for you[2] from.... [. . .] / [. . .] in plenty, happiness and good peace in the cities of Media next to king Arsaces . . . [. . .].[125]

Justin, Josephos, and the Maccabees offer diverging motivations for Demetrios II's eastern campaign. Justin makes Demetrios II's youthful sins, as well as his (political) inaction, responsible for the many uprisings against him and presents his Parthian campaign as a means to efface the blemishes of his past and, presumably, re-establish his good reputation:

[118] On this cult, see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkand to Sardis*, 202–210.
[119] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –140 A upper edge 1–4 (= 138–139).
[120] *Ibid.*, no. –140 C obv. 34–44 (= 146–147).
[121] See above, 66.
[122] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –140 C rev.' 29'–34' (= 150–151).
[123] *Ibid.*, no. –137 B rev.' 19'–20' (= 164–165).
[124] See Shayegan, "Demetrius II," 84–87.
[125] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –137 A 'rev.' 8'–11' (= 160–161).

[Just. 36.1.1–3]
Recuperato paterno regno Demetrius, et ipse rerum successu corruptus, vitiis adulescentiae in segnitiam labitur tantumque contemptum apud omnes inertiae, quantum odium ex superbia pater habuerat, contraxit. Itaque cum ab imperio eius passim civitates deficerent, ad abolendam segnitiae maculam bellum Parthis inferre statuit.

"Having recovered his paternal realm, Demetrios, himself, corrupted by the favorable outcome of his situation, slips from the sins of his youth into inaction, and contracts contempt among all for his inertia, as much as his father had for his arrogance. Therefore, while here and there the cities defected from his rule, **he decides to make war on the Parthians, in order to efface the blemish of his (past) inaction.**"

Josephos and the Maccabees, in contrast, depict Demetrios II's campaign into Arsacid territory as an opportunity to procure much needed resources to continue the struggle for supremacy in Syria against Tryphon. Josephos states:

[J. *AJ* 13.186]
ταύταις ἐπαρθεὶς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὥρμησεν πρὸς αὐτούς εἰ καταστρέψαιτο τοὺς Πάρθους καὶ γένοιτ' αὐτῷ δύναμις τὸν Τρύφωνα πολεμῆσαι διεγνωκὼς καὶ τῆς Συρίας ἐκβαλεῖν. δεξαμένων δὲ αὐτὸν προθύμως τῶν ἐν τῇ κώρᾳ συναγαγὼν δύναμιν ἐπολέμησε πρός τὸν Ἀρσάκην καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν ἀποβαλὼν αὐτὸς ζῶν ἐλήφθη καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

"Lifted up by these hopes, he [Demetrios] set out for their country, being determined that, **if he were to subdue the Parthians and come into possession of a force of his own, he would make war on Tryphon, and throw him out of Syria.** And as the people of the country received him readily, he brought a force together and made war on Arsaces, but lost his entire army and was himself taken alive, as has been related elsewhere."

Similarly, the Maccabees report:

[1 *Macc.* 14.1]
καὶ ἐν ἔτει δευτέρῳ καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ συνήγαγε Δημήτριος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς Μηδίαν τοῦ ἐπισπάσασθαι βοήθειαν αὐτῷ ὅπως πολεμήσῃ τὸν Τρύφωνα.

"In the year 172, king Demetrios gathered his troops and went to Media **to acquire aid for himself in order to go to war with Tryphon.**"

A comparable divide seems also to distinguish more recent scholarly works on Demetrios II's rationale behind the Parthian campaign. Kay Ehling, although not entirely rejecting the explanations of Josephos and

the Maccabees, proposes to see in Demetrios II's *anabasis* a reflection of his political ethos (*politisches Ethos*)[126] and the interests of the state (*Reichsinteressen*), such as the empire's integrity, taking precedence over, presumably, more personal matters merely pertaining to dynastic feuds.[127] In contrast, Edward Dąbrowa, in line with the tenor of Josephos and of the Maccabees, seems to subscribe to the notion that only the resources of the empire's (former) oriental satrapies would have permitted Demetrios II to overcome Tryphon in Syria.[128]

It is difficult, however, in view of the scarcity of our sources, to see on what ground Ehling bases his inference about Demetrios II's political ethos, while there is good evidence that the latter's rule was seriously menaced by Tryphon's presence in Syria, and his deeds were simply reactions to this threat. Surely, in order to undertake his Parthian campaign, Demetrios II must have had important resources at his disposal,[129] but having suffered a defeat against Tryphon before, one can easily imagine that the prospect of levying more recruits in the Orient may have been a factor in his decision to invade Mesopotamia.[130]

Indeed, Josephos knows of (military) Greek and Macedonian colons (*οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἕλληνες καὶ Μακεδόνες*) who, allegedly resenting the Arsacid rule, had called upon Demetrios II to make war on Mihrdād I, while promising to join forces with him. An echo of this account may also be found in Justin, who states: *cuius [Demetrii] adventum non inviti Orientis populi videre,* "the people of the Orient were not reluctant to see his [Demetrios'] arrival,"[131] for they were accustomed to the Macedonian rule.

[126] See Ehling, "Probleme," 228; *Untersuchungen*, 183.

[127] See Ehling, "Probleme," 228, n. 13; and *Untersuchungen*, 183, n. 597: "In I. Makk. 14,1 und Ios. Ant. Iud. 13, 186 ist als Grund für den Feldzug gegen die Parther angegeben, daß Demetrius II. Hilfe gegen Tryphon holen wollte. Auch wenn sich Demetrios II. die Gewinnung zusätzlicher Mittel aus seinem Zug nach Osten versprochen haben sollte, so verfolgte Demetrius II. tatsächlich weitgehend Reichsinteressen und stellte dafür die Auseinandersetzung mit Tryphon zurück."

[128] See Dąbrowa, "L'expédition de Démétrios II," 11: "Sans les immenses ressources matérielles et humaines, les espoirs de Démétrios II de remporter une victoire sur Tryphôn n'avaient aucune chance de succès."

[129] Similarly Will, *Histoire*, vol. II, 407: "Au moment, où se produisit le déferlement parthe, il disposait en effet d'une forte armée, dont on ne saurait dire si elle était destinée à lutter contre Tryphôn ou, déjà, à reconquérir les satrapies supérieures."

[130] Eusebios, who refers in this to Porphyrios, reports of Demetrios II's victory against Antiochus VI, son of Alexander, in the first year of the 160th Olympiad (140/139 BCE); see Karst, *Die Chronik*, 120, ll. 12–17: "Und es setzte den Krieg fort der eben besagte Demetrios, welcher der Sohn des Demetrios war: als aufeinander einstürmten Demetrios des Demetrios <Sohn> von Seleukia aus und Antiochos, Sohn des Alexanders, von Syrien und von der Stadt Antioch her, siegte Demetrios und erlangte das Königtum im ersten Jahre der 160. Olympiade."

[131] Just. 36.1.3.

Intriguingly, a diary, which we have signaled before, while reporting on the preparations of general Ardaya, the "commander of the troops of Akkad" against an Elymaean incursion in Babylonia during Demetrios II's early rule in 21/22.ix.–20/21.x.145 BCE (= vii.167 SE), mentions these very Greek colons, mustered for the pending confrontation, as *pulitē* (*οἱ πολῖται*),[132] that is, the *pulitē ša ina Bābili u Selūke'ā* "the Greek citizens of Babylon and Seleucia."[133]

Thus, based on our scant evidence, we may posit that Demetrios II's campaign could have been partially animated by the desire to rally to his cause the Greek colons settled in the cities of Mesopotamia (and Media?), the *pulitē,* and hence decisively to alter the balance of power in the struggle against Tryphon. One may also surmise that, in restoring the old boundaries of the Seleucid empire in the east, Demetrios II may have hoped to regain some measure of prestige among the disaffected citizens and soldiery of Antioch and other cities of Syria and eventually to prompt a change of heart in their midst.

As to the much debated itinerary of the campaign,[134] Josephos[135] and the Maccabees[136] clearly, and Justin implicitly,[137] suggest that Demetrios II's operations were primarily aimed at occupying Media, although Josephos also mentions his design to occupy Mesopotamia and Babylon.

Most recently, Dąbrowa has argued that Demetrios II exclusively operated in Media[138] and probably never reached Mesopotamia.[139] Demetrios II's choice of campaigning in Media, rather than directly advancing

[132] On the *pulitē,* see above, n. 89.

[133] See Shayegan, "Demetrius II," 86.

[134] For an overview of the relevant issues with inclusion of older literature, see Ehling, "Probleme," 227–229; Dąbrowa, "L'expédition de Démétrios II," 12–16. Compare also, Dąbrowa, "Mithridate Ier et les grecs," 37–42; van der Spek, "New Evidence," 172–173; and Potts, "Five Episodes," 356–357.

[135] J. *AJ* 13.184–185: *ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος διαβὰς εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἦκε, ταύτην τε βουλόμενος καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα κατασχεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος ἐντεῦθεν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὅλης τῆς βασιλείας ἀφορμάς.*

[136] 1 *Macc.* 14.1.: *καὶ ἐν ἔτει δευτέρῳ καὶ ἑβδομηχοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ συνήγαγε Δημήτριος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς Μηδίαν τοῦ ἐπισπάσασθαι βοήθειαν αὐτῷ ὅπως πολεμήσῃ τὸν Τρύφωνα. καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἀρσάκης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Περσίδος καὶ Μηδίας ὅτι εἰσῆλθε Δημήτριος εἰς τὰ ὅρια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἕνα τῶν ἀρκόντων αὐτοῦ συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ζῶντα. καὶ ἐπορεύθη καὶ ἐπάταξε τὴν παρεμβολὴν Δημητρίου καὶ συνέλαβεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἀρσάκην καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν φυλακῇ.*

[137] Just. 36.1.3: *bellum Parthis inferre statuit cuius adventum non inviti Orientis populi videre et propter Arsacidae regis Parthorum crudelitatem et quod veteri Macedonum imperio adsueti novi populi superbiam indigne ferebant.*

[138] Dąbrowa, "L'expédition de Démétrios II," 13–16, especially, 14.

[139] *Ibid.*, 14, where the author states: "D'autre part nous ne disposons pas d'autres preuves que Démétrios II aurait réellement atteint les territoires de la Mésopotamie."

against Mesopotamia, Dąbrowa further suggests, was partially dictated by the prospect of a favorable reception of the Seleucid king by the Greek population of the cities of Media,[140] where Demetrios II hoped to undermine Mihrdād I's base of power, and eventually force the Arsacids to withdraw from Mesopotamia.[141]

However, the *Diaries* clearly indicate that the campaign—whatever one may assume Demetrios II's original intention may have been—went no farther than Babylonia and never reached Media, for the Arsacid king Mihrdād I came from the cities of Media to Babylon, in order to fight Demetrios II. But, before further investigating this issue, we shall first turn our attention to the identity of a certain Bagayaša, who seems to have been instrumental in the Arsacid success against Demetrios II.

The identity of Bagayaša

The *Diaries* recount some of the preparations made in Babylonia just prior to the looming attack of Seleucid forces:

> from Uruk, went out from Babylon to Uruk. These troops of the king retreated at the midpoint of their journey. The 5th day, [. . .] / [. . . from Seleucia which is] on the Tigris and the king's canal, entered Babylon. The 21st day, this general and the general . . . [. . .] / [. . .] **Bagayaša? who to the cities? of the province of Assyria** [. . .] / [. . .] . . . **mustered? his** [. . .] **and to the cities of Media** [. . .][142]

First, we are informed that Arsacid contingents previously sent from Uruk to the city of Babylon were ordered to retreat back to the City? sometime close to 11/12.vii.138 BCE (= 5.iv.174 SE). Then, Bagayaša is mentioned for the first time in our *Diaries*. This Bagayaša was the son of Mihrdād I and a (younger?) brother of Frahād II, as yet another diary—written considerably later, that is, in 7/8.x–5/6.xi.133 BCE (= vii.179 SE), than the events with which we are concerned at this juncture—reports:

> [t]hat month, I heard as follows: Pilinus the general of Babylonia who is above the four generals, who in month I had gone to the cities of Media before **Bagayaša, the brother of the king** [. . .][143]

[140] *Ibid.*, 15: "Il faudrait plutôt supposer qu'en grande partie il devait ses succès au soutien apporté par les habitants des territoires sur lesquels il agissait. À notre vue cela explique les causes réelles pour lesquelles le roi syrien avait choisi la Médie comme territoire principal de ses opérations."

[141] *Ibid.*, 15: "La conquête de la Médie aurait permis de priver Mithridate I^{er} des territoires qui constituaient le noyeau de son État. Démétrios II comptait probablement sur le fait que grâce à cela il réussirait à forcer Mithridate I^{er} à se retirer de la Mésopotamie. Le succès d'un tel projet devait lui permettre de rétablir relativement facilement le règne syrien sur ce pays."

[142] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –137 A 'obv.' 16'–19' (= 160–161).

[143] *Ibid.*, no. –132 B rev. 21–22 (= 216–217).

As our first diary further informs us, on the 27/28.vii.138 BCE (= 21.iv.174 SE), Bagayaša was involved in the mustering of soldiers within territories under his supervision, which seem to have encompassed aside from the cities of the province of Assyria *ālānu ša pīḫāt māt Aššur* (ᵘʳᵘ^{meš} *ša pi-ḫat* KUR *Aš-šur*^{ki}), also the cities of Media *ālānu ša māt Mādaya* (ᵘʳᵘ^{meš} *ša* KUR *Ma-da-*[*a-a*]). This impression is confirmed by our second diary, in which general Philinos, the general of Babylonia who is above the four generals, is depicted presenting himself *before* Bagayaša—who unmistakably is his superior—in Media: *ana ālāni ša māt Mādaya ana maḫar Bagayašâ aḫi šarri illik-ma* [. . .] "he went from the cities of Media to the presence of Bagayaša, the king's brother [. . .]," thus conveying the sense that Bagayaša, the imperial prince, oversaw not only the cities of Media, but from there also watched over the supreme commander of Babylonia. What is more, a third diary dated to 19/20.x.135 BCE (= 20.vii.177 SE) tells of the continuing involvement of Bagayaša's unspecified office,[144] as the king's representative (*amtu ša šarri*), directly in Babylonian affairs, in spite of the well attested presence of supreme commanders in Babylonia throughout early Arsacid history:

[that? month?], the 20th, leather documents of Menupilus, who to the king, the father? of . . . [. . .] / fell sick by a grave disease, and his mind . . . [. . .] 3rd, leather documents of the king concerning **the appointing of Bagayaša** [. . .] / **as of the king? at the side of the citizens who are in Babylon** who [. . .] a copy of a leather? document?[145]

Incidentally, Justin relates that in the early phase of the Arsacid expansion, following the conquest of Media, Mihrdād I appointed a certain *Bacasis* over the Medes:

[Just. 51.1.1]
interim inter Parthos et Medos bellum oritur cum varius utriusque populi casus fuisset ad postremum victoria penes Parthos fuit his viribus auctus ***Mithridates Mediae Bacasin praeponit*** *ipse in Hyrcanium proficiscitur.*

"Meanwhile war arose between the Parthians and the Medes, whereby one and the other people had changing fortunes, at the end, final victory was with the Parthians. Invigorated by his might, **Mithradates set Bacasis as chief over Media**, while he himself made for Hyrcania."

[144] For the office of Bagayaša, see below, 74, 76, and 85–88.
[145] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –134 B obv.′ 15–17 (= 195).

The official appointed as ruler over Media by Mihrdād I, Bacasis,[146] is no other than the Bagayaša (<**baga-yāsa-*)[147] of our *Diaries*, and the commander alluded to by the Maccabees (*ἕνα τῶν ἀρχόντων*),[148] endowed with an *imperium*, superordinate to the mandate of Babylonian supreme commanders, thus, encompassing not only Media, but also Babylonia.[149]

At the time, when Bagayaša was first reported in the *Diaries*, that is, on 27/28.vii.138 BCE, Media had been pacified, probably by Bagayaša himself, and the center of the operations against Demetrios II was in Babylonia. This interpretation finds further support in the aforementioned passage of the *Diaries* depicting the capture of Demetrios II by king Arsaces, wherein it is unambiguously indicated that the king went *from* the cities of Media *to* Babylon, in order to deliver his final battle: *Aršakâ šarru annâ ultu ālāni ša māt Mādaya ana māt Bābili illik-ma* [. . .] "this king Arsaces [Mihrdād I] went from the cities of Media to Babylon."[150] This means the Arsacid king must have controlled the cities of Media, prior to his departure to Babylon in order to deliver battle to Demetrios II, and that consequently the latter never operated in Media as posited by Dąbrowa, and probably did not venture further east than the Euphrates during the length of his campaign.

Demetrios II's captivity and Mihrdād I's end

The capture of Demetrios II is commonly attributed to Mihrdād I, as suggested notably by the testimonies of Justin and Appian.[151] Indeed, Justin mentions that Demetrios was captured and sent to Hyrcania, where he was treated magnanimously by king Arsaces, who also gave him his daughter in marriage:

146 To my knowledge, Haruta, "Arshakid Parthia," 181–193, is the first to have equated Bacasis with Bagayaša.

147 On the interpretation of the name as **baga-yāsa-* (or **baga-yaza-*), still see Gershevitch, "Amber at Persepolis," 218; Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, 138, no. 8.228; *Altpersische Namen*, 15; and Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, 61. Compare also Stolper, "Iranica," 247, who derives Bagayaša from the hypocoristic form **bagaiča-*; see also Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, 56. For the attestation of the name *baga-yaza-* in Achaemenid Aramaic documents of Bactria, see Shaked, *Satrape de Bactriane*, 47.

148 1 *Macc.* 14.1.

149 Compare also Schuol, *Charakene*, 294, who is under the impression that Bagayaša was the supreme commander of Babylonia—and not Philinos—and was subsequently replaced by Theodosios: "dann sei Pilinussu zu Bagajaša, dem Bruder des Partherkönigs, nach Medien gezogen. Bagajaša sei aus seinem Amt als Oberstratege von Babylonien (Befehlshaber über die 4 Strategen Babyloniens) enfternt und durch Te'udisisu (Theodosius) ersetzt worden."

150 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –137 A 'rev.' 9 (= 160–161).

151 Compare also the testimony of Josephos (J. *AJ* 13.186): *δεξαμένων δὲ αὐτὸν προθύμως τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ συναγαγὼν δύναμιν ἐπολέμησε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρσάκην καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν ἀποβαλὼν αὐτὸς ζῶν ἐλήφθη καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.*

[Just. 38.9.3]
cui [Demetrio] Arsacides Parthorum rex magno et regio animo misso in Hyrcaniam non cultum tantum regium praestitit sed et filiam in matrimonium dedit regnumque Syriae quod per absentiam eius Trypho occupaverat restituturum promittit.

"the Parthian king, Arsacides, sending him with a noble and kingly disposition to Hyrcania, not only offered him a mode of life fit for a king, but also gave him (the hand of) his daughter in marriage, and promised to recover for him the throne of Syria, which Trypho had occupied in his absence."

Appian completes this account by providing the name of the Arsacid princess, as well as that of her brother (Phraates)—who, fulfilling the promise of his father married his sister to Demetrios II—thus rendering the identification of Arsaces with Mihrdād I possible:

[App. *Syr.* 67]
ἐπί τε Παρθυαίους καὶ ὅδε μετὰ Σέλευκον ἐστράτευσε καὶ γενόμενος αἰχμάλωτος δίαιταν εἶχεν ἐν Φραάτου βασιλέως καὶ Ῥοδογούνην ἔζευξεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ὁ βασιλεύς

"following Seleukos he made war on the Parthians. He was taken prisoner by them and lived in the palace of king Phraates, the king who gave him (his) sister, Rhodogune, in marriage."

If the Arsaces who took Demetrios II prisoner, in our above diary dated 7/8.vii.–4/6.viii.138 BCE (= iv.174 SE),[152] was indeed Mihrdād I, it would signify that the king himself led the campaign against Demetrios II and was not absent in Hyrcania as the decisive battle was fought in Mesopotamia, as suggested in scholarship.[153] More importantly, the date of Mihrdād I's death must be pushed back to 7/8.vii.138 BCE at the earliest for him to have participated in the campaign.

Van der Spek has recently suggested that Frahād II rather than Mihrdād I may have defeated Demetrios II, by basing himself on an obscure passage of the *Diaries*, which, according to him, could indicate Mihrdād I's demise:

I heard as follows: **king Arsaces** in (or: from) the city [. . .] / [. . .] **they [ki]lled**[?][154]

The passage in question, however, is too fragmentary to lend itself to any inference on the king's death and succession.[155]

[152] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -137 A 'rev.' 8'–11' (= 160–161).
[153] Compare Wolski, *L'Empire*, 81–82.
[154] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -140 C rev.' 41'–42' (= 152–153).
[155] Van der Spek, "New Evidence," 173. Furthermore, the argument put forth by the author that classical sources do not supply any conclusive evidence as to the identity of the Arsacid king, "[actually no source mentions the name of the Parthian king *expressis verbis* (he is called by his throne

In the end, the *terminus post quem* for Frahād's rule is determined by the brief notice of our diary, wherein Philinos is reported to have presented himself to Bagayaša, the brother of king Frahād II, some time in 7/8.x–5/6.xi.133 BCE (= vii.179 SE).[156] Thus, at the latest, by 5/6.xi.133 BCE, the succession to Mihrdād I ought to have taken place.

Although, in the present discussion, we have indicated the date 7/8.vii.138 BCE as the earliest after which, and the date 7/8–5/6.xi.133 BCE as the latest at which Mihrdād I's succession could have occurred, there is reason to believe that Mihrdād I was still alive by 2/3.xi.135 BCE (= 3.viii.177 SE). Indeed, in a rather vague passage of the diary,[157] which, as we have seen, deals with the reappointment of Bagayaša in an unspecified capacity over Babylonian affairs,[158] it is reported that on 19/20.x.135 BCE (= 20.vii.177 SE) a certain Arsacid official by the name of Menophilos[159] (*Menupilusu*), before being stricken by illness, had sent some leather documents to the attention of the king (*ana šarri*), said to be the father (*abu*[?]) of a person whose identity our *Diaries'* lacunae have silenced. This person we suspect to be identical with Bagayaša, on whose behalf his father, Mihrdād I, had dispatched these leather documents back to Babylon to confirm Bagayaša's appointment as the representative of the king (*amtu ša šarri*):

[that[?] month[?]], the 20th, leather documents of Menupilus, who to the king, the father[?] of . . . [. . .] / fell sick by a grave disease, and his mind . . . [. . .] 3rd, leather documents of the king concerning the appointing of Bagayaša [. . .] / as of the king[?] at the side of the citizens who are in Babylon who [. . .] a copy of a leather[?] document[?][160]

Thus, if our assumption is correct, the succession to king Mihrdād I could have taken place some time between 19/20.x.135 BCE (= 20.vii.177 SE) and 5/6.xi.133 BCE. An allusion to Mihrdād I's demise and the accession of Frahād II may be entailed in a diary dated to 25/26.–30/31.i.133 BCE (= 10–15.xi.178 SE), wherein the satrap of Babylon is reported performing sacrificial offerings for the life of the new[?] king (and his own life) with the assistance of the assembly of Esagil[161]:

name Arsaces)," is without merit as illustrated above on the basis of the testimonies of Justin and Appian alone.

156 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –132 B rev. 21–22 (= 216–217).

157 *Ibid.*, no. –134 B obv.' 15–17 (= 194–195).

158 See above, 73.

159 See also Del Monte, *Testi*, 121.

160 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –134 B obv.' 15–17 (= 194–195).

161 On the administration of the Esagil *Tempelgemeinde* in Hellenistic and Arsacid periods, namely, the assembly (*kiništu*), and the administrator (*šatammu*), of the Esagil, with inclusion of older literature, see now Boiy, *Babylon*, 193–204.

[. . .] Seleucia on the Tigris entered Babylon. The 10th, **the satrap of Babylonia** / [. . .] the assembly of the Esagil [provided] one bull and 4 (sheep) sacrifices **in the 'Gate of the Son of the Prince' of Esagil** / [. . .] **he performed** [offerings for the li]fe **of the king and his own life.** The 15th, one bull and 3 (sheep) sacrifices / they provided for this [satrap of Babyl]lonia in the 'Gate of the Son of the Prince' of Esagil; he **performed offerings as before.**[162]

Elymais and Characene

First Elamite raid on Mesopotamia

We first hear of the Elamite king Kammaškiri (ˡ*Ka-am-ma-áš-ki-i-ri*) in a diary dated to 7/8.ix.145 BCE (= 17.vi.167 SE), which reports on his leaving Elam for a campaign in Seleucid Mesopotamia (*šarru māt Elamtu bēl ummāni ṣīrāti ultu matīšu . . .*)

[t]hat month, the 17th, a message of Demetrius, [. . .] was read [. . .] the commander of all the troops of the royal house . . . / That month, I heard as follows: Ari'bu . . . [. . .] . . . / entered Babylon and the other rivers. **The auxiliary troops of . . . [. . .] / the king of Elam with his numerous troops [. . .] from this land** [. . .].[163]

In response to the Elamite incursion, the Iranian? general of Seleucid Babylonia, Ardaya, whom we have encountered before while he was mustering his troops,[164] moved out of Babylon, on 2/3.xi.145 BCE (= 12.viii.167 SE), to confront king Kammaškiri, who seems to have been leisurely plundering Babylonian cities and terrorizing their population, prior to leaving, or being ousted by Ardaya:

[t]hat month, **on the 12th, Ardaya, the (general)** . . . [. . .] /. . . **this general of Babylonia [. . .] from Babylon to fight with Kammaškiri** [. . .] from the king? . . . [. . .] / **Kammaškiri, king of Elam, marched around victoriously among the cities and rivers of Babylonia; they plundered** [. . . and] / **carried off their spoil.** The people [. . .] their animals [. . .] for fear of this Elamite to the house? [. . .] **There was panic and fear in the land.**[165]

By 14.vii–11.viii.144 BCE (= iv.168 SE), Kammaškiri's troops seem to have regained their base in Susa:

[th]at [month], I heard as follows: **the troops** which to Susa . . . of Susa [. . .] / [. . .] many? [. . .] which had . . . **to Elam, they made enter Susa** [. . .][166]

[162] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -133 B/C obv.' 22'–25' (= 204–205).
[163] *Ibid.*, no. -144 'obv. 14'–18' (= 94–95).
[164] *Ibid.*, no. -144 'obv. 36'–37' (= 96–97).
[165] *Ibid.*, no. -144 rev.' 20–22 (= 98–101).
[166] *Ibid.*, no. -143 A 'Flake' 18'–19' (= 104–105).

Second Elamite raid on Mesopotamia

In 3/4.xii.141–2/3.i.140 BCE (= ix.171 SE), the *Diaries* recount that a second wave of Elamite incursions shook Mesopotamia during Mihrdād I's absence in Hyrcania, incursions, which prompted the Arsacid's departure from Hyrcania to Babylonia:

> That month [ix] I heard as follows: **king Arsaces and his troops departed from Arqani'a (Hyrcania)** / I heard as follows: (on the) 6th, **the Elamite and his troops departed towards Apamea which is on the river Ṣilḫu for fighting.** / That [month?], the people who dwell in Apamea went out to **Bit-Karkudî; they burned Apamea.** / [. . .] **An(tiochus) the general who is above the 4 generals, who was representing king Arsaces, went out from Sel[eucia which is on] / the Tigris towards the Elamite for fighting;** from the river Kabari he departed, and the numerous troops . . . [. . .] / went out for fighting. The people who were in Seleucia and the people who dwell in Babylon, [. . .] the belongings [. . .] / to guard (them) before the . . . of the Elamite. I heard as follows: the troops who were in Bit-[Karkudî . . .] / set up [. . .] of the troops of the Elamite. That month, the people [. . .] their children, their possessions, and their wives [. . .] / the nobles of the king who had entered Babylon and the few people they led to the sea [. . .] / **of the brickwork of the Marduk Gate they tore down and the brickwork** [. . .] / [. . .] on? the Euphrates from . . . [. . .][167]

Judging from our diary, the Elamites initially attacked Apamea-on-the-Ṣilḫu,[168] whose citizens found refuge in the city of Bīt-Karkudī on the Tigris. The Elamites, having seemingly laid waste and burnt down Apamea, set out for Bīt-Karkudī, while the Arsacid general Antiochos, coming from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, with troops provided by the citizens of Seleucia, sought to frustrate the Elamite offensive and prevent it from spreading beyond Bīt-Karkudī, to Babylon itself. As the *Diaries* seem further to insinuate, not only did people find sanctuary in Babylon, but from among the refugees some members of the nobility (*rabûtu ša šarrî*) who had previously entered Babylon seem to have left the city for the sea, possibly due to the vehemence of the Elamites' assault on Babylon, who were destroying the brickwork of Marduk's Gate: *agurru ša abul/abulli Marduk inaqqarū* "they were tearing down the brickwork of the Marduk Gate." The danger to which Babylon was exposed might have induced

[167] *Ibid.*, no. -140 C obv. 34–44 (= 146–147).

[168] On the city of Apamea-on-the-Ṣilḫu (= *Fam aṣ-Ṣilḥ; Ἀπάμεα ἡ πρὸς τῶι Σελείαι*), see Potts, "Five Episodes," 355, n. 7 and Del Monte, *Testi*, 107, n. 211. For a comprehensive survey and comparison of sources pertinent to the location of the city of Apamea, as well as a discussion of literature, see Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica*, 29–35. On classical and Arabic sources on Apamea(e), see further Schwartz, "Ἀπάμεια," 170–173; Herzfeld, "Untersuchungen," 133–143; Tscherikower, *Hellenistische Städtegründungen*, 171; Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. VII, 20, no. 1; Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, 305–306; Schaeder, "Ḥasan al-Baṣrī," 14–37.

general Antiochos to negotiate with the Elamites (or to betray his sovereign?), which in return was interpreted as treason by the Greek population of Seleucia. Thus, Antiochos' diplomacy (or betrayal) having been perceived as seditious by the Greek population of Seleucia, he was persecuted and his possessions plundered. Antiochos was eventually assassinated at the king's (Mihrdād I's) command[169]:

[t]hat month I heard as follows: on the 4th day, the citizens who were in Seleucia which is on the Tigris set up a curse on Antiochus, / the general who is above the 4 generals, because? **he made common cause with the Elamite; they had provided?** ... for the general, / **and sent many troops with him towards the Elamite for fighting** [. . .][170]

Third Elamite raid: Famine in Elam

The *Diaries* provide precious information on the state of Elamite affairs on 3/4.viii.138 BCE (= 28.iv.174 SE), which coincides with the very month in which Demetrios II's fate was sealed by Mihrdād I's complete victory in Babylonia:

[t]hat month, the 28th day, . . . [. . .] / general who was above the 4 generals entered Babylon. That month, **a fall of cattle** . . . [. . .] / [. . .] Uruk and the cities which are on the Kuth canal, the Piqudu canal and the canals [. . .] / [. . .] . . . their . . . **they took and brought (them) up to Elam. The people** of these cities in fear of . . . [. . .] / . . . **and famine occurred in Susa and the cities of Elam.** I heard as follows: **the Urukeans** . . . [. . .] / [. . .] **planned evil.**[171]

Indeed, our diary reports that an epidemic, having befallen the livestock (*miqitti sugulli*) of Uruk and of other neighboring cities,[172] had spread to Elam, causing famine in Susa and other cities of Elam.

This calamity (famine), which seems to have been perceived by our Babylonian diarists as an Urukean curse/evil (on Elam), may have prompted the reported Elamite incursion into Mesopotamia in 2/3–30/31.xii.138 BCE (= ix.174 SE), an incursion that could well have aimed at providing some respite to the famine-stricken population of Elymais by dint of looting.

Arsacid victory over Elamite forces

The raid of 2/3–30/31.xii.138 BCE (= ix.174 SE), however, was met with fierce resistance by the Arsacid supreme commander, who, having been

[169] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -137 B 'rev.' 19'–20' (= 164–165).
[170] *Ibid.*, no. -140 C rev.' 29'–42' (= 150–153).
[171] *Ibid.*, no. -137 A 'rev.' 3'–11' (= 160–161).
[172] On the locations of the Piqūdu Canal, see Zadok, *Geographical Names*, 249–50; "Zur Geographie Babyloniens," 34, 36; Del Monte, *Testi*, III, n. 205.

probably alerted to the attack, was able to make preparations to face the Elamites,[173] over whom he eventually triumphed:

[t]hat month, the 10th? day, [. . .] / pitched his camp [in . . .] on the Tigris. He [the general who is above the 4 generals] **returned and mustered his troops** [. . .] / [. . .] entered [. . . Seleucia which is on] the Tigris and the king's canal. That month, on an unknown day, **the king's troops who guarded Babylonia came** and . . . [. . .] / [. . .] . . . **dispersed their cohorts, took captives of them . . . they inflicted a defeat on them. They returned?** [. . .] / [. . .] panic of the Elamite enemy was strong in the land, and panic of the enemy fell on the people,. . . and **reed marshes? they dispersed?** [. . .][174]

The royal troops under Philinos are said to have successfully warded off the enemy's offensive, dispersed its cohorts, and driven it back to the marshlands of the Gulf.

It appears that, in spite of the Arsacid victory over the Elamites, the latter continued to inspire great fear (*ḫātu*) in Babylonia, a fear that was obviated only with the entrance of another actor into the busy political arena of Mesopotamian affairs.

Rise of Hyspaosines of Characene and continued Elamite raids

It is at this junction, still in 2/3–30/31.xii.138 BCE (= ix.174 SE), that the *Diaries* first mention Hyspaosines of Characene,[175] who, apparently taking advantage of the state of general disarray into which the Elamites had fallen consequent upon the famine and their defeat at the hands of the Arsacids, embarked upon an ambitious campaign of conquest by investing numerous cities and territories of the Gulf which were previously under Elamite suzerainty, thus creating much fear in Elam and a great deal of solace in Babylonia:

[. . .] **of the lower Sealand, the cities and canals of the gulf** [. . .] . . . lutra their names were (called? . . .] / [. . .] and made them obey to his command; he imposed tribute on them, and Aspasinē, son of [. . .] / this **[Aspas]inē searched for a sortie? against the Elamite enemy, and turned the cities** [and? ca]nals? **of the lower Sealand over to his own side, and made [them obey?] to his command** [. . .] / [. . .] in order to complete [. . .] of **the lower Sea(land)** who did not obey his command,

[173] In the diary no. -137 C 'rev. 16'–17' (= 168–169), it is reported that the supreme commander of Babylonia entered Seleucia coming from Babylon and there is also an ambiguous mention of the province Media opposite of Elam: "[. . .] the general **who is above** the 4 generals, from Babylon to Seleu[cia . . .] / [. . .] in the province of Media opposite **of Elam** [. . .]." The following passage, no. -137 D 'obv. 8'–13' (= 168–169), clearly indicates that the supreme commander came to Seleucia at the head of troops expressly mustered in connection with the anticipated encounter with the Elamites.

[174] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -137 D 'obv. 8'–12' (= 168–169).

[175] On Hyspaosines, now authoritatively see Schuol, *Charakene*, 291–300.

. . . / [. . .] **seized them in a revolt, took captives of them, plundered them** [. . .] / [. . .there was] **panic in Elam, happiness and agreement in Babylonia** [. . .][176]

Judging from the diary's notice that there was "happiness and agreement" in Babylonia (*ṭūb šīri u mitgurtu ina Bābili*), one may wonder whether Hyspaosines was an independent ruler acting against the Elamites in his own interest, which happened to agree with that of the Arsacid empire, or whether he was an Arsacid subject campaigning on behalf of the empire. The fact that Hyspaosines later joined forces with the Elamites against the Arsacid empire, as we shall see, may indicate that he was already acting independently, or at best was an Arsacid ally.[177]

On 5/6.i.137 BCE (= 6.x.174 SE), the *Diaries* report an attack upon Nippur by unspecified enemy forces that, having plundered the city, taken captives, and carried off spoils, were forcefully chased by the guard commander of the city of Uruk, who, having reclaimed a share of the loot, sent it subsequently to the general of Babylonia:

On the 6th day, **an enemy force fell on Nippur and took captives, they killed people, carried off spoil** [. . .] / and brought spoil out. Rumour[?] spread[?], **the officer of the guard from Uruk pursued them and reached them, he reduced their captives, [took away[?]] their spoil** [. . .] / **and sent what he had seized[?] to Babylon and Seleucia before the general of Babylonia.** / The 17th, the general of Babylonia with his troops entered Babylon. That day[?] [. . .][178]

The enemy responsible for the pillaging of Nippur was probably another contingent of the selfsame Elamite forces, which, in the weeks immediately preceding Nippur's raid, that is, in 2/3–30/31.xii.138 BCE (= ix.174 SE), had been routed by Philinos, the Arsacid supreme commander.

Recapitulating the events pertinent to Demetrios II's *anabasis,* as well as the first two waves of Elamite raids in Mesopotamia, and the first reported actions of Hyspaosines of Characene between 11/12.vii.138 and 5/6.i.137 BCE (= 5.iv.–6.x.174 SE), we may say that no signs of coordination between the military campaigns of the parties opposed to the Arsacid state could be observed. At variance with Justin's assurance that Demetrios II was assisted in his *anabasis* by contingents of defiant Persians, Elamites, and Bactrians,

[176] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -137 D 'obv. 13'–14' and -137 D rev.' 1–3 (= 168–171).

[177] Compare Schuol, *Charakene*, 293: "[a]us diesem Text geht nicht hervor, ob Hyspaosines als unabhängiger Herrscher agierte und die Eroberung Babyloniens als Ausdruck seiner gegen die Parther gerichteten Expansionsbestrebungen aufzufassen ist oder ob er zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch (loyaler) Provinzgouverneur des Partherkönigs war und in dieser Funktion den Arsakidenherrscher bzw. das parthische Babylonien unterstützte."

[178] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -137 D rev.' 24–26 (= 174–175).

who were keen to break away from from Arsacid dominion,[179] the *Diaries* not only testify to a continued Arsacid hold on Babylonia, but also Media and Hyrcania in the period immediately preceding Demetrios II's ill-fated campaign. We would have expected both Media and Hyrcania to be in turmoil, if, indeed, a Bactrian insurgency intent on joining forces with the Seleucids had erupted in the east. But both Media, wherein Bagayaša operated, and Hyrcania seem to have been under Arsacid control, and what is more, the preparations in Media at least are geared towards the confrontation with the Seleucids in the west. As to the unequivocal autonomy of Elamite operations in Mesopotamia, it appears to have responded to political exigencies different from Seleucid political interests.[180] Indeed, the sustained military activities of the Elamites first against the Seleucids and, subsequently, the Arsacids, beginning with the first attestation of Kammaškiri in 7/8.ix.145 BCE (= 17.vi.167 SE), up to the conclusion of the later Elamite–Characenean alliance in 2/3.ii.–3/4.iii.132 BCE (= xi.179 SE), does not substantiate the assumption of an intervening sway over the Elamite kingdom, either by the Seleucids or the Arsacids, prior to the outcome of Frahād II's successful campaign in Elymais, in early February/March 132 BCE,[181] which constitutes the subject of our next subchapter.

The Elamite and Characenean alliance

A few years following the short-lived Arsacid victory over the Elamites, in 2/3–30/31.xii.138 BCE (= ix.174 SE), we find the latter in 7/8.x–5/6.xi.133 BCE (= vii.179 SE) threatening Mesopotamia again during the mandate of the Arsacid supreme commander Antiochos, this time raiding Arsacid territory in concert with Hyspaosines of Characene, whom we had previously encountered as a celebrated foe of the "Elamite enemy," but who then appears to have changed his allegiance probably as a consequence of the greater menace posed to the autonomy of the Characenean kingdom by the expanding Arsacid empire:

[179] Just. 36.1.3–4: *bellum Parthis inferre statuit cuius adventum non inviti Orientis populi videre et propter Arsacidae regis Parthorum crudelitatem et quod veteri Macedonum imperio adsueti novi populi superbiam indigne ferebant. Itaque cum et Persarum et Elymaeorum Bactrianorumque auxiliis iuvaretur multis proeliis Parthos fudit.* Compare also Schuol, *Charakene*, 293: "[d]emnach hätten sich die drei bereits vom Seleukidenreich unabhängigen Gebiete (Persis, Elymais, Baktrien) mit Demetrios II. zu einer Koalition gegen den gemeinsamen Feind, gegen Mithradates I., zusammengeschlossen."

[180] Similarly, Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 338.

[181] The reported *symmachia* between the Elamites, Persians, Bactrians, and the Seleucids against the Arsacids during Demetrios II's *anabasis*, may have resulted from a retrojection of the later historical entente between the Elamites and the Characeneans. In view of the presumed Bactrian connections of Hyspaosines' house, the Bactrians may in reality refer to the Characeneans. See Bellinger, "Hyspaosines of Charax," 57–59.

I heard as follows: the forces of Aspasinē, / the enemy from the environs[?] of Mesene[?], a friend of the Elamite enemy came and fell on the harbor of ships / in the Tigris and plundered this harbor of ships together with their possessions.[182]

In the same month 7/8.x–5/6.xi.133 BCE (= vii.179 SE), we are told of two important events. First, we are told that Philinos, who had been summoned already in 13/14.iv.–12/13.v.133 BCE (= i.174 SE) to Media to report to Bagayaša—the brother and representative of king Frahād II endowed with an unspecified oversight *imperium* over Media and Babylonia—was now replaced by a certain Theodosios—whom the *Diaries* mention on one occasion prior to his appointment, in connection with the process of sacrificial rites being performed at the "Gate of the Son of the Prince" of Esagil[183]—and this substitution was then announced to the governor and citizens of Babylon on 30/31.x.133 BCE (= 24.vii.179 SE):

[t]hat month, I heard as follows: Pilinus the general of Babylonia who is above the four generals, / who in month I had gone to the cities of Media before Bagayaša, the brother of the king, and . . . / as follows: **from the position of general of Babylonia** . . . That month, the 24th, leather documents of Arsaces / **to the governor of Babylon and the citizens who are in Babylon**, were brought and read as follows: **Te'udisisu / I have appointed above the four generals of Babylonia.**[184]

Rise of a prophet

Second, the imminent menace of the Elamite–Characenean alliance went beyond the evident imperilment of the Arsacid handhold on Mesopotamia, and appears to have provoked religious upheavals amidst the panic-stricken populations of Babylon and Borsippa. As the elusive tenor of the *Diaries* seems to suggest, the populace seems to have embraced the preaching of a sailor, acting as the messenger of the goddess Nanaya[185] (against the Elamite enemy?):

[t]hat month, **one sailor** . . . [. . .] . . . / his mind was altered, and one dais between Egišnugal, the temple of Sin, and the gate . . . / . . ., put an offering on it and spoke a good command to the people, as follows: 'the god Bel has entered Babylon.' The [. . .,] / men and women, came and placed offerings on this dais. They ate and drank opposite this dais, / they sang[?] and rejoiced. 2 reed bundles[?] . . . [. . .]

[182] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -133 B rev. 18–20 (= 216–217).

[183] *Ibid.*, no. -132 A 'rev.' 1'–4' (= 210–211).

[184] *Ibid.*, no. -132 B rev. 21–25 (= 216–217).

[185] On the goddess Nanaya and her iconographic representations in Babylonia, Elymais, and Iran during the Hellenistic and Arsacid periods, see Ambos, "Nanaja," 243–244, and 250–258. For a comprehensive survey of the cult of the goddess Nanaya in ancient Mesopotamia up to the Seleucid period, see Westenholz, "Nanaya," 57–84; for a recent and exhaustive treatment of Nanaya in the neo-Babylonian period, see Beaulieu, *Pantheon of Uruk*, 182–216.

to this dais. / The 11th, two . . . they brought, and the . . . from . . . of the land to . . . / he spoke a command to these people as follows: 'Nanaya has entered Ezida in Borsippa.' Quickly this . . . / and the people who were with him went to Borsippa, and the Borsippeans before them sang[?] and rejoiced . . . / was opened[?] before them. The . . . and the people . . . / they answered as follows: the god [. . .] . . . [. . .] / this headband[?] . . . [. . .] . . . / [. . .] Nanaya [. . .] / [. . .] . . . [. . .] / [. . .] . . . they put in a chariot; this . . . [. . .] / [. . .] . . . in Babylon, Borsippa, and . . . [. . .] / [. . .] . . ., and they hear . . . in the streets and squares [. . .] / [. . .] . . . [. . .] / [. . .] . . . of Nanaya [. . .] I am sent to[?] the strong hitting god, your god[?]. This assembly of the temples [. . .] to the . . . / [. . .] they answered: Go back to your [. . .,] return to your cities; do not let the city be robbed and plundered, do not hand over the gods as booty instead[?] of the city / [. . .] . . . answered them as follows: I am [a mess]enger of Nanaya: I shall not hand over the city to robbery and plundering. Like[?] the hand of the strong hitting god to Ezida . . . [. . .] / [. . .] this [. . .] of the temples answered the people who were with this . . .: Do not listen to the word of the . . ., [save[?]] your life, / [. . .] . . . yourselves [. . .] . . . the other people did not accept their speech, they said / as follows: [. . .] / to Ezida [. . .] / the strong hitting god [. . .] . . . [. . .][186]

The above passage seems to indicate that a sailor, a self-proclaimed messenger (*mār šiprī*) of Nanaya of Borsippa, having found favor with the populace of Babylon because of his good judgment (*ṭēmu ṭābu*), moved with his followers to Borsippa, where his message found a similar favorable reception with the Borsippeans. The sailor, who is accused by the assembly (*kiništu*) of the temples of distorted[?] judgment (*ṭēmšu išnī-ma* "he went mad"), appears to have advocated a "strong god who hits your gods" (*ilu dannu māḫiṣu ilīkunu*[?]). It seems that the sailor referred himself to Nanaya, whose messenger he proclaimed to be, and whom he tacitly identifies with the "strong hitting god to Ezida" (*ilu dannu māḫiṣu ana Ezida*) by associating it with the temple of Ezida in Borsippa. Irrespective of the tenor of the sailor's religious revendications, which remains elusive, the assembly of the temples seem to have perceived his claims as being tantamount to the total devastation of the city and the surrender of its divinities—to the Elamite enemy?—*do not let the city be robbed and plundered, do not hand over the gods as booty instead*[?] *of the city*. A charge against which the sailor and his neophytes defended themselves, and this despite the assembly's admonitions to the populace to regain their cities, and to save[?] their lives (in view of the pending Elamite invasion, or after it?).

Again in 6/7.xi–4/5.xii.133 BCE (= viii.179 SE), the *Diaries* report some carnage being perpetrated amidst the populations of Babylon, Borsippa,

[186] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –132 B rev. 25–36; lower edge 1–6; left edge 1–5; upper edge 1–3 (= 216–218). On "madness and insanity," *ṭēmu šanû*, see now the study by Stol, "Insanity in Babylonian Sources," 1–12; my thanks to Cale Johnson for this reference.

and other cities, either as a consequence of the Elamite–Characenean offensive against these cities, or following the disruptions caused by the religious upheavals of the sailor-prophet, before order was eventually re-established, an order to which the passage seems to allude by mentioning the message (of the king being read?):

[t]hat month, one sailor [. . .] daises between the gate of Marduk and [. . .] / [. . .] women gathered in it, and they ate bread in it. The 11th, [. . .] / [. . .] many [. . .] **from Babylon and the other² cities** . . . [. . .] / [. . .] **from Borsippa** this . . . with many people [. . .] / [. . .] . . . the people from the city of . . . [. . .] / [. . .] . . . **they killed among them**, and . . . [. . .] / [. . .] **in Babylon and Borsippa** [. . .] / [. . . mess]age of [. . .][187]

The full picture that the above passages seem to illustrate is that of a Babylonia where the royal authority, as well as the *kiništu*, were not always able to maintain order in the midst of a populace traumatized and staggered by the pending Elamite and Characenean invasion, and possibly eager to find solace in the discourse of a prophet.

Once more on Bagayaša: The Bagayaša Chronicle

Recently, a new chronicle ascribed to Bagayaša, dubbed the "Bagayaša Chronicle," has been edited in part by van der Spek, who intends to publish it in its entirety in the near future.[188] While awaiting with much interest this edition, we have thought inexcusable not to include the fragments already published, as they will afford us a more complete picture of Bagayaša's actions and function, as well as shed light on the turbulent history of the decade following the conquest of Babylonia by the Arsacids.

The chronicle, which has been placed in the 130s BCE by van der Spek, may be more precisely dated, as we shall find out. Its content, due to the very fragmented nature of the extant tablets and the fact that merely a part of the edited chronicle has been hitherto published, is difficult to assess; interpretations are therefore bound to be impressionistic and fraught with errors.

The chronicle undoubtedly tells of a period of turmoil and threat of war in Babylon and Borsippa. The chronicle begins with what appears to be the exodus of part of the Babylonian population, namely, the *nišē māti* "the people of the land," their wives, and sucklings who, being released, all left Babylon (*napḫaršunu iṣû*). By whom the *nišē māti*, who may have been the indigenous people of Babylon living in the countryside,[189] were

[187] *Ibid.*, no. –132 C 'rev. C26-C33 (= 224–225).

[188] See van der Spek, "Size and Significance," 284–288.

[189] See van der Spek, Review of *Testi*, 433–434, and "Ethnic Segregation," 396–397; he compares the *nišē māti* "people of the land" with the λαοί of Greek texts.

released is not revealed. It seems likely, however, that they were led away by prince Bagayaša *and* the Subartean troops mentioned in the text, for the chronicle uses the plural form of *waṣûm* "lead out" when mentioning Bagayaša's deeds (*Bayagaša iṣû*). Others seem to have remained in Babylon (proper?) among them, the Šatammu of Esagila, the servants of the king (*ardī šarri*), a few from among the Greek citizens (*nišē īṣūtu itti puliṭē*), and those people who resided in the royal palaces (*nišē šunūtu ša ina ēkallāti ašbû*), although they seem to have been in distress, if we were to give credence to the report of their lamentation (*ikkillu*).

The second fragment (B) seems to report the return of Bagayaša (and the royal authority?) to Babylon, for the Macedonian council of elders, the πελιγᾶνες, appear to have offered gifts to the prince (*qīšātūšunu peliganānu*), who is identified as the brother of the king (*Bagayašâ a*[*ḫi šarri*]).[190] This latter indication provides a precious clue as to the possible date of the chronicle. Since we already established that Bagayaša's royal brother was no other than Frahād II,[191] the chronicle ought to be placed after the latter's accession to the throne, that is, *post* 25/26.–30/31.i.133 BCE (= 10–15.xi.178 SE). The particular events with which we may associate the chronicle are the reported devastations of Babylonian cities during the combined Elamite and Characenean raids in 7/8.x.–12/13.xi.133 BCE (= 1.vii.–7.viii.179 SE).[192] Indeed, the impression of distress reported in the chronicle, which led to the exodus of Babylon's population from the countryside to Borsippa, seems to relate to the *Diaries*' depiction of the tumult that arose on the eve of, or during, the Elamite and Characenean forays into Babylonia, when a sailor/self-proclaimed messenger of Nanaya moved from Babylon together with his followers to Borsippa, where his agitations among Borsippeans was met with harsh admonitions by the temple administration of Ezida.[193]

In light of the Elamite and Characenean campaign, the chronicle's report on the occupation of the palace by the populace ought to be seen as a temporary attempt to find refuge against the enemy—and not forcibly as a gauge of Babylon's *delaissement*—as correctly posited by van der Spek.[194]

[190] See van der Spek, "Size and Significance," 285, obv. B 2′: "x[.. ¹*B*]*a-ga-a-a-šá-a* [ŠU]ú[EŠ LUGAL]."

[191] See above, 72–73.

[192] See above, 82–83.

[193] See above, 83–85.

[194] See van der Spek, "Size and Significance," 287–288: "[i]t is important for us to see that it [the chronicle] may represent an indication that people started to live in the palace. However, it might also suggest that in time of warfare people had fled into the palace and were locked in. Unfortunately, the verb used in our chronicle, *āšabu* 'to sit down' is a little ambiguous. It may refer to a temporary stay 'to stay somewhere temporarily (on a journey, on a flight, etc.),' but also to a longer residence 'to reside and live somewhere, to have domicile.'"

For the chronicle seems to indicate that, upon his return to Babylon, once the enemy threat was presumably warded off, Bagayaša turning angry (*rubû šuātim īgug-ma*) possibly due to the populace's refusal to leave the palace, forced them out ([*nišē šunūtu*] *ša ina ēkallim šuā*[*tim i*]*ṣû*,[195] "[these people] who were in this palace [we]nt out").[196]

A.

obv. (. . .)

4′ [.. .. .. the peop]le of the land, their sucklings, [their wi]ves, they released. All of them wen[t out (.. ..)]

5′ [.. .. ..]x in order to save mess[enger]s the captive and released women? x(x)[.. .. .. ..]

6′ [.. .. .. the sha]tammu of Esagila, the Babylonians, the slaves of the king, a few people from among the *pol*[*itai*]

7′ [.. .. ..] these [pe]ople, who [li]ve in the royal palaces, all of them [raised?] a cry of distress .. .. [.. .. .. ..]

(. . .)

19′ [.. .. ..] returned. The *politai,* who are in Babylon, (*verb*); the troops of Subartu [(.. ..)]

20′ [.. .. .. *to the city of Š*]*a-pi-Adad*? he took the road. On the 10th day, the general (*stratēgos*) of Babylonia [(.. ..)]

21′ [.. .. ..] Bagayasha led them out. {the 20th day} The 10th day, the people x [.. .. .. (.. ..)]

22′ [.. .. ..] x [went] to Ezida and the Borsippaean(s) within .. [.. .. ..]

(. . .)

B.

1′ [.. .. .. .. befo]re him went [.. .. ..

5′ he made captives from him and he plundered from him and .. [.. .. ..]

6′ and these people, who [live] in the royal palaces wh[ich are in Babylon .. .. ..] x [.. .. ..]

7′ the *politai* and these troops, [who li]ve [in Babylon .. .. The troops?]

8′ aforementioned retreated. The <people>, great and small, at this [.. .. ..] in battle stand by watching? .. ..]

9′ this prince became angry and x[.. .. ..]x in the army meeting [.. .. ..]

(. . .)

17′ (. . .) these people]

18′ who are in this palace [we]nt out and wailed?. The shatammu of Esagila (and) the [Babylon]ians [.. .. ..]

19′ 3 sheep for off[ering]s and xxx fattened ducks [provided .. ..].

20′ Joy of heart [was?] established in it and the people who are captured and released? [.. .. ..]

21′ made in the Greek fashion, that to the king x [.. .. ..]

22′ as food for x[.. they established] before him, to the Sikilla Gate, the [Great] Gate [.. .. ..]

23′ xx[.. .. ..] the Sikilla [G]ate, the Great Gate of Esagila x [.. .. ..]

(. . .)

28′ (. . .) these people]

29′ [*who*] live in the royal palace, went into it. Day 11[th, *a prince entered Borsippa. The shatammu of Esagila/Ezida and the Babylonians/Borsippaeans (?) x fattened offering animals*]

30′ [*for the prince* af]orementioned established for him. For Nabu and Nanaia he performed them. [.. .. ..]

31′ [..]to the goddesses Ekurritu, Esurritu and the city of gods of/ which [.....]

(. . .)

Kammaškiri, son of Kammaškiri?

Returning to our main narrative: against the combined forces of the unidentified Elamite enemy and Hyspaosines[197] the Arsacids seem to have

[197] If the interpretation of Mitsuma, "Arsacid Naval Attack," note 21, is correct, then in reaction to Hyspaosines' attack on the harbor of ships in Tigris in 7/8.x–5/6.xi.133 BCE (= vii.179 SE), the Arsacids may have threatened Characene with their own naval forces several months or a year

reacted decisively by carrying the war deep into Elymais in 6/7.xi–4/5 xii.133 BCE (= viii.179 SE):

[t]hat month, I heard / [. . .] Susa they made, **and killed many troops of the Elamite in fighting, and the . . .**[198]

and installing upon the throne of Elymais a pro-Parthian Elamite prince also by the name of Kammaškiri who, having revolted against his father in the past, had been living in Babylonian exile under Arsacid suzerainty, *Kamnaškiri nakru elamû ša siḫi ana muḫḫi abīšu isseḫi'u* [. . .] *ina Bābili ušbû* "Kammaškiri the Elamite enemy who revolted against his father [. . .] (and) lived in Babylonia," prior to departing for Elam. The Elamite prince is reported to have prevailed in a battle opposing his (Arsacid) supporters to rival Elamite forces,[199] as early as 12/13.xi.133 BCE (7.viii.179 SE):

[. . . K]amnaškiri, **the Elamite enemy, who had revolted against his father** / [. . .] **lived in Babylonia, organized against their troops and left**[?] / [. . .]arrataš, the river of Elam, they crossed, for fighting [against] each other. In month VII, the 7th, the **troops** / [. . .] **the troops** [. . .] **they brought about the defeat of the troops of the enemy**[?] Until sunset, the remainder / [. . .] entered.[200]

If this Kammaškiri (the Younger), whom we suspect to have been the son of king Kammaškiri (the Elder)—who had been terrorizing Babylonia during the first and second Elamite raids in Mesopotamia, over a decade prior to the mention of the son—was indeed an Elamite pretender backed by the Arsacids, what was the identity of the "Elamite enemy," who in alliance with Hyspaosines invaded Arsacid Mesopotamia: Kammaškiri the Elder himself, or another Elamite ruler?

The *Diaries* reveal neither the name of Kammaškiri the Younger's father, nor that of the Elamite ruler, following whose capture Kammaškiri the Younger assumed sovereign power,[201] possibly as late as 27/28.ii.–3/4.iii.132 BCE (= 26–30.xi.179 SE),[202] when we hear of a defeated[?] Elamite ruler being held in the custody of the general of Babylon: *nakru elamû ina ṣibitti ittīšunu* "the Elamite enemy in captivity with them":

thereafter, as possibly indicated in a diary dated to 3/4.iii.–2/3.iv.132 BCE (= xii.179 SE); see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –132 D_1 'rev.' 30' (= 234–235).

198 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –132 D_2 'obv.' D_2 8'–D_2 9' (= 226–227).

199 See Potts, "Five Episodes," 358. Similarly, Del Monte, *Testi*, 99: "ma in ottobre del 133 a.e.v. . . . troviamo Ispasine, 'il nemico della Mesēnē alleato del nemico della Elimaide', assalire un porto sul Tigri la reazione arsacide portò un mese dopo la guerra direttamente a Susa, provocando nel gennaio del 132 a.e.v. [sic] una revolta dinastica che sembra aver portato al potere in Elimaide un re filo-arsacide, un altro Kamniskir."

200 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –132 D_2 'rev.' 16'–21' (= 230–231).

201 *Ibid.*, no. –132 D_1 'rev.' 7'–10' (= 232–233).

202 *Ibid.*, no. –132 D_1 'rev.' 3' (= 232–233).

[. . .] the general of Babylonia [went out] from Babylon to Seleucia / [. . .] of Babylonia entered Babylon from Seleucia. / [. . .] the Elamite enemy in guard with them . . . / [. . .] . . . of the Babylonians . . .[203]

It is not particularly helpful to our hypothesis that the *Diaries* call Kammaškiri the Younger, a supposed Arsacid protégé, an "Elamite enemy," in the same way as they call his defeated opponent in detention, against whom Kammaškiri the Younger and Arsacid forces prevailed.

There are several possibilities to explain the *Diaries*' apparent ambiguity: either (1) Kammaškiri the Younger was identical with the "Elamite enemy" who, following Frahād II's campaign into Elymais, was made captive, and whom the *Diaries* depict as a friend of Hyspaosines;[204] or (2) he was a dissident Elamite prince who revolted against his father and as a result was exiled in Babylonia. In which latter case, Kammaškiri the Younger ought to be distinguished from the rival Elamite ruler who acted in unison with Hyspaosines.

If Kammaškiri the Younger is indeed identical to the hostile Elamite ruler, then he could hardly have been granted refuge, or lived, in Babylonia, unless Babylonia itself, or parts of it, was controlled by the Elamites and their Characenean allies. However, there is no evidence of Elamite or Characenean sway over Babylonia, prior to the occupation of Babylonia by Hyspaosines between 30/31.v. and 4.xi.127 BCE (= 24.ii.–4.viii.185 SE);[205] to the contrary, administrative documents, as well as the *Diaries*, attest to the continuous rule of Frahād II in Babylonia until the year 133/132 BCE (= 179 SE).

This constatation requires that we give accrued credence to the hypothesis that Kammaškiri's presence in Babylonia was tolerated by the Arsacids. We further may surmise that the Arsacid liberality towards Kammaškiri was fostered by the design to exploit him at an appropriate juncture to provoke a favorable dynastic change in Elymais. Were we to assume that Kammaškiri the Younger was indeed an Arsacid-backed prince in Babylonian exile, then his being branded an "Elamite enemy" by the *Diaries* ought to be justified. A possible explanation for this unflattering appellation may derive from Kammaškiri's past involvement in campaigns directed against the empire's interests, or may have simply arisen from the *Diaries*' partiality in invariably qualifying Elamite rulers

[203] *Ibid.*, no. -132 D_1 'rev.' 7'–10' (= 232–233).
[204] *Ibid.*, no. -133 B rev. 18–20 (= 216–217).
[205] See below, 110–112.

as enemies[206]—a trend which we may observe already with Kammaškiri the Elder.[207]

Still remains the identity of the Elamite enemy under guard: are we to believe it was Kammaškiri's Elamite opponent, who upon the successful Arsacid campaign in Susa was made captive; or, did the "Elamite enemy under guard" in fact point to Kammaškiri himself, whose past enmity with the empire may have given rise to caution among the Arsacid officials, who, although having facilitated his ascension to the throne, may initially and provisionally have kept a close watch over him? Whomever the above term ultimately designated, Kammaškiri the Younger, or his unknown Elamite foe, it remains without consequence upon our reasoning: once we posit the presence of an Elamite contender in exile, we are required to infer the existence of his opponent as well.[208]

We may sum up our findings as follows: Kammaškiri the Younger was probably a former Elamite enemy who, forced to leave by another Elymaean contender, found refuge in Arsacid Babylonia, and was championed, in spite of his possibly dubious loyalty vis-à-vis his Arsacid supporters, for control over Elymais.

The hypothesis of Kammaškiri being in exile in Arsacid Babylon, awaiting the opportune conjucture to be helped upon the Elamite throne, is furthermore supported by the fate of any number of other princes and hostages held at the Arsacid court for comparable reasons.[209] Indeed, there is the well-known instance of the captured Seleucid king Demetrios II, who was held in exile in Hyrcania by Mihrdād I and Frahād II to be eventually used against his brother Antiochos Sidetes. Another case in point is Tigranes of Armenia, who like the unidentified Characenean

[206] Intriguingly, a diary dated 7/8.v.–5/6.vi.184 BCE (= ii.128 SE) mentions possibly an Elamite enemy (*E[la]mû nakru)* in charge of Susa after the death of Antiochos III in 3/4.vii.187 BCE (= 25.iii.125 SE), who seems to have made captive the loyal' general of Susa, the *rab uqu ša Sušan* [^{lú}GAL].ERÍN^{meš} *šá* ^{uru}*Su-šá-an*, for he is said to be marching victoriously (together with his troops?) next to him (the commander of Susa?); see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. II, no. –183 A 'rev. 12'–13' (= 358–359); see also Del Monte, *Testi*, 69; and Dąbrowa, "Séleucides et l'Élymaïde," 111.

[207] Compare Del Monte, *Testi*, 98: "[n]egli anni successivi il re elamita non è chiamato mai per nome, ma solo 'l'Elamita', o 'il nemico elamita', così che resta impossibile stabilire una successione di re."

[208] Compare Potts, "Five Episodes," 358: "It is interesting, in any case, to find the text referring to Kamnashkiri living in Babylonia and organizing troops. Was the younger son's revolt against his father the reason for Kamnashkiri's activity on Babylonian soil? Was he in fact preparing for a counter-attack against his father, in other words, an attack on Elymaean territory? Or was Kamnashkiri, with Aspasine's approval, raising troops to attack the Parthians? The reference in a subsequent section to hostilities involving Elamite troops . . . would seem to refer to a Parthian counter-attack, while a mention . . . to the 'general of Babylonia' and 'the Elamite enemy in guard with them' makes it sound as though Kamnashkiri, 'the Elamite enemy', was ultimately captured."

[209] See Shayegan, "Demetrius II," 93–97.

prince, on whom we shall come to speak, was held in Babylonia as a hostage by the Arsacids, where he bade his time to be instated on the throne of Armenia. The opportunity finally presented itself, according to the *Diaries*, following the death of Tigranes' father:

I heard as follows: **the king of (the city) Armini died** . . . [. . .] / [. . .] was entrusted [with] . . ., **to this (city) Armini for king[ship]** . . .] / [. . .] **who lived in Babylonia, he gathered and to his support** he [. . .][210]

The identity of the one "who lived in Babylonia" (*ina Bābili ušbû*) is revealed to us by two further extracts:

[t]hat [. . .] I heard that **the son of the king of the city** [. . .][211]

and:

Seleucia which is in the Tigr[is . . .] / [. . .] **Tigranu, son of the king of (the city) Armini,** [. . .] the road to the city . . . [. . .][212]

The *Diaries* confirm the account of Justin on Tigranes being held as a hostage (*obses*) at the Arsacid court and sent back as a pro-Arsacid ruler:

[Just. 38.3.1] *erat eo tempore Tigranes rex Armeniae obses Parthis ante multum temporis datus nec olim ab eisdem in regnum paternum remissus.*	"at that time **Tigranes** was the king of Armenia. He **had been given long before as a hostage to the Parthians,** but recently **had been sent back** by them [Parthians] to **the paternal throne."**

Yet another instance attesting to the Parthian practice of cultivating foreign princes in exile with the intent of restoring them is provided by the Characenean king Artabazos I,[213] who, according to Lucian, was installed on the throne by the Arsacids: *Ἀρτάβαζος . . . ἀπὸ Πάρθων ἐβασίλευσε* "Aratabazos . . . became king due to the Parthians".[214]

Intriguingly, within the selfsame passage, Lucian identifies Kammaškiri (the Younger) as a Parthian king: *Καμνασκίρης δὲ βασιλεὺς Παρθυαίων ἓξ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἔζησεν ἔτη* "Kamnaskirēs the king of Parthians lived 96 years."[215] How are we to reconcile this comment with the fact that

[210] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –95 C 'obv.' 5'–7' (= 418–419).
[211] *Ibid.*, no. –95 C 'rev.' 12' (= 420–421).
[212] *Ibid.*, no. –95 D 'obv.' 10'–11' (= 422–423).
[213] On Artabazos I, see Schuoll, *Charakene*, 310–312.
[214] Lucian, *Macr.* 16: "Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ μετὰ Τίραιον ἕβδομος βασιλεύσας Χάρακος ἓξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐτῶν καταχθεὶς ἀπὸ Πάρθων ἐβασίλευσε."
[215] *Ibid.*

Kammaškiri never ruled over the Arsacids? In the sequence *Καμνασκίρης βασιλεὺς Παρθυαίων* we may indeed perceive an allusion to Kamnaskirēs' ***belonging to*** the Parthians, that is, to his being king by their grace, rather than being king of them. This suggestion may be supported by the example of another (in)famous magnate, namely, Himerus, on whose role we shall elaborate below, and on whom sundry classical sources, as well as the *Diaries*, report.

Himerus, who may have served king Frahād II as a deputy in Babylonia, is referred to by Diodoros, who calls him Euhemeros, as: *Εὐήμερος ὁ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεύς* "king of the Parthians."[216] Justin qualifies him as the guardian of the realm: *Phraates . . . ad tutelam regni reliquit Himerum* "Phraates left Himerus in charge of the realm," and further describes him as: *praefectus Parthis a Phrate Himerus* "Himerus, upon whom Phraates had bestowed authority over Parthians."[217] Finally, in a note reported by Athenaios, Poseidonios calls Himerus *Ἵμερον τὸν τυραννήσαντα οὐ μόνον Βαβυλωνίων ἀλλὰ καὶ Σελευκέων* "Himeros who not only ruled over the Babylonian (people), but also over the inhabitants of Seleucia."[218]

It is, thus, conceivable that the reflex of Kammaškiri's instatement by the Parthians upon the Elymaean throne, which is clearly suggested by the *Diaries*, is to be found distortedly in Lucian's *Καμνασκίρης βασιλεὺς Παρθυαίων* which we ought to read as king by the grace of Parthians. Kammaškiri's appellation as "king of Parthians," hence, has to be interpreted in correlation with the cases of Artabazos I of Characene, on whose behalf it is asserted he ascended the throne by dint of Arsacid intervention, and of Himerus, who, although on occasion reported to be king of the Parthians, never assumed sovereignty, but was either an Arsacid deputy over Babylonia and Seleucia, or a high official in the treasury.[219]

Another intriguing fact is the double date on a Greek inscription found in Susa.[220] Whereas the second date follows the Seleucid chronology, and indicates the year 181 and the month Ξανδικός, that is, March 131 BCE, the first date, which has not been preserved, goes according to the Arsacid (royal) era. The use of the Arsacid era on Elymaean soil, just a year after the installation of Kammaškiri the Younger on the throne (2/3.ii–3/4.iii.132 BCE), seems to confirm the Arsacid sway over the Elymaean sovereign.

[216] D.S. 34/35.21.

[217] Just. Prol. 42: *ut praefectus Parthis a Phrate Himerus Mesenis bellum intulit et in Babylonios et Seleucenses saeviit.*

[218] See Edelstein and Kidd, *Posidonius*, vol. I, F. 65 (= 83).

[219] See below, 127. On Kammaškiri the Younger, see also table 2.

[220] See Cumont, "Nouvelles inscriptions [2]," 279–281; see also Le Rider, *Suse*, 379.

Having made a case for the plausibility of Kammaškiri the Younger being an Arsacid protégé in Babylonian exile, we have to address the small matter of his identity. We have presumed without offering much evidence that Kammaškiri the Younger may have been the son of his namesake, who was responsible for the first Elamite raid(s) in Mesopotamia. This impression would have been well founded, if we were merely to rely on the evidence of the *Diaries*, wherein only Kammaškiri the Elder is mentioned by name in association with Elamite forays into Mesopotamia, possibly leading to the misconception that he might have been solely responsible for all Elamite campaigns during the years 145–133 BCE, thus, predictably, was the father against whom Kammaškiri the Younger rose up, and whom the Arsacids deposed in favor of the son.

Elymaean coinage, however, to which we shall turn our attention in the hope of shedding some light on the identity of these Elamite rulers, knows not only of the reigns of two Kammaškiri, but also of those of sundry rulers between them.

Already in 1969, Georges Le Rider had inferred, upon closer scrutiny of the titulature and iconography of two early Elymaean tetradrachms, the presence of two rulers with the name of Kamnisk(e)ires, in the second half of the second century BCE,[221] that is, long before the name Kamnaskires had become a Dynastic appellation for Elymaean kings beginning in the first century BCE.

The (full) names of these two early Elamite rulers, as reflected on their respective coinage, are Βασιλέως Καμνισκίρου Νικηφόρου and Βασιλέως Μεγάλου Καμνισκείρου Σωτῆρος.[222] Le Rider places the reign

[221] Le Rider, "Monnaies grecques," 18–22; pl. 2, nos. 10–11.

[222] On the two (or three?) tetradrachms attributed to Kamniskires Soter, see Le Rider, "Monnaies grecques," 18–22, pl. 2, nos. 10–11; Fischer, "ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚ(Ε)ΙΡΟΥ," 169–170, nos. 2(a); 3, pl. 1, 2–3, who conveniently supplies an inventory of tetradrachms minted by the two Kamniskires, ascribes, aside from the two aforementioned tetradrachms (2a; 3), yet a third one (2b), with the simplex title of Βασιλέως Καμνισκείρου, to Soter. Le Rider, *Suse*, 75, had already differentiated this tetradrachm (pls. 8 and 48, no. 85) as forming a group separate from the one encompassing others bearing the title Νικηφόρου (pl. 8, D–H). In a later publication, however, he clearly allocates the tetradrachm (= *Suse*, pls. 8 and 48, no. 8) to those pertinent to the reign of Nikephoros: "[c]es tétradrachmes de Kamniskirès se répartissent en deux groupes: dans l'un, les exemplaires d'un style assez homogène, donnent au roi le titre de Nicéphore, placé à l'exergue du revers, et portent un monogramme au droit (*Suse*, pl. VIII, D–H); l'autre groupe est representé par un seul exemplaire, qui provient d'un trésor trouvé à Suse et qui est conservé au Musée de Téhéran (*Suse*, pl. VIII, 85). Cet exemplaire se distingue quelque peu des tétradrachmes du premier groupe par son style"; and "[r]eprenons maintenant les deux nouveaux tétradrachmes acquis par le Cabinet de Paris . . . [p]lusieurs observations permettent de penser que ces deux pièces ont été frappés par un nouveau roi d'Elymaïde et qu'elles précèdent les autres tétradrachmes élyméens décrits plus haut (*Suse*, pl. VIII, 85, D–H)," Le Rider, "Monnaies grecques," 20–21. See also Strauss, "Trésor," 119, no. 134, pl. 14; and 137, wherein the author, due to the juvenile appearance of the effigy, favors

of Kamniskires Soter prior to that of Kamniskires Nikephoros, due to affinities that Soter's coinage exhibits with Alexander Balas' issues, which are deemed to indicate that Soter's coinage followed immediately upon the Susian issues of the last Seleucid ruler, Alexander Balas in Elymais.[223]

Others, however, such as Thomas Fischer[224] and Pierre Strauss,[225] have argued for the accession of Kamniskires Nikephoros prior to that of Soter, relying upon the selfsame numismatic criteria, which led to the opposite conclusion by Le Rider and his followers. It is thus apparent that other evidence ought to be introduced into the debate, in order to decide on the proper sequence of the reigns ascribed to Kamniskires Soter and Nikephoros. Before attempting to establish what we deem to be their accurate succession, however, we shall first determine the approximate date and duration of their respective rule.

The first time we hear of an Elamite king Kammaškiri (Kammaškiri the Elder) in our extant *Diaries* is on 7/8.ix.145 BCE (=17.vi.167 SE),[226] in the context of recurrent Elamite incursions into Seleucid Babylonia. It is therefore clear that, at the latest, by September 145 BCE, Kammaškiri was firmly in control of Elymais, for he felt sufficiently confident to defy the Seleucids in Mesopotamia; a fact that leads us inevitably to inquire *when* Kammaškiri's rule was initially established in Elymais.

Le Rider has suggested the year 147 BCE as a possible terminus.[227] This is for several reasons: this year corresponds to the very juncture at which,

an attribution of the tetradrachm (pls. 8 and 48, no. 85) to Soter. In contrast, Augé, "Monnaies d'Elymaide," 52, and Alram, *Nomina propria*, 140, n. 532, and "Vorbildwirkung," 119–120, ascribe, following Le Rider, this tetradrachm to Nikephoros. On the six (or seven?) **tetradrachms** ascribed to **Kamniskires Nikephoros**, see Le Rider, *Suse*, 75, 350–351; **pl.** 8, nos. 85 and D–H; for *Suse*, pl. 8, no. E, see also Mørkholm, "Coin Hoard from Susiana," 143–144, no. 120, pl. 6; for the tetradrachm acquired by the American Numismatic Society, see Le Rider, "Monnaies grecques," 20, n. 6; and Strauss, "Trésor," 119, no. 133, pl. 14; for an overview, see Fischer, "ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚ(Ε)ΙΡΟΥ," 169–170, nos. 1(a)–(f) and 2(b), pl. 1, 1; see also **Alram**, *Nomina propria*, 140, pl. 14, no. 431. On the three **drachms** attributed to **Kamniskeres Nikephoros**, see Le Rider, *Suse*, 75, 360–361, pl. 72, nos. 9–10; Fischer, "ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚ(Ε)ΙΡΟΥ" 170 nos. 4 and 5, pl. 1, 4–5; Augé, "Monnaies d'Elymaide," 51–55, no. 1, pl. 3; and Alram, *Nomina, propria*, 140, pl. 14, no. 432.

[223] Le Rider, "Monnaies grecques," 21: "[s]i l'on cherche à établir un rapprochement plus précis, on constate que nos deux monnaies sont plus proches des tétradrachmes d'Alexandre Bala . . . [l]a chevelure de Kamniskeirès et celle d'Alexandre Bala sont en effet traitées de la même façon et l'appolon du n° 11 est tout a fait comparable à celui des tétradrachmes d'Alexandre Bala." See already *Le Rider, Suse*, 350–351 and 357–358.

[224] See Fischer, "ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚ(Ε)ΙΡΟΥ," 171–175.

[225] See Strauss, "Trésor," 119, 137–140; in particular 138: "A notre avis le règne du 'Nicéphore' précède celui du 'Megas Soter', car il faut tenir compte, comme l'a justement remarqué Thomas Fischer, de l'état de conservation des exemplaires du trésor de Suse, les tétradrachmes de Kamniskirès Nicéphore étant usés, ceux de Kamniskeirès Mégas Sôtèr étant d'une parfaite fraîcheur."

[226] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -144 'obv. 14'–18' (= 94–95).

[227] See Le Rider, *Suse*, 351–352; "Monnaies grecques," 19; "Deux nouveaux tétradrachmes," 35.

according to the Maccabees[228] and Josephos[229], Demetrios II challenged the rule of Alexander Balas, the usurper of his father's throne, hence prompting a period of instability, of which Kammaškiri may have taken advantage to shake the Seleucid yoke and gain independence.[230] Another reason to assume an early date for Elymaean autonomy are the eight or ten bronze issues which Le Rider has ascribed to the rule of the Kammaškiri Nikephoros, and which presupposes possibly a rule of over seven years' duration.[231] Le Rider's opinion was originally formed under the impression that Demetrios II had not ruled in Susa,[232] and the inference that Mihrdād I had conquered Elymais in 140 BCE,[233] the sum of these premises leading to the assumption that Kammaškiri rose in Elymais in 147 BCE, and ruled for at least seven years until the alleged Arsacid conquest of 140 BCE.[234]

However, Demetrios II's presence and rule in Susa, was later established by Mørkholm,[235] confirmed by Strauss,[236] and with the concurrence of Le Rider[237]; as to Mihrdād I's capture of Elymais, Mørkholm credibly ascertained that the three issues ascribed to the great Arsacid, as gauge of his Elymaean conquest, ought to, or could be, attributed to other rulers,[238]

228 1 *Macc.* 10.67.

229 J. *AJ* 13.86.

230 See Le Rider, *Suse*, 340; 351.

231 Originally, Le Rider, *Suse*, 76–78, 351, only recognized seven positive bronze issues ("émissions certaines"), that is, nos. 86–92, pls. 8–9, and two possible issues, nos. 93–94, pl. 9, that could be ascribed to Kamniskeres Nikephoros: "les deux autres [émissions], n^{os} 93 et 94, sont barbares, ont des types de revers analogues, et pourraient avoir été frappées hâtivement." Later, however, Mørkholm, "Coin Hoard from Susiana," pl. vi F, 151, presented an eighth issue, which was recognized by Le Rider, "Monnaies grecques," 19, no. 3.

232 See Le Rider, *Suse*, 350: "Il semble donc assez assuré que Démétrios II entre 146/5, date de son avènement après sa victoire sur Alexandre Bala, et 140, date de la conquête de la Susiane par Mithridate I, n'a pas régné à Suse."

233 The Arsacid conquest of Elymais is based upon the attribution by Le Rider of three bronze issues (nos. 95–97; pls. 9–10) to Mihrdād I, and the conjecture that the latter might have ruled for some three years in Elymais; see Le Rider, *Suse*, 78–79, nos. 95–97; pls. 9–10; and 351; 368; 372, 374–376; on 372, the author states: "[à] Suse . . . nous sommes en présence, comme à Séleucie du Tigre, de trois émissions de Mithridate I, mais en bronze. L'annexion de Suse par les Parthes ayant eu lieu sans doute au début de 140, ces trois séries correspondent exactement aux années de règne de Mithridate I sur la cité: début 140–octobre 140, octobre 140–octobre 139, octobre 139–octobre 138."

234 See Le Rider, *Suse*, 355–361.

235 Mørkholm, "Coin Hoard from Susiana," 150–152, re-attributed a Susian tetradrachm (no. 66; pls. 6, 47), which Le Rider had originally assigned to Demetrios I, along with a bronze issue (no. 73; pl. 6), to Demetrios II. On the tetradrachm, see Le Rider, *Suse*, 68, no. 66; pls. 6, 47.

236 Strauss, "Trésor," 128, nos. 119–121, and 139, was able to identify three additional tetradrachms of Demetrios II from Susa, which confirmed his rule in Elymais.

237 Le Rider, "Monnaies grecques," 19–20: "Démétrios II aurait donc lui aussi régné à Suse"; "Deux nouveaux tétradrachmes," 35.

238 Mørkholm, "Coin Hoard from Susiana," 151–152. Mørkholm states: "Le Rider finds his chronology (i.e. arrival of Mithridates I at Susa in 140 BC) confirmed by the coinage, ascribing three emissions of bronze coins (*Suse* nos. 95–97) to Mithridates I and the years 140–138 BCE. However, one

thus eliminating the year 140 BCE as a *terminus ad quem* for the conquest of Elymais. But, even Mørkholm's suggestion of the years 139 and 138 BCE as possible dates of the Arsacid sway over Elymais[239] is not supported by the new evidence of the *Diaries*.

But before addressing the date of the Arsacid Elymaean conquest, to which we have alluded above, let us reconsider the date of Kammaškiri's ascent. Demetrios II's contesting of Alexander Balas' rule is certainly the most consequential event in the drifting of the Seleucid hold on Elymais, which eventually prompted Kammaškiri's rise—at the latest by September 145 BCE. The last mention of Alexander Balas in astronomical texts is in a Goal Year text,[240] dated to 146 BCE, which describes celestial phenomena pertinent to the planet Mars during the period 10.i.–25.iii.166 SE.[241] Three further Goal Year texts confirm Alexander Balas' continuous reign in previous years: his rule is established for the years 147 BCE (18.i.–21^{+}.vii.165 SE),[242] 148/147 BCE (11^{+}.iv.164–11.xii.–164 SE),[243] and 149/148 BCE (4.i.–20.xii.163 SE).[244] The *Diaries* report of him lastly on 15/16.x.–13/14.xi.150 BCE (= vii.162 SE).[245] These dates corroborate the records of administrative documents from Uruk, which point to Alexander being still acknowledged in Mesopotamia on 14.vi.146 BCE (= 8.iii.166 SE),[246] and possibly as late as 21.xi.146 BCE (= 20.viii.166 SE).[247] Were we to assume that Alexander's control of Mesopotamia could have also signified Seleucid

of these issues—no. 97—belongs in my opinion to the reign of Artabanus I . . ."; and further: "[w]e are left with two issues attributed by Le Rider to Mithridates I, *Suse* nos. 95 and 96. Their relative position in Susa coinage seems certain, but as neither of them by portrait or inscription refers explicitly to Mithridates I, they may both—or one of them—belong to the reign of his successor, Phraates II."

239 *Ibid.*, 152.

240 The Goal Year texts are compilations obtained from the astronomical diaries, for the purpose of making predictions of planetary movements and phenomena based upon past occurrences. These texts are ideally divided into eight sections, each entailing observations of particular planets (e.g., Jupiter, Mars, Moon), for a year preceding the Goal Year by a period proper to the planet; Sachs defines as follows the Goal Year texts: "Each ['Goal Year text'] contains materials for the making of predictions of lunar and planetary phenomena for some specific year which we call the goal year. The data for each planet and the Moon are extracted from an astronomical diary that precedes the goal year by a period appropriate for the planet. There are two Jupiter paragraphs 71 and 83 years before the goal year, 8 years for Venus, 46 for Mercury, 59 for Saturn, 79 and 47 years for Mars, and 18 years for the Moon. All these periods are reasonably good, but we do not know how the necessary adjustments were made for the predictions"; Sachs, "Observational Astronomy," 49; and "Classification," 282–283.

241 See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. VI, no. 88 'obv. 18'–20' (= 346–347).

242 *Ibid.*, no. 86 obv. 1–4 (= 336–337).

243 *Ibid.*, no. 79 rev.' 1–2 (= 318–319).

244 *Ibid.*, no. 53 obv.' 1'–13' (= 210–211).

245 See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -149 B obv.' 1; 10' (= 86–88).

246 See Clay, ed., *Documents from Erech*, 87, pl. 45, no. 49, rev. 29–30; and Del Monte, *Testi*, 244.

247 See Oelsner, *Materialien*, 274, n. 0; 420–421, n. 613; and 513, n. 420 (BRM II 50).

nominal authority over Elymais, then we may infer that the rise to power of Kammaškiri occurred between November 146 and September 145 BCE. Yet another factor supports this assumption: Demetrios II's ephemeral occupation of Susa. Since the *Diaries* portray the Elamites as a hostile force during the entire span of Demetrios II's rule in Mesopotamia, from September 145 BCE until 7/8.vii.–4/6.viii.138 BCE. (date of Demetrios II' defeat and apprehension by the Arsacid forces), we must surmise that, at the latest by September 145 BCE, they were operating independently from the Seleucid throne, and remained autonomous until their subjugation by Frahād II on 12/13.xi.133 BCE (= 7 viii.179 SE). This leads us to the conclusion that Demetrios II's attested rule in Elymais must have preceded September 145 BCE. and ought to have occurred following the demise of Alexander Balas in the East, that is, sometime after June or November 146 BCE. Furthermore, since Demetrios II's sundry Susian issues stipulate a year of rule, we may safely infer that he probably was in control of Elymais in the second half of 146 and the first half of 145 BCE.

Thus, the regnal years of Kammaškiri the Elder may be placed between mid 145 and possibly mid 138 BCE, with the latter date being not the year of the Arsacid conquest of Elymais, but the beginning of another indigenous reign, on which we shall elaborate in the following chapter.

Having determined the approximate date and duration of the first Kammaškiri's rule, we shall seek to ascertain the regnal years of Kammaškiri the Younger. The date of Kammaškiri the Younger's ascent is apparent: it coincides with Frahād II's conquest of Elymais, which, as mentioned before, took place during 2/3.ii.–3/4.iii.132 BCE (= xi.179 SE). The date of Kammaškiri's demise is more difficult to establish, although we know of a *terminus ad quem*: Antiochos VII Sidetes' conquest of Mesopotamia. Sidetes' *anabasis*, which indubitably occurred *after* 25/26.vii.130 (= 17.iv.182 SE), for this date is the last one, at which the *Diaries* refer to Frahād II's rule in Babylonia,[248] seems to have led to a short-lived occupation of Elymais as well. This is assumed on the basis of a Susian bronze issue ascribed to Antiochos VII Sidetes that was in all probability struck concurrently with another bronze issue minted at Seleucia on the Tigris in the year 131/130

[248] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –129 A_2 'rev.' 17'–18'; on 17.iv.182 SE, the satrap of Babylonia is reported to have departed from Babylon to Seleucia: "the 17th [of month IV], the satrap of Babylonia [....] / from Babylon to Seleuc[ia....]," which means that, on 25/26.vii.130 BCE, the Arsacids were still in control of the two imperial cities of Babylon and Seleucia; differently, Boiy, *Babylon*, 171, who ignores this later date and instead ascribes the last attestation of Arsacid rule in Babylonia to 29/30.vi.130 BCE (= 20.iii.182 SE); see also somewhat confusingly 173, where other possible final dates for Frahād II's rule are put forth.

BCE (= 182 SE).[249] It is evident that the presence of a Seleucid ruler hostile to the Arsacids ought to have prompted the demise of the Arsacid-backed Kammaškiri the Younger, whose rule we may place between 2/3.ii.–3/4.iii.132 and mid/late 130 BCE.

Now re-integrating the numismatic evidence into our equation, in order to determine the identity of the two Kammaškiri, we shall bear in mind that the eight to ten bronze issues, as well as the six (or seven?) issues of tetradrachms, which have been ascribed to Kamniskires Nikephoros, presume a rule of at least seven years, whereas the two (or three?) issues of tetradrachms minted under Kamniskeres Soter's reign, imply a reign of some two years. Moreover, we shall further recall that the effigies of Nikephoros and Soter differ in that they depict the features of a man of ripe age, in contrast to one of youthful expression. At first glance, we are inclined to identify Kammaškiri the Elder with Kamniskires Nikephoros, for the mature features of Nikephoros, as manifest from his effigy, seem easily to comport with the persona of Kammaškiri the Elder, rather than with that of the presumably young prince who *revolted against his father.* Moreover, although the seven years of rule (mid 145-mid 138 BCE) we have ascribed to Kammaškiri the Elder may seem, at the present stage of our argumentation, to be in want of substantiation, for we have not elaborated yet on the rationale for the posited final regnal year 138, the two years of rule attributed to Kammaškiri the Younger are beyond any doubt, as the *terminus post quem* of the latter's reign coincides with Frahād II's investment of Elymais, and its *terminus ante quem* with Sidetes' occupation of Mesopotamia. Thus, were we to equate, based upon the two (or three?) issues of tetradrachms allotted to Kamniskires Soter, as well as the *latter's youthful appearance, Soter with Kammaškiri the Younger, then by* default Kamniskires Nikephoros ought to be identified with Kammaškiri the Elder.

However, this assumption reposes partially upon an *a priori*, the validity of which we shall explore before continuing with our reasoning, namely, that Kammaškiri the Younger, for having risen against *his father*, ought to have been a young man and therefore identical with the youthful Kamniskires Soter.

[249] See Le Rider, *Suse*, 83–84 and 377–78. Aside from the Susian mint, of which thirty-one examples are attested, Le Rider ascribes one issue of tetradrachm, one issue of drachm, as well as two issues of bronze, all with the legend βασιλέω Ἀντιόχου Εὐεργέτου, and minted at Seleucia on the Tigris, to Sidetes. On several specimens of the two bronze isssues the years 182 and 183 SE (= 131/130 and 130/129 BCE) have been respectively indicated; *ibid.*, 154–156, pl. 31.

According to the *Diaries*, Kammaškiri the Younger had been in Babylonian exile for some time, and moreover, on 12/13.xi.133 BCE (= 7.viii.179 SE), is reported to have had a son by the name of *Ur'a*:

[. . . K]amnaškiri, the Elamite enemy, who had revolted against his father / [. . .] lived in Babylonia, organized against their troops and left[2] / [. . .]arrataš, the river of Elam, they crossed, for fighting [against] each other. In month VII, the 7th, the troops / [. . .] the troops [. . .] they brought about the defeat of the troops of the enemy[2] Until sunset, the remainder / [. . .] entered. Ur'a, the son of this Elamite enemy[250]

Ur'a is once more mentioned in connection with the Arsacid campaign against Pittit almost a decade later, in 7/8.xii.125–4/5.i.124 BCE (= v.187 SE).[251] Although Ur'a's age is not disclosed, we may assume he was an adult in xii.125–i.124 BCE, having partaken in the campaign against Pittit, consequent to which he was killed. Thus, while this observation may not, at first glance, bide well for our view of a youthful Kammaškiri the Younger, it still does not signify that he was not a young man with a young child in 133—who eventually would have matured to adulthood by 124 BCE—and could not have been depicted with youthful features on his coinage.

Recapitulating our aforesaid discussion, we may infer the following:

(1) The six (or seven?) issues of tetradrachms, as well as the eight to ten issues of bronze, attributed to Kamniskires Nikephoros, seem to accommodate the duration of the reign stipulated for Kammaškiri the Elder, namely, some seven years, from mid 145 to mid 138 BCE. In the same vein, the scant issues of tetradrachms, namely, two (or three?), allotted to Kamniskires Soter, seem to be an adequate gauge for the duration of Kammaškiri the Younger's rule, and, hence, consistent with a rule of few years, from early 132 to mid 130 BCE.

(2) Kammaškiri the Elder, who most likely is identical with Kamniskires Nikephoros, occupied the Elymaean throne as an independent ruler consequent upon the demise of Alexander Balas in the East after June or November 146 BCE, and subsequent to the short-lived rule of Demetrios II that lasted not beyond September 145 BCE. Kammaškiri the Elder's regnal years are to be placed between mid 145 and mid 138 BCE, with the latter date indicating the occurrence of another dynastic change and the advent of a new Elymaean ruler, on whom we shall elaborate in the next chapter.

[250] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –132 D_2 'rev.' 16'–21' (= 230–231).
[251] *Ibid.*, no. –124 B 'obv.' 19', 21' (= 274–275).

(3) Kammaškiři the Younger, whom we equated with Kamniskires Soter, was an Elymaean potentate or prince, who having risen up against his father—who may or may not, have been his elder namesake—found refuge in Arsacid Babylonia, whence the Arsacids *nolens volens* placed him upon the Elymaean throne. He seems to have well served his overlords, despite the *Diaries* evoking vague initial tensions between Kammaškiri and his Arsacid backers, before being toppled by Antiochos VII Sidetes. His rule lasted from early 132 to mid 130 BCE.

Having explored the identity of the two Kammaškiri, we shall now inquire about the identity of the father against whom Kammaškiri the Younger revolted, as well as accounting for the years between the end of Kammaškiri the Elder's demise and the beginning of the Younger's reign, namely, the years 138 to 133 BCE, which shall constitute the subject of our next subchapter.

Okkonapses and Tigraios

On 3/4.viii.138 BCE (= 28.iv.174 SE), coinciding with Mihrdād I's triumphant campaign against the intruding Demetrios II, whose fate was sealed in Mesopotamia in 7/8.vii.–4/6.viii.138 BCE (= iv.174 SE), famine is reported in Elam. It was sufficiently severe to prompt a third wave of Elamite incursions into Mesopotamia in 2/3–30/31.xii.138 BCE (= ix.174 SE). The Elamite forays were eventually contained by the Arsacid general Philinos, who, having overpowered the Elamite cohorts, inadvertently paved the way, at Elam's expense, for the rise of the Characene under Hyspaosines.

It seems that by the time the third Elamite raid on Babylonia took place, Kammaškiri the Elder was no longer in power, and a dynastic change had taken place in Elam. Here again, the numismatic evidence shall prove invaluable in supplying revealing information. Among early Elymaean potentates, Le Rider has identified two rulers, whose reigns he has placed, due to the distinctive use of the obverse monogram $_{A}^{E}$ on their tetradrachms[252]—also shared by a number of tetradrachms attributed to Kamniskires Nikephoros—in the immediate aftermath of the latter's reign.[253] These rulers, who are respectively called on their coins Βασιλέως Ὀκκονάψου Σωτῆρος and Βασιλέως Τιγραίου, are also known from a

[252] See Le Rider, "Deux nouveaux tétradrachmes," 33–37; see also Alram, *Nomina propria*, 142–143; pls. 14–15, nos. 445 and 447.

[253] The monogram $_{A}^{E}$ is placed on the obverse, behind the ruler's back, and is to be observed on three of Kamniskires Nikephoros' tetradrachms; see Le Rider, *Suse*, 75, pl. 8, nos. F, G, and H); "Deux nouveaux tétradrachmes," 34–35, n. 1.

series of bronze issues.[254] Aside from the above tetradrachms, Le Rider has ascribed six bronze issues to Tigraois,[255] whereas merely a single issue of bronze, known from four specimens, may be attributed to Okkonapses.[256]

Le Rider makes Okkonapses' rule precede that of Tigraios mainly because the style of Okkonapses' tetradrachm displays greater affinity with those of Kamniskires Nikephoros in general, and with one in particular, to the extent that the selfsame die-cutter is deemed responsible for the two issues of Nikephoros and Okkonapses.[257] The tetradrachm of Tigraios, continues Le Rider further, while being connected with the issues of Nikephoros, due to the common display of the obverse monogram $_{A}^{E}$, diverges, nonetheless, from the latter's and Okkonapses' tetradrachms, on account of the effigy's style and the legend's ductus.[258]

Now, we shall bear in mind that for Le Rider, Kamniskires Soter's rule was immediately followed by that of Kamniskires Nikephoros, whom Okkonapses and Tigraois were made to succeed. As we have seen, however, nearly a decade separates the reign of Nikephoros—whom in contrast to Le Rider we deem to have ruled first—from that of his eponymous successor Soter, thereby compelling us to place the reigns of Tigraois and Okkonapses in the intermediate period, that is, between mid 138 and late 133 BCE.

[254] See Le Rider, "Deux nouveaux tétradrachmes," 33–34.

[255] See *Le Rider, Suse*, 81–83, pls. 10–11, nos. 101–108; and Alram, *Nomina propria*, 142–143; pl. 15, nos. 448 and 453.

[256] In Suse, 68, no. 65, and 346–347, Le Rider cautiously allotted the selfsame bronze issue to a certain Hyknapses (Βασιλέως Ὑκναψου), whom he placed in the year 162/161 BCE, although the combined evidence of the legends on the four specimens available allowed him surely to decipher merely the letters [–]κναψου. The discovery of the tetradrachm bearing the name of Okkonapses has led Le Rider to consider whether [Hy]knapses may indeed be Okkonapses, and the bronze issue, consequently, appertaining to the latter: "[l]e début du nom du roi n'est complet sur aucun des exemplaires, mais il m'avait semblé qu'on pouvait regarder comme assez certaine la lecture YKNAΨOY, qu'il s'agissait donc du roi Hyknapsès. L'apparation du tétradrachme d'Okkonapsès remet en question cette lecture et amène à se demander si les bronzes en question ne portent pas en réalité le nom d'Okkonapsès. Après un examen attentive de l'exemplaire le plus distinct du Cabinet de Paris at du moulage de la pièce conservée à Téhéran, je crois que la restitution de la légende OKKONAΨOY est, sur l'un et l'autre de ces bronzes, assez difficile, mais je ne saurais affirmer qu'elle est impossible," Le Rider, "Deux nouveaux tétradrachmes," 36. See also Alram, *Nomina*, 142; pl. 14, no. 446.

[257] "Le droit du tétradrachme d'Okkonapsès ressemble beaucoup à celui de l'exemplaire de Kamniskirès illustré dans *Suse*, pl. VIII, H: il est possible que les deux portraits soient de la même main. Notons aussi la ressemblance générale des revers et la disposition identique des trois éléments de la légende," Le Rider, "Deux nouveaux tétradrachmes," 34–35.

[258] "Le tétradrachme de Tigraios, en revanche, tout en étant lié à ceux de Kamniskirès et d'Okkonapsès par le monogramme du droit, s'en éloigne par le style plus hâtif du portrait (notamment dans le traitement de la chevelure) et par la graphie moins sûre de la légende du revers. Il semble vraisemblable que cette pièce ait été frappée après les deux autres," Le Rider, "Deux nouveaux tétradrachmes," 35.

The single issues of tetradrachm, and of bronze, by Okkonapses seem to suggest a reign of very short duration, ranging from a few months to a year. Its duration may coincide with the fortunes of the third Elamite raid into Mesopotamia, whose outcome was calamitous, for not only was the Elamite offensive deflected, Elam's famine not mitigated, but its territorial integrity also fell prey to the nascent expansionism of Hyspaosines of Characene. The entire episode of the third Elamite raid did not last beyond six months, but its failure to produce any positive result for the famine-stricken populace, whose burden the raids were initially intended to alleviate, may have prompted a dynastic change in Elam.

Okkonapses, whose coinage—be it on account of the affinity its iconography and legend exhibit with the issues of Kammaškiri the Elder, or be it because the scarcity of extant issues insinuate a short rule—places him in the immediate succession to Kammaškiri the Elder, must have assumed the Elymaean throne shortly before the beginning of the third Elamite raid (mid? 138), as whose instigator he must be regarded, and ought to have ruled until the end of these vain campaigns in early? 137. It is at this juncture, probably after a last bravado, an ultimate raid launched against Nippur on 5/6.i.137 BCE (= 6.x.174 SE) with the intent of securing spoils, arguably in order to ease the Elamite plague, that Okkonapses seems to have been superseded by Tigraois. It is unclear whether, for having failed to retain the loot, which was reclaimed by the officer of the guard from Uruk,[259] he fell victim to a coup d'état fomented by Tigraios or relinquished power.

What seems apparent is the radical change of policy during the fourth Elamite raid in Arsacid Mesopotamia in 7/8.x.–12/13.xi.133 BCE (= 1.vii.–7.viii.179 SE), when the enmity with Characene, which during the course of the third raid had been very detrimental to Elam's interests, gave place to a compact between Hyspaosines and the new Elamite ruler, whom we suspect to have been Tigraois. The entente between the two independent kingdoms, judging from the *Diaries*, brought some of the most severe devastation upon Babylonia, among others upon the cities of Babylon and Borsippa. Not only did it lead to a change of guard of the supreme Arsacid commander in Mesopotamia, with Frahād II's representative and brother Bagayaša (*Bacasis*) replacing Philinos with Theodosios, but it seems to have also prompted scenes of panic and religiously inspired upheavals in some quarters.[260] Precisely at this time Frahād II, having carried the war

[259] See above, 81. See also table 2.
[260] See above, 83–85.

deep into Elymais, defeated Tigraois on 12/13.xi.133 BCE (= 7.viii.179 SE), and installed Kammaškiri the Younger as an Arsacid vassal on the throne. It was in recognition of the importance of this event, consequent upon which Arsacid supremacy was unquestionably established in southern Mesopotamia, that Babylonian scribes, in the month following the defeat of Tigraois and the instauration of an Elamite ruler by Arsacid grace, began to use for the first time the title of *šar mātāti* "king of the lands" in reference to their Iranian sovereign.[261]

Now, returning to the issue of Tigraois' identity, as well as the duration and dates of his reign. As mentioned before, there is no doubt that we may observe an Elamite policy shift *vis-à-vis* Characene between the third and fourth Elamite raids in Mesopotamia. However, since five years separate the two raids, and since furthermore the dearth of Okkonapses' coin issues confines his reign to a year at most, the radical departure of Elamite policy ought to have been the work of another ruler, namely, Tigraois. He seems to have taken power in the immediate aftermath of the third Elamite raid, that is, in the first month(s) of the year 137. His rule effectively ended on 12/13.xi.133 BCE (= 7.viii.179 SE), and shortly thereafter, in 2/3.ii.–3/4.iii.132 BCE (xi.179 SE), he was captured. Tigraois appears therefore to have ruled some five years, which is consistent with the six bronze issues ascribed to him.

Still the question of Kammaškiri the Younger's identity remains: whose son was he? He may have been the son of Kammaškiri the Elder, who, having revolted against the father, was bypassed in the succession, which could explain the presence of Okkonapses at the helm of the Elamite kingdom. We may equally make a case for him being the son of Okkonapses, whose disastrous campaign could have led to Kammaškiri the Younger's rebellion, who, however, unable to command sufficient backing for his accession, was outplayed by another pretender, Tigraois, and hence forced to take the path of Arsacid exile. We may, furthermore, opine that Kammaškiri the Younger was Tigraois' son, who, having unsuccessfully risen up against his father, found refuge with the Parthians, biding his time to be carried by his protectors to the throne. The fact alone that he carried the name Kammaškiri, which, probably in emulation of Arsacid practices became later a dynastic name in Elymais, could suggest him being the son of his namesake, Kammaškiri the Elder, but at the present stage of our knowledge, this possibility remains a mere speculation.

[261] The document SH 81–7–6 122 is dated 10.xii.133 BCE (= 5.ix.179 SE); see table 11, n. h, and appendix, 379.

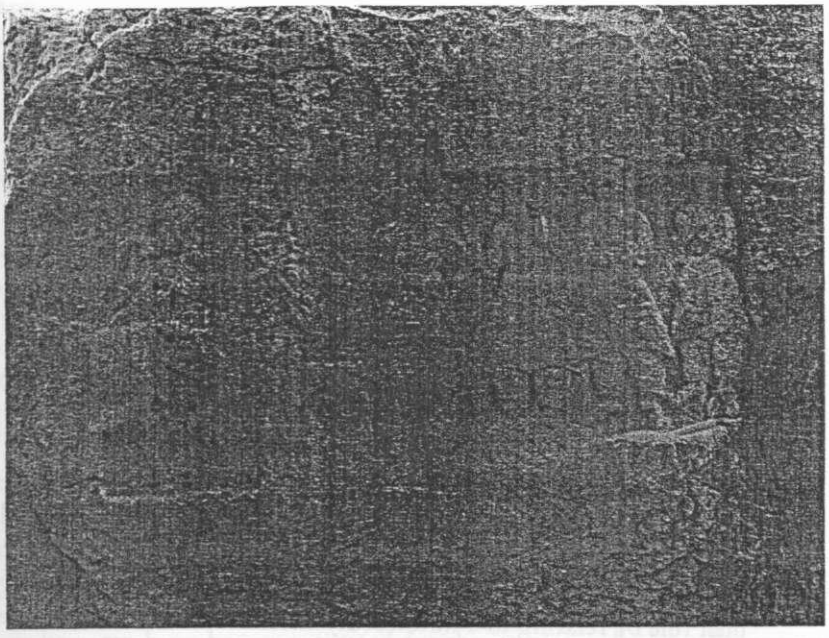


Figure 3 The Elymaean rock relief at *Xong-e Nōrūzī (Aždar)* in Khuzestān.

Reinterpreting the Xong-e Nōrūzī relief

From among the Elymaean rock reliefs, the one at *Xong-e Nōrūzī* (also called *Xong-e Aždar*) has been the subject of sundry interpretations.[262] (see figure 3). The relief illustrates what appears to be an investiture, depicting on its left panel a mounted prince, followed by a page—in a style qualified as "Greek in inspiration"[263]—facing an oversized magnate in Parthian/Elymaean accoutrement in the center, and his retinue on the right side of the panel; Louis Vanden Berghe describes the relief as follows:

À *Ḫung-e Naurūzī*, sur un grand roc isolé nous voyons un cavalier suivi d'un page, tous deux présentés de profil, et à leur droite, quatre personages strictement de face, vétus à la mode parthe. Un oiseau vole vers le cavalier; il tient une couronne dans ses serres. Un autre volatile, portant une couronne dans le bec, se dirige vers

[262] On the relief of *Xong-e Nōrūzī*, see Vanden Berghe, "Hun-i Naurūzi," 155–168, pls. 53–55; "Reliefs de Mālamīr," 38–39, pls. 26–27; *Reliefs rupestres d'Irān*, 47–48, 120–121, fig. 4; Vanden Berghe and Schippmann, *Reliefs rupestres d'Elymaïde*, 32–38, fig. 1, pls. 1–6; Kawami, *Monumental Art*, 118–125; 209–213, fig. 25, pls. 57–60; Mathiesen, "Hung-i Nauruzi," 191–196; "Parthian Sculpture," 204 213; *Sculpture*, vol. I, 17–19, 119–121; and most recently, Invernizzi, "Hung-e Azhdar," 219–259.

[263] Kawami, *Monumental Art*, 123: "Though the equestrian section of the Hung-e Azhdar is Greek in inspiration, the four standing figures display local, that is Elymaid, elements."

le premier des quatre personages qui lève le bras vers le cavalier. L'originalité de ce relief reside indubitablement dans le contraste entre le profil integral du cavalier et du page, et dans la frontalité des quatre personages de droite, de pure style parthe.[264]

Vanden Berghe considers the horseman to be no other than Mihrdād I, and the standing figure in the center a local Arsacid vassal, in whom he would like to recognize Kammaškiri:

La tête du cavalier a des similitudes frappantes avec l'effigie du roi Mithridate I [. . .] sur ses monnaies: mêmes yeux exagérément grands, sourcils épais, traits prononcés du visage et cheveux bouclés, retenues par un diadème dont les rubans retombent sur les épaules. Il s'agit vraisemblablement de la représentation d'un fait historique, notamment l'hommage rendu par le vassal local d'Élymaïde, probablement Kamniskirès, accompagné de trois dignitaires, au roi parthe Mithridate I après la conquête d'Élymaïde en 139/138 av. J.-C.[265]

Vanden Berghe's interpretation, which had found wide acceptance in scholarship,[266] was questioned by Trudy Kawami, who conceived of the relief as belonging to a later Parthian period, and of the central character and his retinue as representing later Elymaean rulers seeking to legitimize their rule by relating to a noteworthy ancestor—shown on the relief as the horseman—whom Kawami identified as Kammaškiri.[267] As pointed out by the author herself, what may impede this otherwise attractive solution is the dissimilarity between the horseman's features and the effigies of the two Kammaškiri, known from their coinage.[268]

It is partially because of this felt deficiency that Antonio Invernizzi recently launched a new debate on the identity of the figures depicted on the *Xong-e Nōrūzī* relief. According to Invernezzi, who, like Kawami, not only surmises a later date of origination for the relief,[269] but also believes in the equestrian figure providing dynastic legitimacy to Elymaean magnates of the second and third centuries CE,[270] the mounted prince is to be iden-

[264] Vanden Berghe, *Reliefs rupestres d'Irān*, 46.

[265] *Ibid.*

[266] For a survey of different interpretations of the scene, see Mathiesen, *Sculpture*, vol. II, 119–121; and Invernizzi, "Hung-e Azhdar," 224–225.

[267] Kawami, *Monumental Art*, 119–124, 209–213; especially, 123–124.

[268] *Ibid.*, 124: "It is possible that the Hung-e Azhdar rider is an early Kammaskirid, perhaps Kamniskires Nikephoros (Kamniskires the victory-bearer) who achieved Elymaid independence from the Seleucids. The rider admittedly does not resemble the rare portraits of the Kamniskires, though it is possible that after three hundred years the exact image was lost and another face with appropriate classical associations was substituted."

[269] See Invernizzi, "Hung-e Azhdar," 231.

[270] *Ibid.*, 249–253.

tified with the Seleucid king Demetrios II.[271] It is indeed true that the coinage of Demetrios II's second rule shows him bearded, which wrongly or rightly has been attributed to the oriental influence he had suffered during his sojourn at the Arsacid court,[272] the point, however, remains, that in spite of Invernizzi's ingenuity the historical premises of his argument, in light of the *Diaries*' recent revelations, are not tenable.

Indeed, Invernizzi infers that Elymaean dynasts of the second and third centuries had referred programmatically to their Seleucid predecessors, possibly because they were animated by anti-Arsacid resentments, which may have been prevalent in the short time span preceding the rise of the Sasanians.[273] The reason, however, why Elymaeans of a later age had turned to the Seleucids as a source of dynastic legitimacy is explained by the desire, on the one hand, to preserve their independence *vis-à-vis* the Arsacid hegemonic power, and on the other hand, to draw on a different source of legitimacy apt to distinguish them ideologically from the notion of Iranism fostered by the rising Sasanian power.[274] Thus, the Seleucids, whose rule preceded those of the Arsacids and Sasanians alike, would have constituted an adequate choice for the later independent-minded Elymaeans; the choice of Demetrios II in particular, thus opines the author, may have been motivated by the perception by later Elymaean rulers that their eponymous founder, Kammaškiri, and the Seleucid king Demetrios II were united in a common stance against Mihrdād I.[275]

A major drawback of Invernezzi's argument, however, is the absence of any evidence[276] attesting to a prevailing synergy between Demetrios II and (the) Kammaškiri(s)—between the two of whom the author does not discriminate. To the contrary, the *Diaries* seem unequivocally to indicate

[271] *Ibid.*, 234–241; 256–258.

[272] On the interpretation of Demetrios II's beard, see most recently Ehling, "Seleukidische Geschichte," 142–144; *Untersuchungen*, 205–208; and compare Mittag, "Beim Barte des Demetrios," 389–398.

[273] Invernizzi, "Hung-e Azhdar," 249: "[h]ere, a programmatic reference not to the Arsacids but to the Seleucids, through the representation of Demetrius II as a horseman, in the context of a proclamation of a legitimate right to rule, might also acquire an anti-Arsacid tone which would be perfectly understandable in the precarious situation of imperial power in the 2nd and early 3rd centuries, the span of time in which the date of our relief falls."

[274] *Ibid.*, 250–251.

[275] *Ibid.*, 250: "it is a fact that Demetrius and Kamnaskires shared the same attitude towards the assailant Mithradates, and in the eyes of an Elymaean king of the 2nd–3rd centuries A.D., belonging to a dynasty the terms of whose royal legitimacy may have had to be defined on an ideological level at various moments in history, and the nature of whose Iranism did not coincide with the Persian tradition represented by the Achaemenids and Sasanids, this fact might have represented a valid reason for choosing Demetrius II as the guarantor of dynastic legitimacy."

[276] This is, notwithstanding a vague and, at the present stage of our knowledge, uncertain notice by Justin 36.1.3–4.

that Kammaškiri the Elder acted independently of the Seleucid power in Elymais and Mesopotamia;[277] and as for Kammaškiri the Younger, if he ever operated in unison with a party, then it was certainly with the Arsacids, rather than the Seleucids, for it was Frahād II, his Arsacid overlord, who placed him upon the Elymaean throne. Therefore, even assuming in concert with the author that later generations may have magnified the nature and importance of Kammaškiri (the Elder)'s dealing and association with Demetrios II,[278] the fact remains that their very relationship is unproven, and highly unlikely.

Thus, the identity of the mounted prince remains still unresolved. Vanden Berghe's suggestion that the horseman may have represented Mihrdād I, in spite of the former's undeniable resemblance to some of the king's effigies, ought, nonetheless, to be disregarded on the strength of the *Diaries*' testimony: Elymais was first conquered by the Arsacids under the rule of Frahād II, more precisely on 12/13.xi.133 BCE (= 7.viii.179 SE), a date which excludes the possibility of Mihrdād I having been depicted at *Xong-e Nōrūzī*, were we to assume, in line with Vanden Berghe's opinion, that the relief captured an investiture scene between a standing Elymaean prince, possibly Kammaškiri, and a mounted Arsacid monarch.

Another possibility would be to identify the bearded equestrian figure with Frahād II, who not only is shown to wear a beard[279]—comparable to that of Mihrdād I—but, more importantly, is responsible for the instatement of Kammaškiri the Younger, who indeed could have been impelled, as a gesture of ostensible submission to his overlord, to carve in stone his investiture at Frahād II's hand.

Yet another indication that the main figures on the *Xong-e Nōrūzī* relief may represent Frahād II and Kammaškiri the Younger are the twin (victory) eagles, of which one is flying, holding a ring in its talons, towards the horseman, and another, while clutching at a ring with her beak, is flying towards the oversized standing figure.[280] Whatever the origin of the victory eagle—which in Seleucid iconography is mostly illustrated

[277] See above, 95, 100.

[278] Invernizzi, "Hung-e Azhdar," 251: "[i]t is also possible that the memory of a historical fact, whose importance was magnified by distance, the fact, that is, of the loyalty—possibly reinterpreted as an alliance—of Kamnaskires to Demetrius, became the foundation on which was built *a posteriori*, several centuries later, the idea of a legitimate passage of kingship, transmitted by the Seleucids."

[279] On the bearded effigies of Frahād II, see Sellwood, *Introduction*, 43–54; for tetradrachms, nos. 15/1, 17/1, 17/2; for Drachms, nos. 15/2, 16/1–16/19, 17/3; for obols, nos. 15/2, 16/20; and for bronze coins, nos. 14/3–14/6, 15/4–15/6, 16/21–16/24. See also, Le Rider, *Suse*, 83–85, nos. 109, 111, 112; pl. 11.

[280] See Vanden Berghe and Schippmann, *Reliefs rupestres d'Elymaïde*, 35–36. Originally, Vanden Berghe had deemed the eagle flying towards the equestrian figure to hold a palm branch in its beak, an observation which, however, was given up later; *Vanden Berghe*, "Hun-i Naurūzi," 159–160.

as holding a palm branch or a wreath—the ring of rulership, in all probability, is of Iranian origin.[281] Also intriguing is the presence of two eagles, which may refer to the "twofold" triumph of Frahād II and Kammaškiri the Younger over Tigraios. Indeed, one may posit that the twin eagles were alluding to the notion that Tigraios' defeat had engendered two victors: the Arsacid monarch, whose troops had carried the day, and the younger Kammaškiri, who had been the enterprise's ultimate beneficiary. In this sense, the ring offered to the oversized standing figure might have symbolized the rulership over Elymais being ceded to Kammaškiri by the Arsacid sovereign, and the one offered to the mounted prince its concurrent subordination to the authority of the Arsacid overlord Frahād II,[282] who henceforth was to be called *šar mātāti* "king of the lands" in Babylonia.[283]

The motif of the victory eagle holding a palm branch or a wreath in its beak is well attested, not only on the bronze issues of Kammaškiri the Elder (= Kamniskires Nikephoros),[284] but also on the coinage of Nikephoros' successor, namely, Tigraios.[285] It may, thus, at first glance, appear surprising that Kammaškiri the Younger, whose agitation against his father might have forced him into Arsacid exile and whose rule was established at the cost of Tigraios losing his, would have chosen a symbolism pertaining to predecessors with whom he was in feud. What could appear inconsistent at first sight, would be less so, if one were to read in it an attempt by Kammaškiri at reconciling his rule with Elymais' recent dynastic past; the incorporation of the eagle's iconography meant, beyond the above-exposed reasons, also to legitimize the younger Kammaškiri's reign by attaching it to those of his predecessors, so that his rule would not be deemed as merely an Arsacid imposition, but also as the continuity of an indigenous cycle. A subtle and delicate balance had to be struck to express Kammaškiri's detachment from foes over whom he had triumphed (Tigraios), or whose will he had overcome (Kammaškiri the Elder), while simultaneously displaying his bonds to the same rulers, since only they would have conveyed a sense of dynastic continuity, and oddly provided political legitimacy to his rule.

In conclusion, we surmise that the *Xong-e Nōrūzī* relief was made in the short time span in which Kammaškiri the Younger ruled over Elymais, and was meant to reflect his indebtedness to his Arsacid overlord, Frahād II,

[281] See Invernizzi, "Hung-e Azhdar," 241–243.

[282] For similar conclusions from very different premises, see Invernizzi, "Hung-e Azhdar," 230–231.

[283] See above, 104, n. 261.

[284] See Le Rider, *Suse*, 77, no. 90; pl. 9, nos. 90,4–90,10.

[285] *Ibid.*, 81; pl. 10, nos. 101,11; 101,13; 101,16; 101,17; 101,19; 101,21.

as well as his embrace of his predecessors' rule, in whose continuity he resolutely placed himself.

Of interest to the present context is the aforementioned Greek inscription found in Susa that bears a double (Seleucid and Arsacid) date.[286] The Seleucid month Ξανδικός of the year 181, that is, March 131 BCE, is indicated, in conjunction with the Arsacid (royal) era—the exact date of which, however, is missing. Thus, the use of the Arsacid era in Elymais, a year after the instatement of Kammaškiri the Younger in 2/3.ii–3/4.iii.132 BCE, not only substantiates the reality of Arsacid dominion over the Elymaean kingdom, but may well attest to the consciously pro-Arsacid orientation of Kammaškiri the Younger, as a token of which mindset the *Xong-e Nōrūzī* relief may be regarded.

There is, however, one last point, which is worthy of attention: if, indeed, the oversized standing figure illustrates Kammaškiri the Younger, how may we explain the dissimilarity between his features on the relief and his effigy on his coinage, that is, on the coins of Kamniskires Soter? Unless we assume that Kammaškiri the younger had consciously chosen a "Parthianizing" rendition of himself—having spent some time in Arsacid exile—in order further to stress his belonging to the Empire, our hypothesis, despite some peripheral evidence, shall remain a mere conjecture.

Hyspaosines of Characene

During the mandate of the supreme commander Theodosios occurred the campaign of Antiochos VII Sidetes who ephemerally occupied Babylonia in 130/129 BCE.[287] Whereas the rule of Frahād II is continuously attested in Babylonia until 25/26.vii.130 BCE (= 17.iv.182 SE),[288] the first *explicit* attestation of Antiochos Sidetes' presence in Babylonia dates to 21.v.129 BCE (= 22.ii.183 SE),[289] followed by the date of a diary attributed to *Aršakâ šarru,* testifying to the temporary seizure of power in Babylonia by the Arsacids, no later than 5.xi.129 BCE (= 13.viii.183 SE).[290] Thus, for a short while, sometime between 25/26.vii.130 and 5.xi.129 BCE (= 17.iv.182 and 13.viii.183 SE), Babylonia was under the sway of the Seleucids again.

Arsacid hold over Babylonia seems to have been of short duration, as Hyspaosines of Characene briefly captured the region, in the wake of

[286] See above, 93.

[287] The episode of Antiochos VII Sidetes' *anabasis* and his defeat at the hands of the Arsacid king Frahād II will be the subject of a detailed discussion in the following subchapter; at this juncture, only some key dates and events are mentioned.

[288] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –129 A_2 'rev.' 14'–19' (= 250–251).

[289] See appendix, 383.

[290] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. V, no. 21 obv. 1–2 (= 64–65); pl. 7, no. 21 obv. 1–2; also, see appendix, 381.

Antiochos' devastating campaign.[291] Indeed, Arsacid rule is indubitably attested between 11.xi.129 and 18.iv.–17.v.128 BCE (= 13.viii.183 and i.184 SE), at which later date, Frahād II is mentioned together with his queen[?]/ sister[?] (*Arsaka šarru u Ubulna*[—]).[292]

The well known, and much discussed, Babylonian document, the *Hyspaosines-text*,[293] in which Hyspaosines of Characene is recognized as king (*Aspasinē šarru*), provides a *terminus ad quem* for the Characenean occupation of Babylonia, namely, 30/31.v.127 BCE (= 24.ii.185 SE), an occupation which did not last beyond 3/4.xi.127 BCE (= 4.viii.185 SE).[294]

Indeed, the *Diaries* inform us that Babylon was re-conquered, in early November 127 BCE, by the Arsacid general Timarchos, who as the guard commander of Babylon had previously escaped from the city in the aftermath of Hyspaosines' siege. The *Diaries* do not expressly indicate whether Timarchos was made captive and only subsequently managed to take flight, or simply withdrew from Babylon before Hyspaosines' seizure of the city. Since his escape is reported for 6.vii.–3.viii.127 BCE (= iv.185 SE), thus, a few months *after* the city had fallen under Characenean control—or more than one month *after* the last attestation of Characenean presence in Babylonia in 18/19.vi.[127] BCE (= 13.iii.[185] SE)[295]—we may assume that Timarchos had escaped from captivity.

On this episode the *Diaries* give the following account:

> [t]hat month, on the 4th, Ṭimarkusu / who previously from the side of the king Arsaces was appointed **the guard commander** and who in month IV / **had escaped from Aspasinē, came from the side of Indupanē with troops from Media; / they entered Babylon.**[296]

It appears that as late as 2–3.iv.126 BCE (= 5–6.i.186 SE), the Characeneans continued to ravage Babylonia and bring harm upon its population, although these reports are interwoven with the accounts of bygone desolation caused by Hyspaosines a year earlier, in 185 SE:

> [t]he 2nd, the satrap of Babylonia went out from Babylon. On the 5th, I heard that . . . *bazzanitā* who put[?] water in the river . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] / [. . .] **massacred**

[291] On this episode, see Potts, "Five Episodes," 359. See also table 1.

[292] See Weisberg, *Late Babylonian Texts*, 24, 16; pls. 106–107, no. 43, rev. 10′; also, see appendix.

[293] On the "Hyspaosines-text," BOR 4 132, now conveniently see Del Monte, *Testi*, 114–116, especially n. 211 for older literature; and Schuol, *Charakene*, 31–34, 294.

[294] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, no. -126 A 'obv. 6′–9′ (= 254–255).

[295] Aside from the date 30/31.v.127 BCE (= 24.ii.185 SE) in BOR 4 132, l. 6, a second date is mentioned in BOR 4 132, ll. 4–5, wherein Hyspaosines is (still) called king, *Aspasinē šarru*; although the year is missing, the *communis opinio* seems now to favor the year 185 SE, thus, 13.iii.[185] SE (= 18/19.vi.127 BCE); see Oelsner, *Materialien*, 64–65, 310, n. 112; and most recently, Boiy, *Babylon*, 175–176.

[296] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, no. -126 A 'obv. 6′–9′ (= 254–255).

them and brought about their defeat in battle. This city they destroyed and plundered. The people from among them . . . [. . .] / [. . .] . . . which is therein? which is called? river Nagrā they went up. That month, the 6th, the citizens . . . [. . .] / [. . .] Ninâ and the fields belonging to them which before? which in the year 185 were torn down [. . .] / [. . .] in year 185 at the command of Aspasinē they began tearing down in it [. . .].[297]

Arsacid and Characenean entente

Already in 7/8.xi.–6/7.xii.125 BCE (= viii.187 SE), there are possible reports of gifts?, silver (*kaspu*) and gold (*ḫurāṣu*) being brought, maybe as a symbol of submission to, or in recognition of, Arsacid suzerainty by king Hyspaosines' son, a certain Timotheos (*Ti'mutusu*), to Babylon, where the Arsacid satrap met him coming from the king's camp:

this son of his had silver and gold like other . . . **made for the kingship;** in . . . [. . .] / [. . .] . . . took into Babylonia and retreated and . . . Uruk **entered Babylon.** That month, at the beginning of the month, / [. . . and **the satr]ap of Babylonia from the camp of the king** entered Seleucia which is on the Tigris. The 16th, **the satrap of Babylonia entered Babylon from Seleucia.** / [. . .] . . . That month, **Ti'mutusu son of Aspasinē [went] from Babylon** to Seleucia.[298]

If, indeed, Timotheos was acting on behalf of his father by bringing gifts to the Arsacid king as a token of Characenean submission, one could explain this sudden compliance with the Arsacid king planning a major campaign deep into Susa, which was launched in, or prior to, 7/8.xii.125–4/5.i.124 BCE (= ix.187 SE). The campaign, which potentially could have implicated the adjacent territories of the Characenean kingdom, thereby endangering Hyspaosines' position, may have prompted the Characenean king nominally to accept Arsacid suzerainty, in order to preclude all danger to his rule:

king Arsaces . . . of Susa departed to the area of Elam opposite Pittiti, the Elamite enemy, for? fighting[299]

Timotheos: Loyal herald or dissident son

Surprisingly, however, we are told that, in the same month 7/8.xii.125–4/5.i.124 BCE (= ix.187 SE), a son of Hyspaosines was thrown at the king's command (*ina pī šarri*) into chains by the satrap of Babylonia and brought/sent to his father Hyspaosines:

[297] *Ibid.*, no. –125 A obv.' 13–20 (= 260–261). Potts, "Five Episodes," 359, inadvertently ascribes this diary, which belongs to i.186 SE with an embedded reference to events pertinent to the year 185 SE, to viii.187 SE (*sic*); for the datation of the diary, see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, 263.

[298] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –124 B 'obv.' 2'–6' (= 272–273).

[299] *Ibid.*, no. –124 B 'obv.' 19' (= 274–275).

[t]hat month?, . . . the son of [. . .] / [. . . the sat]rap of Babylonia went to Seleucia; **at the command of the king he was thrown into an iron ring and brought? next to his father Aspasinē.**[300]

There are two possible scenarios to account for this unexpected event: either the reported son was indeed Timotheos, or there was yet another son of Hyspaosines in Babylonia, of whom we hear in this context for the first time.

Let us first consider the latter option. If Timotheos was sent at the behest of Aspasinē to represent Characenean interests *vis-à-vis* the representative of the Arsacid king, with the mandate of negotiating a nominal Characenean submission, a charge, which, in light of later events, he seems successfully to have fulfilled, then the Characenean prince thrown into an iron ring could hardly have been Timotheos, but possibly another Characenean prince. Indeed, the latter could represent a seditious son of Hyspaosines', who, as an Arsacid protégé, as state guest (or host age), lived in Babylonia waiting for the opportunity to be helped upon the Characenean throne as a pro-Arsacid vassal, much like the Elamite Kammaškiri the Younger and Tigranes of Armenia.[301] Thus, it is conceivable that, in return for the official recognition of Arsacid suzerainty, Hyspaosines' dissident son was returned to him, possibly in order to eliminate any eventual peril to the accession of his still immature son from queen Talasi'asu:

[. . . Asp]asinē, king of . . . [M]esene?, . . . [. . .] . . . the 5th day of this month he became ill[302] and on the 9th he died of his illness.[303] Afterwards, the nobles [. . .] / [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] these apprentices? must not give any decisions. **At the command of Talasi'asu, his wife,** the nobles [. . .] / [. . .] . . . Afterwards, **she made one small boy, his son, sit on the royal throne of his father Aspasinē** [. . .].[304]

However, another, possibly more economic, scenario can also be envisaged: far from keeping his father's interests at heart, Timotheos may have actively sought Arsacid backing for his seditious aspirations, in the event the Arsacids would decide to interfere in Characene in the wake of their impending campaign in Elam. His encounter with the king's representative possibly aimed at establishing his aptitude for rulership—*made for the kingship* (*ana šarrūti*)—as a loyal vassal of the Arsacid king, as well

[300] *Ibid.*, no. –124 B 'obv.' 19'–20' (= 274–275).
[301] *Ibid.*, no. –95 C 'obv.' 5'–7'; 'rev.' 12'; D 11' (418; 420; 422).
[302] The precise date is 5.iii.188 SE (= 6/7.vi.124 BCE).
[303] The precise date is 9.iii.188 SE (= 10/11.vi.124 BCE).
[304] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –123 A 'obv. 18'–20' (282–283).

as at providing a taste for the riches to be levied as tribute on behalf of the king (which could have been displayed by the amount of silver and gold brought as gifts!).

One may attempt to expose the motivations for Timotheos' betrayal with Hyspaosines' intent to bypass his adult son (Timotheos) for succession to the benefit of his juvenile son, the future Apdakos, from queen Talasi'asu, who is also known to us from a recently discovered dedicatory Greek inscription from Bahrain as queen Thalassia.[305]

Hyspaosines, therefore, could have preempted his son's diplomacy by striking an entente with the Arsacids, either by aligning himself with them in their fight against the Elamites, or by nominally entering into Arsacid vassalage. In return, he seems to have demanded that his dissident son Timotheos be delivered to him. One detail, which may favor the latter reconstruction is the unidentified son of Hyspaosines being thrown into an iron ring (*semer parzilli*) at the king's behest (*ina pī šarri*) upon the arrival of the satrap of Babylonia in Seleucia,[306] and Seleucia is precisely the place whither Timotheos was headed, after his meeting with the Arsacid representative: *Ti'mutusu māru ša Aspasinē itti Bābili ana Selūke'â [illik]* "Ti'mutusu, son of Aspasinē, [went] from Babylon to Seleucia."[307]

Thus, judging from the *Diaries*, Babylon came back under Arsacid sovereignty as early as November 127, that is, in the first year of Ardawān I's reign, but the kingdom of Characene probably came under Arsacid suzerainty only by January 124 BCE—a few months prior to Hyspaosines' death on 10/11.vi.124 BCE—synchronous with the advent of Mihrdād II, and his planned campaign against Elymais.[308]

Arsacid campaign against the Elamite ruler Pittit

Returning to the Elamite front: following the reported departure of Mihrdād II[309] for a major campaign against Elam, we learn that sometime

[305] The inscription captures the dedication of a temple (*ναός*) by the stratēgos of Tylos and of the Islands (*στρατηγὸς Τύλου καὶ τῶν Νήσων*), a certain Kephisodōros, to the Dioskouroi Saviours, in the name of king Hyspaosines, and queen Thassalia: *ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Ὑσπαοσίνου / καὶ βασιλίσσης Θαλασσίας / τὸν ναὸν Διοσκόροις Σωτῆρσι / Κηφισόδωρος στρατηγὸς Τύλου καὶ τῶν Νήσων / εὐχήν* "in the name of king Hyspaosines and queen Thassalia, Kephisodōros, stratēgos of Tylos and of the Islands [has dedicated] the temple to the Dioskouroi Saviours under vow." For the inscription and commentaries, see Gatier, Lombard, and al-Sindi, "Greek Inscriptions from Bahrain," 223–226. See also Potts, "Archaeology and History of Gulf," 41.

[306] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, no. -124 B 'obv.' 19'–20' (= 274–275): A *šá* [1][. . .] / . . . *ina* KA LUGAL *ina* ḪAR AN.BAR ŠUB-*di ù a-ta-aḫ*[1]*As-pa-a-si-né-e lú* AD-*šú uš*$_4^2$*-te-bil*[2]

[307] *Ibid.*, no. -124 B 'obv.' 5' (= 272–273).

[308] See also Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 61–62.

[309] The exact date of Mihrdād II's accession is not known, but it falls, as described by Le Rider, between the date of tetradrachms issued by Ardawān I at Seleucia in 125/4 BCE (S. 21.1–4) and

Table 1. *Early Rulers of Characene*

Characenean Ruler	Events	Dates
Sagdodonacus (= Saxt)		
	• **First Characenean raid**	**2/3–30/31.xii.138 (ix.174 SE)**
	• Famine prompts Elamite forays into Mesopotamia warded off by Arsacid commander Philinos	2/3–30/31.xii.138 (= ix.174 SE)
	• Hyspaosines campaigns in Elamite possessions in the lower sealand	2/3–30/31.xii.138 (ix.174 SE)
	• **Second Characenean raid**	**7/8.x.–12/13.xi.133 (= 1.vii.–7.viii.179 SE)**
	• Combined Elamite and Characenean raid in Arsacid territory	7/8.x.–5/6.xi.133 (= vii.179 SE)
	• Combined Elamite and Characenean offensive against Babylon, Borsippa, and other cities	6/7–12/13.xi.133 (= 1–7.viii.179 SE)
	• Antiochos VII Sidetes' ephemeral hold on Mesopotamia and Elymais	25/26.vii.130–5.xi.129 (17.iv.182–13.viii.183 SE)
	• First Arsacid direct rule of Elymais	5.xi.129–30/31.v.127
	• **Conquest of Mesopotamia**	**30/31.v.–3/4.xi.127 (24.ii.–4.viii.185 SE)**
	• First attestation of Characenean rule in Mesopotamia (coinciding with Frahād II's demise in the East)	30/31.v.127 (24.ii.185 SE)
Hyspaosines = Aspasinwē (?-10/11.vi.124)	• Re-conquest of Mesopotamia by Arsaḳid general Timarchos	3/4.xi.127 (4.viii.185 SE)
	• No Characenean presence in Elymais	30/31.v.–3/4.xi.127
	• **Arsacid–Characenean entente**	**7/8.xi.–6/7.xii.125 (viii.187 SE)**
	• Continued Characenean ravage of Babylonia	2/3.iv.126 (5/6.i.186 SE)
	• Mihrdād II's accession	mid[2] 125
	• **Arsacid–Characenean entente and recognition of Arsacid suzerainty by Hyspaosines**	7/8.xi.–6/7.xii.125 (viii.187 SE)
	• Timotheos, son of Hyspaosines, thrown at the king's command into chains and sent to his father	7/8.xi.–6/7.xii.125 (ix.187 SE)
	• Conquest of Susa by Mihrdād II	7/8.xii.125–4/5.i.124 (ix.187 SE)

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Characenean Ruler	Events	Dates
Apdakos (10/11.vi.124-?)	• Defeat of Pittit by Arsacid forces	19/20.i.124
	• Mihrdād II's rule in Elymais	i.124
	• Arsacid sway over Characene	10/11.vi.124 (9.iii.188 SE)
	• Death of Hyspaosines and enthronement of his and queen Talasi'asu's juvenile son: Apdakos?	• 10/11.vi.124 (9.iii.188 SE)

in 7/8.xii.125–4/5.i.124 BCE (= ix.187 SE), Susa had fallen into the hands of the great Arsacid, for seemingly the city had become the operational base, from which Mihrdād II sat out to confront, in a decisive battle, at an unspecified location, the forces of the Elamite enemy *Pittit*:

king Arsaces . . . of Susa departed to the area of Elam opposite Pittiti, the Elamite enemy, for[?] fighting [310]

that of the *dichalkoi* overstruck by Mihrdād II on issues of Hyspaosines in 122/1 BCE (S. 23.4). However, since there are two undated issues of tetradrachms by Mihrdād II, on which, in contrast to his effigy on the *dichalkoi* of the year 122/1, he wears a shorter beard and is distinguished by more juvenile features (S. 23.1–2), there is a strong probability that the tetradrachms belonged to an earlier stage of Mihrdād II's reign than the *dichalkoi* of the year 122/1, hence were closer to 125/4; see Le Rider, *Suse*, 386. This is also supported by cuneiform documents, which testify to the rule of Hyspaosines of Characene in Babylon for the period of 30/31.v.–3/4.xi.127 BCE (= 24.ii.–4.viii.185 SE). In November 127, shortly before the accession of Mihrdād II, which took place probably in mid 125, Ardawān I seems to have recovered Babylon, for cuneiform tablets indicate that the Arsacid general *Timarchos* was able to re-conquer the city of Babylon with troops from Media. The submission of Characene is reported for November/December 125, probably under the pressure of a planned campaign by Mihrdād II into Elymais. That this campaign against the Elamite king was led by Mihrdād II and not Ardawān I is warranted by the latter's last actions being directed against the Gutians, against whom he fell in battle, as Mihrdād II later reports: "[. . . of the G]utians who killed my brother Artabana, and I set up (troops) opposite them, and fought with them; a great killing I performed under them"; hence Ardawān I could not have been at this time in Susa fighting against king Pittit; see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -118 'rev.' A20′ (= 326–327). Interestingly, if there is some truth in the report of Justin that Ardawān I was the uncle of Frahād II: *in huius locum Artabanus, patruus eius*, rex substituitur (Just. 42.2.1), and son of Mihrdād I: *post necem Mithridatis, Parthorum regis, Phraates filius rex statuitur* (Just. 42.1.1), then Mihrdād II, who, according to the diary no. -118 rev.' A20′, was Ardawān I's brother: "[. . . of the G]utians who killed *my brother Artabana*," was not only the brother of Ardawān I, but also that of Mihrdād I and Frahād I! This conclusion would, however, contradict another statement made by Justin that Mihrdād I and Frahād I were the only sons of Priapatius: *hic* [*Priapatius*] *actis in regno XV annis decessit relictis duobus filiis, Mithradate et Phrahate* (Just. 41.5.9).

[310] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -124 B 'obv.' 19′ (= 274–275). See also table 2.

We are later told, from a message communicated to the general of Babylonia on 5/6.ii.124 BCE (= 2.xi.187 SE) by Hyspaosines, who at this juncture is represented as an Arsacid ally, that the Arsacid forces had gained a major victory against the Elamite ruler Pittit, on 19/20.i.124 BCE (= 15.x.187 SE):

[t]hat month, the 2nd, . . . **a message of Aspasinē, king of Mesene**[?], which he had written **to the general of Babylonia** was brought near / [. . .] was read [to the cit]izens of Babylonia as follows: In this month, **on the 15th**[?], **king Arsaces and Pittit, the Elamite enemy, fought with each other. The king defeated the troops of Elam in battle. Pittit** / [. . .] **he seized.**[311]

Next, we learn that the wooden throne of king Arsaces, of which Hyspaosines had deprived him when they were enemies, was returned and given as present to Bel:

[t]hat month, the 15th, **the king's throne** which like the drawing of a man [. . .] **of wood** [. . .] **Pittit** / [. . .] **whose name (was) . . . manayaturunus**[312] **which before**[?] [kin]g Aspasinē had taken from the king's palace in Babylon, they gave as an honorific present to Bel. The governor of Babylon and the citizens who were in Babylon / [. . .] and . . . the doors of the Akītu Temple they opened and . . . [. . .] . . . made; they did not enter. **That throne of the king, an honorific present to Bel, they brought out from the Akītu Temple;** they took it next to them.[313]

Finally, the *Diaries* recount the arrival of Mihrdād II's herald confirming Hyspaosines' report of an overwhelming Arsacid victory against the Elamite king Pittit:

a messenger of the king who carried a message entered Babylon. That day, the message of the king, which was written to the governor of Babylon and the citizens who were in Babylon, was read in the House of observation, as follows: Fighting / [. . .] **Pittit, the Elamite enemy, I made, and 15 thousand battle troops among his troops I** [overth]rew in battle; among my troops no . . . took place. **Elam in its entirety I hit with weapons. Pittit** / [. . .] . . . **I seized.**[314]

For reasons explained above, Mihrdād II himself conducted the campaign against Pittit. The Elamite enemy Pittit, whom we do not encounter

[311] *Ibid.*, no. –124 B 'rev.' 12'–13' (= 278–279).

[312] Of interest in this passage are the reported name(s) (titles?) of the defeated enemy Pittit, which seem to have had an Iranian origin: [a'']-ma-na-a-a-tu-ru-nu-us <**amă-vahyah-* + **θūraina-?* "of superior force" and "strong." See Gershevitch, "Amber at Persepolis," 176, 238–239, who derives a comparable form *Ammumanya* attested in the Elamite Nebenüberlieferung from **amă-vaŋhya(h)-*; see also Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, 124, no. 8.52, and Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, 28, for *Ammukka*.

[313] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –124 B 'rev.' 17'–19' (= 278–279).

[314] *Ibid.*, no. –124 B 'rev.' 17'–19' (= 278–279).

before 7/8.xii.125–4/5.i.124 BCE, appears to have seized sovereign power in Elam in the aftermath of Ardawān I's demise—who had continued Frahād II's policy of direct rule over Elymais—and prior to Mihrdād II's gaining a foothold in Elam.

The absence of a loyal dynast in Elam, who may have warranted the continuity of Arsacid dominion during the period of succession within the empire, might have motivated Mihrdād II initially to refrain from re-establishing Arsacid direct rule in Elymais, and instead to reinstate a devoted local ruler, whom we suspect to be identical with Ur'a, son of Kammaškiri the Younger.[315]

This hypothesis may be indeed substantiated by the *Diaries* recounting that Ur'a, who seems to have found refuge with the Arsacids after Antiochos VII Sidetes' occupation of Elymais, during the period of vii.130–xi.129 BCE, participated at the side of the Arsacids in the fighting against the Elamite enemy Pittit:

> king Arsaces . . . of Susa departed to the area of Elam opposite Pittiti, the Elamite enemy, for? fighting. That month?, . . . **the son of** [. . .] / . . . / [. . .] . . . **Urri'a was killed in Ṣurru.**[316]

Although, admittedly, the context of the above passage is ambiguous Ur'a/Urri'a not being qualified as an enemy may be indicative of his quality as an Elamite ally destined by Mihrdād II to assume the Elamite throne upon the downfall of the usurper Pittit. Ur'a's reported death, in the course of the fighting opposing the Arsacid forces to Pittit's troops, might have eventually frustrated Mihrdād II's design for Elymais, as the numismatic evidence clearly testifies to the continued direct rule of the Arsacids up to the reign of Kamnaskires III (and his consort Anzaze) several decades later, in 82/81 BCE.[317]

Now, it is time to address the issue of Pittit's identity. Aside from the *Diaries*' account, we hear of Pittit only in a brief passage of Diodoros, in which Frahād II's dissatisfaction against the inhabitants of Seleucia for having mistreated his general (στρατηγός) *Enios*—probably in the course of, or following, Antiochos Sidetes' occupation of Seleucia—is expressed. The account depicts the pleading for mercy by the representatives of Seleucia, who, seeking to appease the king's wrath, were instead menaced with suffering the same fate as *Pitthides*, by being shown the place in which he was blinded: ἤγαγε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον

[315] *Ibid.*, no. -132 D_2 'rev.' 21′ (= 230–231).
[316] *Ibid.*, no. -124 B 'obv.' 19′; 21′ (= 274–275).
[317] Alram, *Nomina propria*, 143–144; pl. 15, nos. 454–455.

οὗπερ Πιτθίδης τυφλὸς ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκτετυφλωμένος "he [Arsaces] led the emissaries to the place, where the blind Pitthides sat (as a suppliant) on the ground, having been blinded."[318] As pointed out by Daniel Potts, Pittit is certainly to be identified with the blinded Pitthides on record by Diodoros.[319] His fortune may be reconciled with the chastisement inflicted upon rebels by Achaemenid kings. One need only think of the fate of the *Lügenkönige* who rose up in the first year of Dareios I's rule: their eyes were gouged out, their ears and tongues cut off, and their impaled bodies exposed to the populace;[320] hence, the penalty suffered by Pitthides seems to reflect the one reserved for disloyal rebels in ancient Iran, and other empires of the ancient Orient.[321]

What is striking in the aforesaid passage, however, is the erroneous chronology on display in Diodoros' account: the battle with Pittit and his ensuing supplication did not occur during Frahād II's reign, for it to have served as a reference in the admonition of Seleucia's mission by the king; thus, the episode of Pittit's insurgence, which evidently belongs to Mihrdād II's rule, has been projected into an earlier time by dint of its

[318] D.S. 34/35.19: Ὅτι Ἀρσάκης ὁ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς Σελευκεῖς διακείμενος καὶ μνησικακῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὕβεσι καὶ ταῖς τιμωρίαις αἷς ἐχρήσαντο κατ' Ἐνίον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, καὶ τῶν Σελευκέων ἀποστειλάντων πρέσβεις καὶ παρακαλούντων συγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι καὶ βουλομένων αὐτῶν ἀπόκρισιν λαβεῖν ἤγαγε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον οὗπερ Πιτθίδης τυφλὸς ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκτετυφλωμένος καὶ προσέταξεν ἀπαγγέλειν τοῖς Σελευκεῦσιν ὅτι πάντας αὐτοὺς δεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ παθεῖν.

[319] To my knowledge, Haruta, "Arshakid Parthia," 181–193 and Potts, "Five Episodes," 360, have identified Pittit with the Diodorean Pitthides; hence, the reference by Boiy, *Babylon*, 178, n. 170, to Van der Spek, "Ethnic Segregation," 405, as the author of this identification regrettably ignores these prior works, of which no mention is to be found in the bibliography.

[320] As an example of the punishment reserved for liar-kings, the end reported for the Mede Fravartiš, who was seized by Dareios' forces and brought to him, is revealing: *pasāva hauv fravartiš hadā kamnaibiš asabāraibiš amuθa ragā nāma dahayāuš mādaiy avaparā ašiyava pasāva adam kāram frāišaya nipadiy fravartiš agarbiya ānayatā abiy mām adamšaiy utā nāham utā gaušā utā hazānam frājanam utāšaiy I cašma avajam duvarayāmaiy basta adāriya haruvašim kāra avaina pasāvašim hagmatānaiy uzmayāpatiy akunavam* "then that Fravartiš fled together with a few horsemen. They went all the way to Ragā, a region in Media. Then I sent an army after them. Fravartiš was seized and brought to me. I cut off his nose, ears, and tongue, and gouged out one of his eyes. He was held bound at my gate. The whole people in arms saw him. Then I impaled him in Ecbatana"; see DB 2.72–76.

[321] An intesting parallel is offered by a passage of the Hittite First Military Sermon (*erster militärischer Eid*) published some time ago by Oettinger, wherein the punishment of those committing a contract breach with their Hittite sovereign shall consist of their, and their troops', blinding and deafening: "[als dieser hier] (noch) lebensfroh [wa]r, da konnte er droben den Himmel wahrnehmen, und siehe, jetzt hat man ihm an der Stätte der Vereidigung geblendet. (Ebenso) sollen nun den, der diese Eide übertr[itt] und sich gegen den König des Landes Hatti hinterhältig betr[ägt] und auf das Land Hatti feindlich den Blick richtet, diese Eide ergreifen und auch sein Heer blenden, ferner sollen sie taub machen!"; see Oettinger, *Militärische Eide*, 7, rec. 18′–26′. See also Siegelová, "Blendung als Strafe," 735–737; and Hoffner, "Captured in Battle," 61–72.

association with the account of Enios, on whom we shall elaborate in the following section.

Aside from these enemies, the *Diaries* are very explicit as regards the danger and vigor of Arab incursions into Mesopotamia, which are for the first time attested in 130/129 BCE.[322] There are continuous reports of Arab hordes undertaking violent and menacing campaigns in Babylonia as late as in 91/90,[323] although it remains unclear whether these Arabs *originally* were parts of Hyspaosines' contingents, acted in concert with him, or were simply independent tribes. The fact, on the one hand, that their plundering campaigns are mentioned without any apparent connection with Hyspaosines' actions on several tablets, in which both concur, and, on the other hand, the fact that the Arabs became an even more formidable foe after Hyspaosines' demise suggest that from the beginning they were independent from the Characenean kingdom.

322 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –129 A_2 'rev.' 19' (= 250–251).

323 *Ibid.*, no. –125 A obv.' 21 (= 260–261): "[t]hat month, the Arabs . . . [. . .] went around in the land [. . .]"; no. –124 A 'obv.' 8'–9' (= 264–265): "[t]hat month, the Arabs from above the wind[?] attacked and plund[ered?. . .] / [. . . traffic] was cut off [to] Borsippa and the other cities. The people who went out to[?] the surroundings of the city and the other fields [gave] presents [. . .]"; no. –124 A 'rev.'4'–7' (= 268–269): "[t]hat month, fire in the king's palace as before . . . [. . .] / [. . . the Ar]abs broke a hole into the wall of Babylon in the . . . house next? to the gate of Zababa . . . [. . .] / [. . . the 2]3rd, the satrap of Babylonia entered Babylon from Seleucia which is on the Tigris [. . .] / [. . . because] of the Arabs was cut off, and as before they gave presents to the Arabs [. . .]"; no. –124 B 'obv.' 21' (= 274–275): "[t]hat month, the Arabs plundered as before; panic of the Arabs as before was much in the land . . . [. . .]"; no. –124 B 'rev.' 20' (= 278–279): "[t]hat month, there was plundering by the Arabs as before"; no. –123 A rev.' 6–7 (= 284–285): ". . . the chief of the guard and many city[?] people [. . .] from Borsippa to Babylon [. . .] / [the Arabs] fell upon them [. . .] they, they plundered them, and they killed this chief of the guard in Babylon. Panic [. . .]"; no. –122 A 'obv.' 8' (= 290–291): "[. . . Arabs[?]] plundered the rivers."; no. –122 D 'obv.' 9'–11' (= 298–299): "[t]hat month the Arabs [. . .] / [. . .] all[?] Babylonia were surrounded[?] Many[?] days, the (gates[?]) of Babylon were not opened (because of[?]) fighting . . ."; no. –119 B 'obv.' B_1 13' (= 310–311): "[t]hat [month], plundering by the Arabs in Babylonia"; no. –118 A obv.' A22 (= 320–321): "[t]he people went out from Babylon to the rivers and fields which were without Arabs"; no. –118 A 'rev. A22' (= 326–327): "[t]hat month, the Arabs became hostile, as before, and plundered. That month, king Arsaces [went] to the remote cities of the Gutian country in order to fight"; no. –111 B 'rev.' 11'–12' (= 342–343): "[. . .] . . . [t]hat month. (there was) an attack of the Arabs as before. The general, the [. . .] / [. . .] these[?] troops defeated the Arabs . . ."; no. –108 B 'rev. 20' (= 360–361): "[. . .] Seleucia . . . plundering by the Ar[abs[?]] as before"; no. –105 A 'rev. 22'–23'(= 390–391): "[t]hat month, I heard that the Arabs [. . .] / departed to the surroundings of Seleucia which is on the Euphrates. Other Arabs went [. . .]"; no. –93 A rev.' 11 (= 428–429): "[t]hat month, there were many sick and dead in the land"; no. –93 A rev.' 23–26 (= 430–431): "[. . .] I heard that Arsaces, king of kings, departed to? the province of Media as before. That month, pregnant women / [. . .] dug the river which is above Seleucia which is on the Euphrates, as before. A heavy work obligation / [. . . which were] written to the administrator of Essangil and the Babylonians, were read in the house of counsel which is in the Juniper Garden / [. . .] the Babylonians whose names were written in this leather document who . . . make known with him [. . .]"; no. –90 'obv. 17' (= 434–435): "that month, the people of the towns who before had entered Babylon for fear, [returned?] to their towns [. . .]."

Antiochos VII Sidetes' Campaign against Frahād II

The episode of Antiochos Sidetes' campaign against the Arsacids is treated outside of the previous chronicle of events, for it is of fundamental bearing on our explaining the content of the fourth column (l. 10) of the *Dynastic Prophecy,* which we thought reflected the last great Seleucid–Arsacid conflict. Before embarking upon the identity of the protagonists alluded to in the aforementioned fourth column, we shall succinctly evoke the events pertinent to the Seleucids' last campaign in the East.

Introduction

Upon Demetrios II's defeat by Mihrdād I and the loss of the eastern provinces to the Arsacid empire in 7/8.vii–4/6.viii.138 BCE (= iv.174 SE) the usurper Tryphon,[324] against whom Demetrios II's commanders had been sent into the field,[325] having become sole ruler over Seleucid Syria, began to threaten Seleucia, wherein Demetrios II's queen Kleopatra Thea had sought refuge. At this juncture, another son of Demetrios I, Antiochos VII Sidetes,[326] who, having set off for Rhodes[327] from the Pamphylian city of Side,[328] in order to seek the endorsement of Demetrios II's supporters, was, although initially rejected by the coastal cities of Coele–Syria at Tryphon's insistence,[329] in the end significantly boldened in his design to acquire the throne (*βασιλεία*), once Kleopatra Thea had consented to take him as her third consort.[330] Her motivation, albeit variously reported,[331]

[324] On Tryphon, see above, 63–67, 69–72.

[325] D.S. 13.28: [*Διόδοτος*] *περιέθετο διάδημα τῆς βασιλείας καὶ κρατήσας ἔρημον αὐτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε βασιλέα καὶ κατὰ τῶν σατραπῶν καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους πολεμεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο.*

[326] On the events leading to Antiochos VII Sidetes' seizure of power, see Bevan, *House of Seleucus,* 236–238; Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides,* vol. I, 368–370; Ehling, "Probleme," 229–234; *Untersuchungen,* pp.186–189; also Shayegan, "Demetrius II," 87–90.

[327] App. *Syr.* 68.

[328] According to Syncellus 553, and Eusebios (Karst, *Die Chronik,* 120, ll. 24–26), this is the city in which the young prince Antiochos was brought up; also, Saint Martin, *Histoire des Arsacides,* vol. II, 8–9, n. 1.

[329] J. *AJ* 13.222: *ἀλωμένου δὲ καὶ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Δημητρίου ἀδελφοῦ ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Σωτήρ καὶ μηδεμιᾶς αὐτὸν πόλεως δεχομένης διὰ Τρύφωνα πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν Κλεοπάτρα καλοῦσα πρὸς αὑτὴν ἐπί τε γάμῳ καὶ βασιλείᾳ.*

[330] J. *AJ* 13.222.

[331] Appian (*Syr.* 68) mentions the marriage of Demetrios II in captivity with the Parthian Princess Rhodogune as a possible motive for Kleopatra's actions: *Κλεοπάτρα δολοφονήσασα διὰ ζῆλον τοῦ γάμου Ῥοδογούνης δι' ὃν δὴ καὶ Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Δημητρίου προύγεγάμητο,* "Kleopatra killed [Demetrios] by treachery due to [her] jealousy of his marriage to Rhodogune, on account of which [jealousy] she had also [previously] married Antiochos, Demetrios' brother." Josephos (*AJ* 13.222) mentions Kleopatra's fear of being delivered by Seleucia's citizens to Tryphon as another motive for her alliance with Antiochos Sidetes, although he does not fail to hint, in another passage (*AJ* 13.220–221), at Kleopatra Thea's relatively secure position in Seleucia, for Tryphon's seizure of the royal power (*τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν λαβών*) had prompted the army to

Table 2. *Early rulers of Elymais*

Ruler of Elymais	Events	Dates
Kammaškiri the Elder = Kamniskires Nikephoros (ix.145–mid^{2} 138)	• **First Elamite raid**	**7/8.ix.145–vii/viii.144 (= 17.vi.167–iv.168 SE)**
	• Arsacid conquest of Mesopotamia	12/13.iv.141 (= 1.i.171 SE)
	• **Second Elamite raid**	**11/12.xii.141–28/29.i.140 (= ix.171–27.x.171 SE)**
	• Mihrdād I's absence in Hyrcania	11/12.xii.141–28/29.i.140 (= ix.171–27.x.171 SE)
Okkonapses (mid^{2} 138–early^{2} 137)	• **Third Elamite raid**	**3/4.viii.138–5/6.i.137 (= 28.iv.174–6.x.174 SE)**
	• Mihrdād I defeats Demetrios in Babylonia	7/8.vii.–4/6.viii.138 (= iv.174 SE)
	• Famine in Elam	3/4.viii.138 (= 28.iv.174 SE)
	• Famine prompts Elamite forays into Mesopotamia warded off by Arsacid commander Philinos	2/3–30/31.xii.138 (= ix.174 SE)
	• Elam's disarray gives rise to Characenean expansion	2/3–30/31.xii.138 (= ix.174 SE)
	• Elamite plundering of Nippur	5/6.i.137 (= 6.x.174 SE)
Tigraois (early^{2} 137–2/3.ii.–3/4.iii.132)	• **Fourth Elamite raid**	**7/8.x.–12/13.xi.133 (= 1.vii.–7.viii.179 SE)**
	• Combined Elamite and Characenean raid of Arsacid territory	7/8.x.–5/6.xi.133 (= vii.179 SE)
	• Combined Elamite and Characenean offensive against Babylon, Borsippa, and other cities	6/7–12/13.xi.133 (= 1–7.viii.179 SE)
	• Frahād II defeats Tigraios in battle	12/13.xi.133 (= 7.viii.179 SE)
	• Use of title *aršakâ šar mātāti* by Frahād II	10.xii.133 (= 5.ix.179 SE)
	• Capture of Tigraios	2/3.ii.–3/4.iii.132 (= xi.179 SE)
Kammaškiri the Younger = Kamniskires Soter (xi.133–vii.130)	• Frahād II places Kammaškiri the Younger on Elamite throne on the wake of Tigraois' defeat	12/13.xi.133 (= 7.viii.179 SE)

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Ruler of Elymais	Events	Dates
Antiochos VII Sidetes (vii.130–xi.129)	• Antiochos VII Sidetes' ephemeral hold on Mesopotamia and Elymais	25/26.vii.130–5.xi.129 (= 17.iv.182–13. viii.183 SE)
	• *Diaries*' last mention of Frahād II's **First Rule** in Mesopotamia	25/26.vii.130 (= 17.iv.182 SE)
Frahād II (xi.129–v.127)	• *Diaries*' first mention of Frahād II's **Second Rule** in Mesopotamia	5.xi.129 (= 13.viii.183 SE)
	• First Arsacid direct rule of Elymais	5.xi.129–30/31.v.127
	• First attestation of Characenean rule in Mesopotamia (coinciding with Frahād II's demise in the East)	30/31.v.127 (= 24.ii.185 SE)
	• Re–conquest of Mesopotamia by Arsacid general Timarchos	3/4.xi.127 (4.viii.185 SE)
	• No Characenean presence in Elymais	30/31.v.–3/4.xi.127
Ardawān I (v.127–mid[?] 125)	• Ardawān I continues Frahād II's direct rule in Elymais	v.127–mid[?] 125
	• Continued Characenean ravage of Babylonia	2/3.iv.126 (5/6.i.186 SE)
	• Mihrdād II's accession	mid[?] 125
Pittit (mid[?]125–19/20.i.124)	• Arsacid–Characenean entente in Babylon and recognition of Arsacid suzerainty by Hyspaosines	7/8.viii.–6/7.xii.125 (viii.187 SE)
	• Conquest of Susa by Mihrdād II	7/8.xii.125–4/5.i.124 (ix.187 SE)
	• Defeat of Pittit by Arsacid forces	19/20.i.124
	• Mihrdād II's rule in Elymais	i.124
	• Arsacid sway over Characene	10/11.vi.124 (9.iii.188 SE)

ought to have been to preserve her exalted position (and that of her children) within the realm, once Tryphon had eliminated the puppet king Antiochos VI, possibly after the summer of 138.[332]

Once endorsed by Kleopatra Thea, Antiochos Sidetes, who seems to have adopted the title of king from the outset,[333] was able eventually to defeat Tryphon,[334] possibly between 7/8.vii–4/6.viii.138 and 27/28.iii.137 BCE,[335] before laying siege to Jerusalem, and submitting Judea to his authority.[336]

Antiochos, having established his authority over Syria, was intent on re-imposing Seleucid rule over the East. Although officially the campaign launched against the Arsacid empire aimed at restoring Demetrios II's reign,[337] in reality, however, Sidetes, who had reached for the diadem of kingship in the absence of his royal brother[338]—and hence could have been perceived as an usurper[339]—was striving to eliminate the danger posed to his rule by Demetrios II's unpredictable captivity. This was a

change sides and go over to queen Kleopatra (*τὸ μὲν γὰρ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτὸν μισοῦν ἀφίστατο πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν*).

332 See Shayegan, "Demetrius II," 89–90

333 In a letter addressed to the high priest Simon, probably from Rhodes, Antiochos Sidetes calls himself *βασιλεύς*; 1 *Macc.* 15.1. See also Abel, *Livres des Maccabées*, 263–264, n. 2.

334 On Sidetes' struggle with Tryphon and the latter's end, see 1 *Macc.* 15.10–14, 25–26, 37, 39; J. *AJ* 13.223–224; App. *Syr.* 68; Str. 14.5.2; Syncellus 553. Also, see Hoffmann, "Tryphon (1)," 715–720; and most recently Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 190–199.

335 1 *Macc.* 15.10–14 mentions the year 174 SE as the year in which Antiochos Sidetes vanquished Tryphon. The coinage of Antiochos Sidetes, generated in Antioch, Tyre, and Seleucia Pieria, is attested beginning with the year 174. See Houghton, "Revolt of Tryphon," 136–139. For Antioch, see Gardner, *Greek Coins*, 73, no. 46; Houghton, *Coins of the Seleucid Empire*, 17, nos. 271–276, pls. 15–16; Houghton and Spaer, *Sylloge*, 256, nos. 1890–1897, pl. 123; for Tyre, see Gardner, *Greek Coins*, 70, no. 3; Houghton and Spaer, *Sylloge*, 268, nos. 2002–2006, pl. 129; on Seleucia Pieria, see Seyrig, *Notes on Syrian Coins*, 13, n. 21. Since Demetrios II's reverse in Mesopotamia occurred in iv.174 SE, the *terminus post quem* of Tryphon's demise should be iv.174 SE, and the *terminus ante quem* xii.174 SE; thus, sometime between 7/8.vii–4/6.viii.138 and 27/28.iii.137 BCE, Tryphon was probably eliminated by Antiochos Sidetes. However, the possibility of Tryphon's ongoing rule until 175 SE within sundry coastal areas, based on the interpretation of a short inscription on a sling bullet dated to Tryphon's fifth year of rule from the city of Dor—in which Tryphon had momentarily found refuge, and which Antiochos Sidetes besieged—remains disputed. Compare Gera, "Tryphon's Sling Bullet," 153–163; and Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 190. For a critique of Gera's interpretation, see Fischer, "Tryphons verfehlter Sieg," 29–30.

336 On Sidetes' Jewish Wars, see Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, vol. II, 239–241; Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. I, 374–377; Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, vol. I, 200–209; Ehling, "Probleme," 234–241; *Untersuchungen*, 193–199. On the relation between the Seleucids and the Maccabees, see Dąbrowa, "De l'assujettissement," 67–84, in particular, 75–78.

337 App. *Syr.* 68: *καὶ στρατεύει καὶ ὅδε ἐπὶ τὸν Φραάτην τὸν ἀδελφὸν αἰτῶν.*

338 1 *Macc.* 15.1.

339 See Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. I, 378: "Il [Antiochos VII] avait débarassé le royaume de l'usurpateur Tryphon, mais il pouvait passer lui-même pour un usurpateur aux yeux de bon nombre de ces sujets."

threat Antiochos Sidetes ought to have felt vividly, for it was precisely in order to make use of Demetrios II as a means of dissuasion against possible Seleucid aggression that the latter was kept in Hyrcanian exile by the Arsacids, to be "interjected" into Seleucid affairs as an agent of commotion as the fortunes of war would dictate.[340]

Arsacid preparations in anticipation of Sidetes' attack

On the eve of Antiochos Sidetes' campaign in Mesopotamia,[341] the *Diaries* report everything from discrete activities to frantic preparations being made in Babylon and Seleucia, in order to mitigate the impact of the invading forces. Antiochos' rule in Mesopotamia seems to have lasted from 25/26.vii.130 BCE (= 17.iv.182 SE),[342] the date at which the last mention of Frahād II's first reign in Mesopotamia was recorded, to 5.xi.129 BCE (= 13.viii.183 SE),[343] when the first mention of Frahād II's second rule in Mesopotamia was made; thus altogether some fifteen months.

In 20/21.vi.–19/20.vii.131 BCE (= iii.181 SE), we are informed of unbroken communication between Seleucia and different Arsacid officials, among them, owing to the lacunary nature of the passage in question, an unspecified general and satrap, whom we may identify with the general

[340] Just. 38.9.10: *sed hanc Parthorum tam mitem in Demetrium clementiam non misericordia gentis faciebat nec respectus cognationis sed quod Syriae regnum adfectabant usuri Demetrio adversus Antiochum fratrem prout res vel tempus vel fortuna belli exegisset. His auditis Antiochus occupandum bellum ratus exercitum, quem multis finitimorum bellis induraverat, adversus Parthos ducit* "However, this so gentle clemency of the Parthians towards Demetrios was neither a function of the compassion of these people, nor of the respect for family relationship, but because they desired the kingdom of Syria, they intended to use Demetrios against his brother Antiochos, just as the situation, the necessity, or the fortune of war would have required it. Having heard this, Antiochos, in the belief he had to wage war, led his army, hardened in sundry border wars, against the Parthians." Similarly, Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens*, 95; Ehling, "Probleme," 228; Dąbrowa, "Könige Syriens," 47–48; for a nuanced discussion of Justin's reliability as to the motives of Mihrdād I and Frahād II in maintaining Demetrios II in Arsacid captivity, compare Mittag, "Beim Barte des Demetrios," 373–399, especially 388–389, wherein the author deems the captivity of Demetrios II, and his subsequent wedding to princess Rhodugane, to be a means for the Arsacids to force their way into Hellenistic matrimonial policy, from which, as "barbarians," they had been hitherto foreclosed; and Shayegan, "Demetrius II," 90–91. Compare most recently, Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 195, who states: "wenn Iustin (38, 9, 10–10, 1) schreibt, daß die unmittelbar drohende Wiedereinsetzung des Demetrios II. als König in Syrien der Kriegsgrund gewesen sei, so geht die Interpretation irrtümlich von der erst später erfolgten Freilassung des Demetrios II. durch Phraates II. aus."

[341] On Antiochos Sidetes' campaign, still useful, Saint Martin, *Histoire des Arsacides*, vol. II, 14–50; Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 1–48; also Dąbrowa, "Könige Syriens," 48–50; Ehling, "Seleukidische Geschichte," 141–144; *Untersuchungen*, 200–205; and Boiy, *Babylon*, 171–174. For a subtle analysis of the narrative of Trogus/Justin contrasted with Poseidonios' fragments and other dependent sources, with a view to producing a "vision posidonienne des guerres entre Parthes et Séleucides," see Lerouge-Cohen "Guerres parthiques," 217–252.

[342] See below, 128–137. Compare also Boiy, *Babylon*, 173, for slightly different dates.

[343] See also Houghton, *Coins of the Seleucid Empire*, 101, no. 1020.

of Babylonia (*muma"ir ṣābi māt Akkad*),[344] and the satrap of Babylonia (*muma"ir māt Akkad*)[345]:

[....] citizens to the province [....] / [t]hat month, I heard that at the end of the month the [....] / [.... **from Seleucia] which is on the Tigris to** [....] / [....] **messengers of the general** [....] / [....].... [t]hat month, the 1st, **the satrap** [....][346]

and later on 6/7.iii.130 BCE (= 25?.xi.181 SE):

[.... Seleu]cia / [....] bank? of the Tigris / [....].... **from the cities**[347]

On 13/14.iv.130 BCE (= 4.i.182 SE), some two months prior to the capture of Babylon and Seleucia, the *Diaries* report of arrangements being made between the citizens, the *pulitē* (*οἱ πολῖται*), that is, the Greek population of Babylon, and the king, who, by dint of his satrap, appears to have summoned their representatives to his encampment, either in order to ascertain their loyalty to the empire, or to elaborate on common defenses. On 1/2.v.130 BCE (= 22.i.182 SE), sacrifices are performed by the *šatammu* of Esagil on behalf of Frahād II.

[....] That month, the 4th, **the satrap of Babylonia entered Babylon** (coming) **from the camp of the king** / [....] .... **with a message of the king went out to the camp of the king** / [....].... **the citizens went out to the camp of the king by a message of the king** / [....] their [....] went out from Babylon [....] of the king?. I heard that in the 22nd / [....] message of the king / [....].... That day, **the administrator of Esagil** / [.... **Bel and Belti]ja, the great gods, [for the life] of the king?** / [he performed....][348]

Following the summons of the citizens, the *Diaries* further report that on 19/20.v.130 BCE (= 10.ii.182 SE), a governor of Babylon *(pāḫāt Bābili)* was appointed from among the selfsame Greek citizens *(pulitē)* called upon by the king, and sent, from the latter's camp, possibly in company of the satrap of Babylonia, back to Babylon, where he was hailed with the customary sacrifice by the assembly of the Esagil. Thus, it seems that on the eve of Antiochos' invasion, Arsacid sovereignty was keen to secure the loyalty of the citizens (*οἱ πολῖται*) through the nomination at their head of a devoted? subject, a new *pāḫātu*:

.... That month, the 10th, **the satrap of Babylonia** fr[om ....] / [....] **one of the citizens who were in Babylon, who in the message of the king was appointed governor of Babylon, from the king's camp** .... [....] / [....] **the Babylonians,**

[344] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -132 D_1 'rev.' 7' (= 232–233).
[345] *Ibid.*, no. -129 A_1 'obv.' 6' (= 244–245) and no. -129 A_2 'rev.' 17' (= 250–251).
[346] *Ibid.*, no. -130 B 'rev.' 2'–6' (= 240–241).
[347] *Ibid.*, no. -130 D 'obv. 18'–20' (= 242–243).
[348] *Ibid.*, no. -129 A_1 'obv.' 6'–14' (= 244–247).

the assembly of the Esagil [provided] one bull and three (sheep) sacrifices for this governor of Babylon at the Ka–sikila, the great gate .... [....] / [....] he performed (offerings) [for the life of ki]ng and for his (own) life. That [mo]nth, the 17th, a mess[enger] of the general .... the harvest? of Elam [....] / [....].... and the Babylonians, the assembly of Esagil .... entered the Akītu temple.[349]

Intriguingly, on 2/3.vi.130 BCE (= 24.ii.182 SE), a certain Imerusu, the "chief of the *kumāru* of the royal domain" (*rab kumāri ša bīt šarrūti*),[350] is mentioned, being undoubtedly the selfsame Himerus, whom we have encountered above,[351] and who is variably reported to have served as king Frahād II's deputy in Babylonia by our classical sources, as the following note of Poseidonios, who calls him *Ἵμερον τὸν τυραννήσαντα οὐ μόνον Βαβυλωνίων ἀλλὰ καὶ Σελευκέων* "Himeros who not only ruled over the Babylonian (people), but also over the inhabitants of Seleucia," bears witness:[352]

That month, the 24th, a m[essage ....] / [....] to .... [....] whom? **Imerusu, the chief.... of the treasury, informed, to the king** [....] / [....].... which to the administrator [....] / [....].... the Babylonians, the assembly of Esagil, was written, which .... of one [....] / [.... the Babylon]ians, the assembly Esagil, [provided] one bull and 4 (sheep) sacrifices for [....].[353]

However, as Justin's account plainly indicates, Himerus' appointment in Babylonia took place in the aftermath of Antiochos Sidetes' defeat, and prior to the king's campaign against his eastern foes:

[Just. 42.1.3–5]

Igitur Phrahates cum adversus eos proficisceretur ad tutelem regni relequit Himerum ... ipse autem Phrahates exercitum Graecorum quem bello Antiochi captum superbe crudeliterque tractaverat in bellum secum ducit ...

"Upon departing against them, Frahād left Himerus in charge of the realm ... as for Phraates himself, he led to war the Greek army, which he had made captive during the war with Antiochos and had treated with conceit and severity ... "

The last entry of the *Diaries* prior to the conquest of Antiochos seems to indicate that on 13/14.vi.130 BCE (= 5.iv.182 SE), possibly following

[349] *Ibid.*, no. –129 A_2 'obv.' 16'–20' (= 248–249).

[350] Intriguingly, in a diary dated 11/12.iii.107 BCE (= 16.xii.204 SE) a certain Orodes is mentioned with the similar title of "chief of the *kumāru* of the temples" *Urudēšu rab kumāri ša bitāti*. See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –107 C rev. 16' (= 370–371). See also Mitsuma, "*rab kumari*," 85–86, who interprets *kumāru* as "priest," *ku-ma-ri* as its oblique plural form *kumāri*, and hence *rab kumāri* as the "chief of priests (of the royal domain)."

[351] See above, 93.

[352] See Edelstein and Kidd, *Posidonius*, vol. I, F. 65 (= 83).

[353] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –129 A_2 'obv.' 20'–24' (= 248–249).

an understanding, or meeting, between the satrap of Babylonia and the general of Seleucia, it was decided that, in view of the imminent danger of Antiochos Sidetes' forces, the satrap should leave Babylon and go to Seleucia, wherein King Frahād II was probably encamped. With the reported departure of the satrap of Babylonia on 25/26.vii.130 BCE (= 17.iv.182 SE), the direct representative of Arsacid authority in Babylon left for Seleucia:

> That month, the 5th, **the satrap of Babylonia** [....] **and the general** [....] / **from Seleucia** which is on [the Tigris ....] .... [....] / at the 'Gate of the Son of the Prince' of Esagil .... [....] / the 17th, **the satrap of Babylonia** [....] / **from Babylon to Seleuc[ia** ....] / [....] That month, the Arabs [....] / [....].... on the river .... [....][354]

Antiochos VII Sidetes' campaign

At this juncture, we have to defer to our classical sources to reconstruct the remaining stations of Frahād II's defensive stratagem.

Recalling that Antiochos' rule lasted between 25/26.vii.130 and 5.xi.129 BCE, we may in concert with our main classical accounts infer that the campaign against the Arsacid empire proceeded in two phases, with the conquest of Mesopotamia being the first stage, and the assault on Media and the Parthian homeland the second stage of it.[355]

Justin, whose testimony is the most comprehensive of our classical sources, depicts as follows Sidetes' *anabasis* against the Arsacids: Antiochos Sidetes, fearful of Frahād's design on Syria,[356] launched the Parthian campaign as a preventive measure to frustrate Frahād II's stratagem.[357] Antiochos' campaign was apparently hailed by the voluntary submission of sundry magnates: *advenienti Antiocho multi orientales reges occurrere tradentes se regnaque sua cum execratione superbiae Parthicae*[358] "upon Antiochos' arrival, many eastern kings came to meet [him] and surrendered themselves, as well as their realms, while loathing the Parthian arrogance." In three battles, Antiochos defeated the Arsacid armies: *Antiochos tribus proeliis victor cum Babyloniam occupasset Magnus haberi*

[354] *Ibid.*, no. –129 A_2 'rev.' 14'–20' (= 250–251).

[355] The two phases of Antiochos Sidetes' campaign were suggested by Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 39–48, which we follow in the present reconstruction, although Fischer's *absolute* chronology of the events has been re-evaluated in accordance with the wealth of data from the *Diaries*. Compare also Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 201–205; and see Shayegan, "Demetrius II," 90–92.

[356] Just. 38.9.10.

[357] Just. 38.10.1.: *His auditis Antiochos occupandum bellum ratus exercitum quem multis finitimorum bellis induraverat adversus Parthos ducit.*

[358] Just. 38.10.5.

coepit,[359] "Antiochos, victor in three battles, having seized Babylon began to be called 'Great.'"

Following the seizure of Babylonia, the Macedonian troops are reported to have overwintered in Arsacid territory, prior to initiating the second phase of the campaign in the following spring. This seems to be clearly suggested by Justin: *propter multitudinem hominum exercitum suum Antiochos per civitates in hiberna diviserat quae res exitii causa fuit*[360] "Antiochos, due to the great number of his men, had divided his army in [several] cities for winter quarters, which matter was the cause of his end." That Antiochos' army, following its success in Mesopotamia, was put into winter quarters before continuing its campaign, is also clearly indicated by Diodoros' account,[361] according to whom, it was precisely in spring, before Antiochos embarked upon the second leg of his campaign, that Frahād II launched a diplomatic initiative: *ὁ Ἀρσάκης ἀποπειραθῆναι βουλόμενος τῶν πολεμίων πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλε περὶ εἰρήνης*[362] "Arsaces, wishing to put to test his enemies, sent envoys to discuss peace." The offer was met with such unyielding demands by the Seleucids[363] as to force the Arsacid king to prepare for an inevitable battle: *ὁ δὲ Ἀρσάκης προσκόψας τῇ βαρύτητι τῶν ἀποκρίσεων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὥρμησεν*[364] "Arsaces taking offence at the harshness of the answer, hastened to battle against him."

It emerges from Diodoros' account that Demetrios II was still in captivity, when Frahād II approched Antiochos Sidetes, for one of his demands consisted of the liberation of his brother from captivity: *οἷς Ἀντίοχος ἀντέδωκων ἀποκρίσεις διότι συγχωρήσει τὴν εἰρήνην ἐαν τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν Δημήτριον ἀπολύσας τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας παραδῳ*[365] "Antiochos replied to them that he would agree to peace, if he [Arsaces] would set free his brother Demetrios II from captivity and send [him] home." This seems to corroborate Justin's account, which, although missing a precise indication as to the time of Demetrios II's release, nonetheless seems to suggest that he was set free after Antiochos Sidetes' army had taken up winter quarters, sometime during the second leg of the campaign, when the Seleucid was engaged in Arsacid territory, and

[359] Just. 38.10.6.
[360] Just. 38.10.8.
[361] D.S. 34/35.15.1: *Ὅτι τῆς ἐαρινῆς ὥρας τῇ χλιᾷ τηκούσης τὴν χιόνα καὶ τῶν καρπῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεχοῦς πάγου πρὸς τὴν φυὴν καὶ βλάστησιν προϊόντων...*
[362] D.S. 34/35.15.1.
[363] See Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 203; Shayegan, "Demetrius II," 91.
[364] D.S. 34/35.15.1.
[365] *Ibid.*

the Parthians had been confined to their homeland,[366] a scenario also suggested by Josephos[367] and other sources.[368]

It is at this juncture that Frahād II, according to Justin, sent Demetrios II back to Syria, accompanied by Parthian guards, in order to create sufficient distraction to prompt Sidetes to withdraw from Parthia, and hence to procure some respite for Frahād II's assailed forces:

[Just. 38.10.7]
tunc Phrahates Demetrium in Syriam ad occupandum regnum cum Parthico praesidio mittit ut eo pacto Antiochus ad sua tuenda a Parthia revocaretur

"Then, Phrahates sent Demetrios into Syria **together with a Parthian escort** to take possession of the throne, so that, by this means, Antiochos may be recalled from Parthia to uphold that which was his."

The Seleucid *anabasis* came to a halt when Antiochos Sidetes in the final battle opposing him to Frahād II suffered a devastating defeat and fell. Following Justin, Antiochos VII's decision to take up winter quarters in Arsacid territory, and to spread out the army in different cities, ultimately caused his end, for the cities (*civitates*), burdened with the provisioning of his troops, in concert with the Arsacids, rallied against Sidetes' dispersed cohorts and slew them. Having lost a great many of his troops, and unable to oppose the Parthian counter offensive, Antiochos Sidetes perished in the battle against Frahād II.[369]

Having succinctly surveyed the core elements of our classical sources as they recount Sidetes' *anabasis*, we shall in the following focus on the location and motivation of the cities that rebelled against Sidetes.

The notion that the population of occupied cities within the Arsacid empire, reportedly following the initial show of enthusiasm for the invading armies of Antiochos: *itaque ad eum omnibus populis deficientibus nihil Parthis reliqui praeter patrios fines fuit*[370] "after all peoples defected to him [Antiochos], nothing remained for the Parthians, but their ancestral lands," had ultimately embraced the cause of Frahād II, driven in their

366 Just. 38.10.6.

367 J. *AJ* 13.253: Δημήτριος Ἀρσάκου αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολύσαντος καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὴν Παρθυηνὴν ἐνέβαλεν.

368 See Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 39–40.

369 Just. 38.10.8–10. *Nam cum gravari se copiarum praebitione et iniuriis militum civitates viderunt at Parthos deficiunt et die statuta omnes apud se divisum exercitum per insidias ne invicem ferre auxilia possent adgrediuntur. Quae cum nuntiata Antiocho essent auxilium proximis laturus cum ea manu quae secum hiemabat progreditur. In itinere obvium regem Parthorum habuit adversus quem fortius quam exercitus eius dimicavit. Ad postremum tamen cum virtute hostes vincerent metu suorum desertus occiditur.*

370 Just. 38.10.6.

volte-face by economic pressures, is reflected in Diodoros' work. Indeed, reporting on the fate of Athenaios, Antiochos Sidetes' general, Diodoros recounts how, having deserted his lord and taken flight, Athenaios was rejected by the same villages (*κώμας*) which had been previously assigned as quarters to his troops.[371] What is more, according to Diodoros,[372] in the aftermath of the Arsacid triumph, Seleuceans were seeking leniency from Frahād II for their act of betrayal in connection with crimes perpetrated against the king's general Enios.[373] Diodoros' account not only suggests that the city of Seleucia had sided with Antiochos,[374] but also implies, through the episode of Athenaios being refused by the inhabitants of previously oppressed villages—which is in tune with Justin's account of exacerbated cities (*civitates*) joining forces with the Arsacids—that the city of Seleucia may have eventually joined the Arsacid cause out of hardship suffered, while provisioning Seleucid troops.

Before further investigating the claims of our classical sources, according to which inhabitants of cities within Arsacid territory had initially sided with Antiochos, but had turned on the Seleucid king, once his troops were put into winter quarters, we shall first discuss the approximate dates of the campaign's two stages.

As we may recall, Antiochos' sway over Mesopotamia seems to have lasted from 25/26.vii.130 to 5.xi.129 BCE (= 17.iv.182 to 13.viii.183 SE). During the first leg of the campaign, Elymais and Mesopotamia were conquered, Elymais probably before the fall of Babylon, which was presaged by the satrap of Babylonia leaving the city en route to Seleucia on 25/26.vii.130 BCE.[375] Before the second leg, during which we consider the assault

[371] D.S. 34/35.17.2: *διεκπεσόντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρός τινας κώμας ἠδικημένας ἐν ταῖς ἐπισταθμίαις οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο εἰς οἰκίαν οὐδὲ τροφῆς μετέδωκεν.*

[372] D.S. 34/35.19.

[373] On Enios, Karras-Klapproth, *Prosopographische Studien*, 54; still valuable, Otto, "Himeros (5)," 1638–1640.

[374] On the attribution of tetradrachms and drachms from Seleucia, bearing the legend *βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου*, to Antiochos Sidetes, see Le Rider, *Suse*, 154–155, pl. 31, nos. A–C; and 377. Of particular interest are also two bronze issues ascribed to Antiochos in Seleucia that are dated to the years 182 and 183 SE (= 131/130 and 130/129 BCE), which corroborate the *Diaries*' chronology of Antiochos' campaign. See *ibid.*, 155–156, no. 321, pl. 31, nos. D–L.

[375] Our assumption that the Seleucids wrested Elymais from the Arsacid-backed Kammaškiri the Younger is based upon the attribution of a single bronze issue, attested in eight samples, also carrying the legend *βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου*, to Antiochos Sidetes. See Le Rider, *Suse*, 83–84, no. 110, pl. 11, nos. 110.1–110.2, 110.11–110.13; pl. 52, nos. 110.1–110.2, 110.5–110.10; and 377–378. The reason why we deem it likely the conquest of Elymais occurred ***before*** the winter encampment of 130 is based on Justin's reporting of the submission of *multi orientales reges* to Antiochos during the early stage of his campaign. While neither Hyspaosines nor the Arsacid protégé Kammaškiri the Younger, as we have seen, submitted to Antiochos, the passage may, nonetheless, reflect the conquest of Elymais by Seleucid forces en route to Babylon. Compare Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 42, who places

on Media and the Parthian homeland proper to have occurred, Antiochos' troops seem to have taken up their winter quarters. Not before spring, as our sources seem to indicate, was the second leg of the campaign initiated, that is, some time in early March 129 BCE, which means that it (the second stage) endured for over eight months. The question which arises at this juncture is whether, prior to spring 129, Antiochos already controlled Media (and parts of the Parthian homeland?), or whether, having subdued Mesopotamia, he projected their conquest within the second leg of the campaign.[376]

Aside from Orosius, who reports Antiochos, having seized Babylonia *and* Media before setting out against Frahād II, encamped in the Parthyene: *Antiochus non contentus Babylona atque Ecbatana totoque Mediae imperio adversus Phrahatem Parthorum regem congressus et victus est* "Antiochos not content with [the possession of] Babylonia, Ecbatana, and all of the Mede empire, set out against Phrahates, the king of Parthians, and was defeated,"[377] most of our sources seem to indicate that the second stage of the campaign targeted both Media and the Parthian homeland.[378] Indeed, in at least two passages attributed to Poseidonios, it is clearly stated that (the second leg of) the campaign was targeting Media as well: *περὶ τοῦ ὁμωνύμου αὐτοῦ Ἀντιόχου λέγων τοῦ ἐπ' Ἀρσάκην εἰς Μηδίαν στρατεύσαντος* "[Poseidonios] says in reference to the one with the same name as him, [namely,] Antiochos [Sidetes], who made a campaign into Media against Arsaces,"[379] and *ὁ ὁμώνυμος αὐτῷ Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐν Μηδίᾳ πρὸς Ἀρσάκην πολεμήσας* "the like-named Antiochos [like Antiochos Epiphanes], the one who went to war in Media against Arsaces,"[380] as well as in a third passage, which, although somewhat perplexing, seems also to confirm the tenor of the two previous accounts.[381]

That Media, to which Poseidonios referred as the objective of Antiochos Sidetes' campaign, had not been conquered prior to spring[382] is also

the alleged desertion of oriental potentates and people, including the Elymais, to Antiochos *after* the Seleucids' winter encampment, in the course of the campaign's second leg: "[d]ie Bewohner der parthisch besetzten Gebiete gehen somit, erst nach den gescheiterten Friedensverhandlungen zu Antiochos über (wohl bei seinem Vormarsch). Susa, das sich zumindest bis März 131 v.Chr. in Händen der Parther befand, gerät wieder unter seleukidische Gewalt." Compare also Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 203: "[d]araufhin rückte die seleukidische Armee . . . aus dem mesopotamischen Winterquartier über den Tigris nach Susa vor."

376 Compare Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 39–44.

377 Oros. 5.10.8.

378 See Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 42–43.

379 See Edelstein and Kidd, *Posidonius*, vol. I, F. 61a (= 81).

380 *Ibid.*, F. 63 (= 83).

381 *Ibid.*, F. 64 (= 83).

382 See also, Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 39–40.

noted by Aelian,[383] who refers to a swallow making her nest in Antiochos Sidetes' tent (*χελιδῶν νεοττεύουσα ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτοῦ*)—which symbolically announces the arrival of spring—before he marched against the Medes (*ἀνελθὼν γὰρ ἐς τοὺς Μήδους*).[384] Aelian mentions in yet another, little noted, passage the Median campaign: *καὶ ὁ ὁμώνυμος δὲ τούτου Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐν Μήδοις πρὸς Ἀρσάκην πολεμήσας*,[385] "and his [Epiphanes'] namesake, Antiochos, who fought among the Medes against Arsaces."

Josephos unequivocally corroborates that Antiochos Sidetes' second leg of the campaign *also* aimed at the Parthian homeland (Parthyene), and, what is more, was initiated only *upon* Demetrios II's release by Frahād II:

[J. *AJ* 13.253]
τὴν δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλείαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται Δημήτριος Ἀρσάκου αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολύσαντος καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὴν Παρθυηνὴν ἐνέβαλεν

"his [Antiochos VII Sidetes'] brother, Demetrios succeeded to the throne of Syria, once Arsaces had released him from captivity, at the time, when Antiochos invaded the Parthyene."[386]

Moreover, the fact that during the peace negotiations with the Arsacids, in the spring of 129, Antiochos had demanded that Frahād II withdraw from territories seized by force (*δυναστειῶν τῶν ἁφῃρημένων ἐκχωρήσῃ*), and merely retain his ancestral domain (*πάτριος δυναστεία*),[387] seems further to substantiate the notion that neither Media nor the Parthyene had yet been conquered.[388] Thus, between early March and November 129, the second leg of the campaign against Media and the Parthian homeland may have taken place.[389]

[383] Ael. *NA* 10.34: *καὶ Ἀντιόχῳ δὲ [χελιδὼν] νεοττεύουσα ἐν [τῇ σκηνῇ] αὐτοῦ τὰ μέλλοντά οἱ ἀπαντήσεσθαι ὑπῃνίξατο· ἀνελθὼν γὰρ ἐς τοὺς Μήδους εἶτα μέντοι οὐκ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τοὺς Σύρους ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν κατά τινος ἔωσε κρημνοῦ*.

[384] See also, Julius Obsequens' allusion to this episode as reported in Livy's epitome of the *prodigiorum liber* (Liv. *Obseq.* AUC 624): ***Antiocho regi Syriae ingenti exercitu dimicanti hirundines in tabernaculo nidum fecerunt. Quo prodigio neglecto proelium commisit et a Parthis occisus est.***

[385] Ael. *VH* 2.41.

[386] Although, Josephos' account, according to which, Antiochos Sidetes invaded the Parthian homeland (Parthyene): *Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὴν Παρθυηνὴν ἐνέβαλεν*, upon the release of Demetrios II by Frahād II, could also be construed as meaning that Media was already conquered by that time, this interpretation, however, is contradicted by the tenor of other sources, be it Poseidonios, or be it Aelian, that point to the second leg of the campaign as encompassing Media as well.

[387] D.S. 34/35.15.

[388] See Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 42.

[389] In the Apophthegms of Kings and Generals ascribed to Plutarch (Plu. *Moralia* 184 D), it is stated in reference to Antiochos that: *Ἀντίοχος ὁ στρατεύσας δεύτερον ἐπὶ Πάρθους*, "Antiochos [Sidetes] who went to campaign against the Parthians twice/for the second time." It is difficult

The start of the campaign against Media and Parthyene being set in spring 129, there still remains the date of the campaign's end. The last Babylonian document pertaining to Antiochos' rule is dated November 129. This very late date is corroborated by the Armenian version of Eusebios' chronicle, which follows Porphyrios as to the history of Seleucid rulers,[390] as well as by Moses Khorenats'i's *History of the Armeniens*,[391] wherein Antiochos Sidetes is reported to have been overcome by severe winter conditions (*ի սաստիկ ձմերայնոյն հերքեալ*).[392] Thus, Thomas Fischer assumes that Antiochos' troops took up winter quarters twice, once following the conquest of Babylonia, and a second time, in the aftermath of the Seleucid engagement in Media and the Parthian homeland.[393] With the outcome of the second leg of the campaign being inconclusive and the winter approaching, Antiochos, according to Fischer, sought to quarter his soldiers upon defiant *civitates* in Media or the Parthyene that, in reaction, rose up against Seleucid rule.[394] However, despite the fact that both Babylonian and Armenian sources refer to Antiochos Sidetes' end in connection with the approach of wintertime, there is little evidence—notwithstanding Justin's passage, wherein Sidetes is distinctly reported to have been in winter quarters just before his fatal encounter with the Parthians: *exercitum suum Antiochos per civitates in hiberna diviserat*[395]—to infer a *second* winter encampment by the Seleucids. And there is equally good reason to believe that, while Justin is correctly pointing to the winter as the time when Antiochos fell, having waged his last war, his description of the Seleucid winter quarters might have resulted from the projection

to read this passage, for δεύτερον could either refer to the two legs of Antiochos Sidetes' Iranian *anabasis*, or to Sidetes' second war, after his Jewish wars, or, alternatively, to the fact, that after Demetrios II, Antiochos VII was the second one who went to war against the Parthians. Compare Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 43, nn. 81 and 82.

390 See Karst, *Die Chronik*, 121, ll. 2–5: "Antiochos jedoch, da *der Winter darüber hereingebrochen war* [emphasis mine], ließ, nachdem er in einer engen Örtlichkeit auf die Barbaren gestoßen, den Kampf allzu hitzig entbrennen: verwundet fallend starb er." See also, Schoene, *Eusebi Chronicorum*, vol. I, 255.

391 See Абегяна and Арутюняна [Abegyana and Arutiunyana], *Movсес Хоренаци*, 104; and Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i*, 132: "But his [Demetrios'] brother Antiochos Sidetes, learning of Arshak's departure, came and occupied Syria. Then Arshak returned with one hundred and twenty thousand men. Antiochus, discomfited by *the severe winter season* [emphasis mine] confronted him in a narrow spot and perished with his army."

392 See similarly, Saint-Martin, *Histoire der Arsacides*, vol. II, 38–39.

393 See Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 44, 47–48. Similarly, Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 204.

394 Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 44–48; also, Saint-Martin, *Histoire des Arsacides*, vol. II, 38: "[a]près le passage de Lucus, le roi de Syrie prit Babylone, puis Ecbatane et enfin toute la Médie, où, arrêté par la rigueur de l'hiver, il fût obligé de faire cantonner son armée, en attendant que le retour de la belle saison lui permît de continuer la guerre."

395 Just. 38.10.8.

upon a later period, that is, upon winter 129, of the realities of the previous winter 130. On the whole, Justin knows of merely *one* Seleucid winter encampment, which he places just prior to Sidetes' end, but the very duration of the depicted *anabasis*, as well as corroborating evidence from other sources, clearly suggest that following the conquest of Babylonia, but well before the release of Demetrios II by Frahād II, Antiochos had quartered his forces in Babylonia.

Moses Khorenatsʿi recounts that the final confrontation between Frahād II and Antiochos Sidetes took place, in wintertime, near Babylon.[396] Although the credibility of Khorenatsʿi's account may appear suspect, for it does not mention any Seleucid campaign beyond Babylon, if substantiated, it could signify that Antiochos, having penetrated Media and the Parthyene in search of the elusive Arsacids, may have been forced, with the approach of winter, to withdraw back to Babylonia, unable to confront them in a decisive battle. The Arsacids, following Justin, may have avoided confronting Sidetes' forces, instead luring them into sundry ambushes, possibly leading a war of exhaustion: *interim quoniam viribus non poterat insidiis Antiochum ubique temptabat*[397] "meanwhile, [Arsaces] unable to overcome him [Antiochos] by force, would ambush him everywhere."

The *civitates* which in concert with the Arsacids rose against the Seleucids, while Frahād II was tailing Antiochos, could refer to the cities of Mesopotamia—rather than of Media[398] or the Parthyene—which, having suffered the toils of a prior Seleucid encamping in winter 130, were now subjected to the prospect of a second one. However, other, more substantial, evidence may be required to lend belief to the claim that

[396] See Thomson, *Moses Khorenatsʿi*, 364: "Arshak released Demetrius after ten years and sent him to his brother to tell him what he would do to him. Demetrius did not go to his brother in Babylon but moved on to Asiastan. Then Arshak marched on Babylon with one hundred thirty thousand [troops]."

[397] Just. 38.10.7.

[398] We obviously know of the Cities of Media, that is, URU^{meš} *ša* KUR *Ma-da-a-a* (*ālānu ša māt Mādaya)* from our *Diaries*, the two most eminent mentions of which are to be found in a passage wherein the fate of Demetrios II's campaign is mentioned: ". . . king Demetrius who before [. . .] his troops from the cities of . . . [. . .] / [. . .] made [. . .] of Babylonia, and this king Arsaces went from the cities of Media to Babylonia, and . . . [. . .] / brought about [the defeat] of his troops, and seized him and his nobles, saying: king Arsaces [. . .] good peace for you? from .... [. . .] / [. . .] in plenty, happiness and good peace in the cities of Media next to king Arsaces . . . [. . .]"; and in another describing the audience given to the general of Babylonia by king Frahād II's brother Bagayaša, while residing in Media: "[t]hat month, I heard as follows: Pilinus the general of Babylonia who is above the four generals, who in month I had gone to the cities of Media before Bagayaša, the brother of the king [. . .]"; see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –137 A 'rev.' 8'–11' (= 160–161), and no. –132 B rev. 21–22 (= 216–217).

the Babylonian cities are to be equated with the mutinous *civitates*; what is more, the cities' insurgence due to economic exigencies must also be re-evaluated.[399]

As the *Diaries* clearly report, as late as 19/20.v.130 BCE (= 10.ii.182 SE), there were signs of intense co-operation between the Greek citizens of Babylon, the *puliṭē* (οἱ πολῖται), and their Arsacid king Frahād II, leading to the nomination of a new governor (*pāḫātu*) of Babylon, possibly for the sake of common defense. Assuredly, when Justin and Diodoros hint at the populace of Babylonian cities favorably hailing the Seleucid king in their midst, they must have had chiefly the *puliṭē* in mind. How are we, however, to reconcile these conflicting testimonies: did the *puliṭē* initially remain steadfast to the Arsacid sovereign, and only later, upon reckoning the inevitability of Seleucid ascendancy, turn to Antiochos Sidetes? Or did the *puliṭē* surrender their cities, with the acquiescence of their Iranian sovereign, waiting for a more opportune time efficiently to wrest them from the Seleucid invaders?

The *Diaries* do *not* convey the impression of any Hellenic fervor being felt by the Greek populace with the approach of Seleucid forces, which might have manifested itself in the collapse of communication and co-ordination between the cities' representatives and the royal authority; to the contrary the ongoing intelligence between the *puliṭē* and the king's camp denotes an undeniable bond to Arsacid sovereignty. As a result, we may cautiously surmise that the investment of Mesopotamian urban centers, such as Babylon and Seleucia, by Antiochos occurred by dint of conquest with negligible pro-Seleucid affinities from among the cities' (Greek) populace, which could further suggest that what Justin (and Diodoros) perceived to be the *civitates*' mutiny, triggered by the harshness of the Seleucid winter encampment, was in reality the culmination of hostilities fostered towards the Seleucids all along, which finally erupted when the Arsacid stratagem called for it. Indeed, the burden of winter quarters imposed upon the cities as the rationale for their uprising against Seleucid rule seems to be either one aspect of, or a literary device to conceal, what amounts to being the general antagonism of the Greek and Babylonian populace against Seleucid rule.

[399] In this context, it is worthwhile citing the traditional view of Koševlenko, "Politique commerciale," 762, who deems the Arsacid monarchy to be competing for economic advantages with the elites of Greek and Mespotamian cities: "[l]e fait est qu'à l'intérieur de l'état parthe, pendant plusieurs siècles, se déroula une lutte, où la principale force d'opposition contre la dynastie des Arsacides fut l'oligarchie des cités grecques et, en partie, des villes indigènes de la Mésopotamie." For a discussion of the "populace" also in urban centers, see Wolski, "Classi inferiori," 285–291, especially 287.

Undoubtedly, the hypothesis we advance here is in want of substantiation, which is provided by the above-mentioned *Dynastic Prophecy*,[400] whose content we shall succinctly recall, before continuing with our argumentation.

The Dynastic Prophecy *and the Arsacid dynasty*

The "prophecy" in column iii announced the rise of a prince, who, having been attacked and initially overpowered by the invading army of Hanaeans, is reported to have subsequently prepared for battle and overthrown the Hanaean invaders with the support of Babylonian divinities; surprising in this "prophecy" remains its conclusion depicting a victorious outcome for the prince, whom we may identify with Dareios III, over the Macedonians. Historical reality being at discrepance with the content of this "prophecy" has caused us to surmise that an earlier "prophecy," disclosing the expected historical outcome, was "revisited" and distorted, so as to reflect the anti-Seleucid stance of a later, probably Arsacid, period. Yet, another possibility is to conjecture that the "prophecy," was composed during the Arsacid rule with a deliberate disregard for the outcome of the historical conflict opposing Dareios III to Alexander,[401] in order to serve anti-Seleucid propaganda, whose purposes remain to be determined. Whatever solution may prove compelling, one still would have to presume that the "prophecy" in column iii was revised or composed in support of a ruler announced in column iv (l. 10), whose *established reign*—associated with that of the triumphant and benevolent Persians of the past—was at variance with the prior state of affairs—linked with the Hanaeans.

But, who was this ruler, and why the analogy with the Macedonian–Persian conflict?

A likely candidate is the Arsacid king Frahād II. The poorly preserved column iv of the *Dynastic Prophecy* might have represented yet another dynastic change—the last the cuneiform tradition would record—namely, the change from the Hellenistic rule to a new Iranian era, and as such could have been partially composed in the wake of the Babylonian conquest of Mihrdād I. It is likely that the reign of Mihrdād I was mentioned in the lost opening lines of column iv, in anology with other dynastic founders who ruled over Babylonia, as from the perspective of Babylonian scholars Mihrdād I, who first established Arsacid rule in Babylonia, could have been perceived as a founding figure. A more probable time for the

[400] See above, 49–60.

[401] On the continued copying or compilation of old Babylonian chronicles under the Seleucid and Arsacid empires, see Lambert, "Nabonidus," 1.

composition of column iv, however, would have been *after* the withdrawal of Frahād II's forces from Babylonia, during Antiochos Sidetes' short-lived Babylonian occupation, when the eruption of anti-Seleucid sentiment could have resulted in the Babylonian population longing for Frahād II's interrupted rule to resume.

Unresolved still remains Dareios III's reported final victory, in spite of initial setback(s), over the Macedonian/Hanaean invaders in column iii; a comparison with Antiochos Sidetes' campaign and Frahād II's stratagem in response thereto may shed some light on the issue at hand. Much like the narrative structure of the "prophecy" pertaining to Dareios III, Frahād II's contingents are reported at first to have suffered defeat upon defeat by the invading Macedonians. Intriguingly, in Justin's epitome, Antiochos Sidetes vanquished his opponent's armies in three battles (*Antiochos tribus proeliis victor*),[402] which does not fail to evoke the three reverses Dareios III suffered against Alexander at Granikos, Issos, and Gaugamela.[403] When the "prophecy" recounts how the prince, having suffered initial setbacks, will assemble (*ukaṣṣar-ma*) his troops and, with the help of Babylonian gods, overthrow the Hanaean troops, it certainly calls to mind Frahād II's withdrawal to the Parthian homeland, while avoiding, and anticipating the right opportunity to strike back and repel, the enemy.[404] Moreover, the mention of extensive booty that the prince will extract from the Hanaeans certainly reminds us of the opulence of wealth put on display by Antiochos Sidetes' troops while marching against the Parthians, be it the common soldiers' shoes, which allegedly were fastened with golden nails: *argenti certe aurique tantum ut etiam gregarii milites auro caligas figerent proculcarentque materiam cuius amore populi ferro dimicant* "there was so much silver and gold, surely, that common soldiers had fastened their shoes with gold and trampled upon the very material, for the love of which people fought with arms"; or be it the silver cooking utensils used to prepare the soldiers' meals: *culinarum quoque argentea instrumenta fuere* "the cooking utensils were also of silver."[405]

[402] Just. 38.10.6.

[403] It is difficult to determine whether this possible case of *imitatio Alexandri* was already the doing of Poseidonios, or more probably, of Pompeius Trogus and Justin; see Lerouge-Cohen, "Guerres parthiques," 248–250.

[404] Just. 38.10.7: *interim quoniam viribus non poterat insidiis Antiochum ubique temptabat.*

[405] Just. 38.10.2–4; see also his mention of the innumerable sutlers following the Seleucid royal train: *sed per luxuriam non minor apparatus quam militiae fuit quippe octoginta milia armatorum secuta sunt trecenta lixarum ex quibus cocorum pistorum maior numerus fuit.* Also see Oros. 5.10.8: *qui cum in exercitu suo centum milia armatorum habere videretur ducenta milia amplius calonum atque lixarum inmixta scortis et histrionibus trahebat.*

Thus, parallels between the narrative of the "prophecy" and the reports of Antiochos Sidetes' Parthian campaign could not only mean that column iii of the *Dynastic Prophecy* was revisited during the disruption of Frahād II's rule in Babylonia, but also that column iv was redacted at the same time. Indeed, it was precisely at that particular juncture that the Arsacid recovery of Mesopotamia was presaged in Babylonia, and this prediction/aspiration was superimposed upon the historical reality of Dareios III's past defeat, with the result that the "prophecy" pertaining to Dareios III was remolded to make allowance for the coveted return and victory of the Arsacid king. Those responsible for this projection may have intended to rally Frahād II's supporters within the cities' walls on the eve of the *civitates*' rebellion against Seleucid rule, thereby facilitating the Arsacid re-conquest. That the desire for a return of Arsacid rule in Mesopotamia was fed by anti-Seleucid sentiments, which had led to the alteration of the historical outcome of Dareios III's stance against the Macedonians in the *Dynastic Prophecy* and given way, within that narrative structure, to the expectation of Frahād II's final victory over the Hanaeans, is corroborated by the co-ordinated rebellion of the citizens of Mesopotamian cities against the Seleucid occupation and in favor of the Parthian suzerain. Indeed, it seems that not only the connection between the Arsacid sovereign and his Greek subjects in Babylonia, the *puliṭē*, but also the one between him and the autochthonous Babylonian population, the *mār Bābili*, who were responsible for the anti-Seleucid sentiments, as well as the equation of the rehabilitated Dareios III with Frahād II, all along the Seleucid campaign was such that, following Antiochos' retreat from his failed campaign against Media and the Parthyene, on his way to take up winter quarters in Babylonia for the second time, Frahād II in connivance with his supporters smote the exhausted Seleucid troops and retook possession of Mesopotamia.

In conclusion, we may infer from the combined evidence of the *Diaries* and the *Dynastic Prophecy* that the rebellion of the *civitates* against Sidetes, and the restoration of Arsacid rule in Babylonia, was carried out in equal shares by the two main components of Mesopotamian cities' power structure: the *puliṭē* and the *mār Bābili*, who throughout the peripeteia of the conquest remained constant to the Arsacid cause, and surprisingly, showed no allegiance to the Seleucids. This is the more remarkable in view of the relative novelty of Arsacid rule in Mesopotamia, and prompts us not only to reassess our traditional view of the *puliṭē*'s political loyalty to, and cultural affinity with, the Seleucid polity—for it appears the Greek colons of Mesopotamia were far more versatile and ideologically far less rigid as to

which master they would serve than our conception of them—but also to re-evaluate the part of the Babylonian element in articulating the Arsacid imperial ideology by drawing on its Iranian past.

A last remark on column iv of the *Dynastic Prophecy* is in order. Although we have indicated that in order to fit the general structure of a prophecy *ex eventu*, the reign of the ruler announced in line 10 of column iv (iv: 10) ought to have been already *established*, in the same breath, we have also suggested that lines 10–13 of the same column (iv: 10–13) were *presaging* the future rule of Frahād II in Babylon. This apparent contradiction may be explained with the specific circumstances of Frahād II's rule: surely, his reign had been established when the "prophecies" in columns iii and iv were altered and composed; as to the prediction of his rule, it was not the establishment of Frahād's rule that was presaged, but merely his return!

A note on Demetrios II's second rule

It is commonly believed that the release of Demetrios II by Frahād II, after the failed negotiations with Antiochos VII Sidetes, was an act of last resort, which Frahād II came to regret, once Sidetes' invasion was warded off, and the Seleucid king had succumbed.[406] This opinion is based primarily upon a passage of Justin, where it is related that Frahād II repented his actions after the fact:

[Just. 38.10.11]
Paenitere deinde dimissi Demetrii coepit ad quem retrahendum cum turmas equitum festinato misisset Demetrium hoc ipsum metuentem iam in regno missi invenerunt frustraque omnia conati ad regem suum reversi sunt

"Afterwards he began repenting having sent away Demetrios, and, in haste, dispatched cavalry troops to bring him back; those he had sent, found Demetrios, who had feared this very thing, [to be] already in his kingdom, and, having tried everything in vain, they returned to their king."

More recently, however, Peter Franz Mittag has subjected the Justin narrative on the Arsacid rationale behind Demetrios II's captivity and release to a thorough analysis.[407] The author is of the belief that, in view of the inconsistencies in Justin's account, the reported liberation of Demetrios II by Frahād II as a stratagem of war, supposedly meant to

[406] See Saint Martin, *Histoire des Arsacides*, vol. II, 50–52; Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, 247; Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. I, 382–384; Will, *Histoire*, vol. II, 414, 432–434; Bellinger, "End of Seleucids," 58–59; Dąbrowa, "Könige Syriens," 46–48; Ehling, "Seleukidische Geschichte," 142; *Untersuchungen*, 205–212; and Shayegan, "Demetrius II," 92–97.

[407] See Mittag, "Beim Barte des Demetrios," 373–399.

create diversion in Syria behind Antiochos Sidetes' advancing lines, was in reality yet another, this time successful, escape attempt by Demetrios II.

According to Justin, Demetrios II, while held in Arsacid captivity, had attempted on two occasions to take flight, but both times Arsacid guards sent after him by Frahād II had intercepted him. The first attempt took place after Mihrdād I's death:

[Just. 38.9.4]
Post huius mortem ***desperato reditu non*** *ferens captivitatem Demetrius, privatam etsi opulentam vitam* ***pertaesus, tacitus in regnum fugam meditatur.***

"Following his [Mithradates I's] death, despairing of [ever] returning [home], Demetrius, who did not bear his captivity, and was weary of a life, albeit opulent, as a private person, **contemplated in secret a flight to (his) kingdom.**"

Demetrios II, having escaped together with a companion, was returned to his family in Hyrcania, where he remained for several more years, before attempting yet another unsuccessful escape under Frahād II:

[Just. 38.9.6–9]
Sed fugientem Phrahates, qui Arsacidae successerat, equitum celeritate per conpendiosos tramites occupatum retrahit. Ut est deductus ad regem . . . Demetrium autem et graviter castigatum ad coniugem in Hyrcaniam remittit ***artioribusque custodiis*** *observari iubet. Interiecto deinde tempore . . .* ***eodem amico comite repetita fuga*** *est, sed pari* ***infelicitate*** *prope fines regni sui reprehenditur ac denuo perductus ad regem ut invisus a conspectu submovetur. Tunc quoque uxori et liberis donatus in Hyrcaniam, poenalem sibi civitatem, remittitur . . .*

"But Phrahates, who had succeeded to Arsaces [Mithradates I], brought back the fugitive [Demetrios], who had been overtaken by the rapidity of the horsemen. Being taken to the king . . . he [the king] sent Demetrios, severely chastised, back to his wife in Hyrcania, and ordered that he be kept in confinement. Then, time having gone by . . . **he [Demetrios] took flight again with the same friend as companion, with equal misfortune,** he was seized near the borders of his kingdom, and conducted again to the king who regarded him with ill will; he was removed from his presence. Thereupon, as a grant to his wife and children he was sent back to Hyrcania, the city of his [former] imprisonment . . . "

Thus, according to Mittag, the release (or escape) of Demetrios II was merely a matter of carelessness on the part of the Arsacid king, rather than the consequence of farsighted policy, which in turn suggests, thus the author, that the captivity of Demetrios II, far from aiming at placing Antiochos Sidetes' political rival on the Syrian throne, was in reality

serving other designs, such as helping the Arsacids to forge personal bonds with Hellenistic rulers, and to become integrated into the web of Hellenistic matrimonial exchange.[408]

Among the premises in Justin which Mittag regards as implicitly presumed or even contradictory are: (1) the hostility between Demetrios II and Sidetes, which is only assumed; (2) the reasons for releasing Demetrios II, which are conflicting; (3) the rationale for Demetrios II's marriage with Rhodogune, which is incompatible with the intention of restoring him to the Syrian throne.[409]

According to Mittag, not only is there not much evidence for assuming hostility between the two brothers, and thus little reason for ascribing to them the aspiration to deceive each other,[410] but also the simultaneous and conflicting political measures taken by Frahād II in response to Antiochos Sidetes' invasion, notably, the release of Demetrios II and the instigation of the cities' revolt against Antiochos' army in winter quarters, seem to point to a radically different reality.[411] It is partially in order to solve these perceived inconsistencies that Mittag considers Demetrios II to have escaped rather than been released, with the consequence that Arsacid policy aimed at restoring Demetrios II to the Syrian throne is tacitly rejected.[412] What is more, by denying any intention on the part of the Arsacid monarchs (Mihrdād I and Frahād II) to reinstate Demetrios II, Mittag believes he has eliminated the last incompatibility he has perceived, namely, the untenability of Demetrios II's second rule in Syria while still being married to Rhodogune.[413]

In the following, we shall seek to offer an alternative reconstruction of the events adducing the evidence of the *Diaries*, which may provide a more nuanced view of the Arsacid foreign policy.

The main objection to Mittag's position pertains to his assumption that the measures taken by Frahād II were counterproductive, let alone

[408] *Ibid.*, 388–389: "Erst die Gefangennahme Demetrios' II. und die Eheverbindung zwischen dem seleukidischen und arsakidischen Königshaus ermöglichte es ihnen, in den Kreis der hellenistischen Herrscher einzudringen. Das hatte für sie zwei wichtige Vorteile. Zum einen konnte den gerade erst wieder unter arsakidischer Oberhoheit gebrachten Griechen demonstriert werden, daß Mithridates I. kein Barbar, sondern zumindest ein 'Philhellene' und Schwiegervater des seleukidischen Königs war. Zum anderen ermöglichte die Anerkennung durch die übrigen hellenistischen Monarchen, daß die parthische Könige als Bündnispartner akzeptiert werden konnte."

[409] *Ibid.*, 377–384.

[410] *Ibid.*, 377–380.

[411] *Ibid.*, 380–382.

[412] *Ibid.*, 386–388.

[413] *Ibid.*, 383: "[d]iese Sympathien konnten sich gegen Demetrios II wenden, wenn er an Rhodogune festhielt. Abgesehen davon konnte die Eheverbindung mit Rhodogune auf die griechische Untertanen negative Auswirkungen haben; schließlich betrachteten die Griechen die Parther als 'Barbaren'."

"mutually exclusive on purpose,"[414] and therefore signal the unreliability of Justin's account as to Demetrios II's *release.*

However, unable to establish an adequate chronology of the events based upon our scarce evidence, we may not accurately assess whether the actions ascribed to Frahād II by Justin occurred simultaneously and were possibly mutually exclusive, or whether those actions occurred sequentially and were *ad hoc* responses to changing political realities. Indeed, whether Demetrios II's release was simultaneous with the rebellion of the cities and Antiochos Sidetes' death cannot be ascertained. Instead, all that the sources indicate is that Demetrios II was set free before Antiochos Sidetes succumbed in combat. What is more, even assuming Demetrios II was released in order to provoke an upheaval in Syria at the same time as the Parthians instigated the cities' rebellion against Antiochos Sidetes, we would not have to conclude that these actions were counterproductive. On the contrary, they may have reinforced one another and may therefore have been the intricate articulations of a larger stratagem.

It is evident that the very nature of the interpretation of Frahād II's actions will also determine; whether Justin's account, or the historicity of Demetrios II's *release*, can be confirmed or not.[415]

Indeed, there are contradictions within Justin's narrative, which entail irreconcilable elements: Demetrios II's captivity in Hyrcania in view of his restoration to the Syrian throne (*cui Arsacides . . . magno et regio animo misso in Hyrcaniam . . . regnumque Syriae . . . restituturum promittit*),[416] as well as his eventual return as an Arsacid protégé (*Phrahates Demetrium in Syriam ad occupandum regnum cum Parthico praesidio mittit*),[417] are at odds with Frahād II's regretting his decision and seeking to bring Demetrios II

[414] *Ibid.*, 381: "[f]olgt man Justins Darstellung, muß man folglich zu dem Ergebnis gelangen, daß Phraates II. die Lage dermaßen schlecht einschätzte, daß er bewußt einander ausschliessende Maßnahmen ergriff, in der Hoffnung, daß zumindest eine der Maßnahmen Erfolg hatte."

[415] *Ibid.*, 398–399: "[e]rst als ein parthischer Sieg kaum möglich erschien, ergriff Phraates II. eine Reihe einander behindernder Maßnahmen. Er verbündete sich mit seinen Erzfeinden, den Saken, unterstützte die Städte, die seleukidische Truppen aufnehmen mußten, bei ihrer Verschwörung gegen Antiochos VII. und—so zumindest Justin—ließ Demetrios II. frei. Folgt man der Darstellung bei Justin, gewinnt man den Eindruck, als habe Phraates II. keiner der Maßnahmen vertraut—auch einer möglicher Freilassung Demetrios' II. nicht und versucht, die mangelnde Qualität durch Quantität zu ersetzen. Nicht zuletzt hier offenbart sich ein Widerspruch in der Darstellung Justins. Eine alternative Lösung, die Rückkehr Demetrios' II. nach Antiocheia zu erklären, ergibt sich vor dem Hintergrund der zweimaligen Fluchtversuche. In der durch die militärischen Erfolge seines Bruders destabilisierten Lage könnte er einen dritten, erfolgreichen Fluchtversuch unternommen haben."

[416] Just. 38.9.3: *cui [Demetrio] Arsacides Parthorum rex magno et regio animo misso in Hyrcaniam non cultum tantum regium praestitit sed et filiam in matrimonium dedit regnumque Syriae quod per absentiam eius Trypho occupaverat restituturum promittit.*

[417] Just. 38.9.7.

back (*paenitere deinde dimissi Demetrii coepit ad quem retrahendum cum turmas equitum festinato misisset*).

The question, however, is which of the two aforesaid tendencies should be given preference: the fact of the restoration, or the desire to reverse it.

The *Diaries* confirm beyond doubt that it was Arsacid practice to maintain foreign princes of subject or hostile nations as political "hostages" within the Arsacid realm, either as potential replacements for ruling dynasts, whenever need or fortune would call for regime change, or as a means to keep subject monarchs docile. Examples of such policy abound: a notable case was that of Kammaškiri the Younger, who was placed upon the Elamite throne as an Arsacid protégé upon the defeat and subsequent demise of Tigraois in 12/13.xi.133 BCE;[418] another case in point is Tigranes of Armenia, who was held in Babylonia and was eventually instated on the throne of Armenia in 26/27.iii.–23/24.iv.96 BCE;[419] yet another example is Hyspaosines' dissident son, Timotheos, who was enchained and surrendered to his father, in order to remove all danger to the accession of Hyspaosines' other, juvenile, son from queen Talasi'asu, in return for Characene's recognition of Arsacid suzerainty.[420]

Although Demetrios II's case differs from the above examples since he was a ruling king when he was made captive, nonetheless, numerous elements of Demetrios II's captivity and release offer parallels with the narratives of the restitution of Kammaškiri the Younger and Tigranes. In all three instances, the captives are actively helped onto their thrones, and if our interpretation of the diary concerning the return of Kammaškiri the Younger is correct, we have, at least in this passage, evidence for the vigorous use of presumably Arsacid forces (^{lú}ERÍN^{meš})[421] for the purpose of instating Kammaskiri the Younger on his father's throne, which calls to mind the Parthian escort (*cum Parthico praesidio*) that helped Demetrios II take possession of the Syrian throne.

Thus, if the restoration of captive princes was standard practice in Arsacid Iran, we have little reason to doubt the historicity of Justin's report on Demetrios II's premeditated release as a means to gain influence for the Arsacid cause in Syria. We may even posit that the captivity and restoration of Demetrios II was the first application of the Arsacid *hostage policy*. In contrast, however, we may wonder whether Justin's account of Frahād II regretting his decision to return and reinstate Demetrios II might have been inaccurate.

[418] See above, 88–101.
[419] See above, 91–92.
[420] See above, 112–114.
[421] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, no. –132 D_2 'rev.' 19'–20' (= 230–231).

Another point, which may attenuate Mittag's hypothesis and further substantiate the notion of Demetrios II's premeditated return, is the anecdotal nature of Demetrios II's escapades, which are, as has been adequately pointed out, more akin to didactic, moralistic tales, rather than history.[422]

Thus, Demetrios' "release," far from being at best part of a chain of uninspired and contradictory measures, and at worst devoid of historical truth, could have been the important component of an elaborate stratagem aimed at establishing Arsacid authority over Syria, once Antiochos Sidetes' campaign was thwarted. But, what exactly was this strategy?

Demetrios II, Seleukos, son of Antiochos Sidetes, and Alexander II Zabinas

It is likely that the Arsacids were not merely content with halting Antiochos Sidetes' invasion, but, having suffered two Seleucid campaigns in less than a decade, were rather intent on ascertaining that no future enterprise against the Arsacid empire would be undertaken. As the analogy with Parthian dealings in Elymais and Armenia reveals, Frahād II could have installed a pro-Arsacid ruler upon the Syrian throne who was willing to recognize Arsacid supremacy and ensure some measure of stability on the western borders of the empire, on account of his family bonds with the Arsacid dynasty, and possibly in return for Parthian military support (that probably constituted his retinue).

Under this light, Demetrios II's ostensible disinterest, upon his return, in eastern (Iranian) affairs, and zeal in involving himself in Egypt could have indicated a tacit entente with Frahād II that limited the sphere of Demetrios II's operations to the west. Egypt would have been one of the few places where Demetrios II's enterprising energy could have been spent, and it remains to be seen whether his Egyptian campaign benefited from the support of Frahād II, who ought to have been content at involving two Hellenistic polities in a conflict away from Iranian affairs.[423]

[422] See Lerouge-Cohen, "Guerres parthiques," 244: "[i]l est évident que, dans le récit des différentes tentatives d'évasion de Démétrios II, l'on a affaire à un développement de type romanesque: la figure de Callimandre, l'ami fidèle, dont Trogue explique qu'il avait 'traversé les déserts de l'Arabie avec des guides soudoyés,' déguisé en Parthe, appartient bien davantage au registre du roman qu'à celui de l'histoire, tandis que l'aspect moralisateur de Phraate II, qui félicite Callimandre pour sa fidélité et offre des osselets d'or à Démétrios, donne au récit l'aspect d'une des anecdotes édifiantes qu'affectionnent les historiens antiques."

[423] Ehling seems also to hint at Parthian involvement in the Egyptian campaign when he states: "rückte er [Demetrios II] mit seinem Heer bis vor Pelusion, wagte er jedoch keine Schlacht mit dem ägyptischen König Ptolemaios VIII. Euergetes II. (145–116 v.Chr.), da er sich auf seine eigenen (z.T. Parthischen?) Soldaten nicht verlassen konnte"; Ehling, "Seleukidische Geschichte," 144; also *Untersuchungen*, 208.

An account told by Athenaios and ascribed to Poseidonios, wherein a certain Seleukos is reported to have spent time as a captive at the Arsacid court, may provide some insight in this context:

ἐν δὲ τῇ ις περὶ Σελεύκου διηγούμενος τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς εἰς Μηδιάν ἀνελθὼν καὶ πολεμῶν Ἀρσάκει ἡχμαλωτίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου καὶ ὡς πολὺν χρόνον παρὰ τῷ Ἀρσάκει διέτριψεν ἀγόμενος βασιλικῶς γράφει [ὁ Ποσειδώνιος] . . .[424]

"In book 16, [Poseidonios], while giving an account of Seleukos the king, how he invaded Media, fought Arsaces, was made captive by the Barbarian, and spent a long time with Arsaces, treated in a regal fashion, writes . . ."

The king Seleukos who invaded Media, made war on Arsaces, was taken prisoner, and was kept for a long time with Arsaces, by whom he was treated royally, can designate sundry people.[425] It certainly may designate Demetrios II, the accounts of whose captivity among the Parthians is most reminiscent of the fate ascribed to Seleukos, assuming a confusion of names had taken place.[426] Still presuming a mistake in the transmission of the name, king Seleukos may well refer to Antiochos Sidetes, whereby the latter's campaign and the story of Demetrios II's captivity may have converged in this passage. Alternatively, he may be identical to Seleukos, Sidetes' alleged younger son, who, according to Eusebios/Porphyrios[427] and John of Antioch,[428] had accompanied his father on his *anabasis*, and having been made captive by Frahād II (*աոճալ արշակ արքայ*), was treated as a royal hostage by him. This alternative would also suit the tenor of Poseidonios' two other accounts of Sidetes' Arsacid campaign, since all three passages mention incursions into Media,[429] a military prowess that can hardly be attributed to Demetrios II, who was overwhelmed in Babylonia, thus leaving Antiochos Sidetes and his son Seleukos as the only candidates who ventured into Media.

However, even this latter proposition is fraught with some difficulties; since Antiochos Sidetes' son, Seleukos, is referred to as "king" by Poseidonios, it has been suggested that Seleukos may have proclaimed himself (or been

[424] See Edelstein and Kidd, *Posidonius*, vol. I, F. 64 (= 83).

[425] For a discussion of different options, see Edelstein and Kidd, *Posidonius*, vol. II, 303–304.

[426] Compare Lerouge-Cohen "Guerres parthiques," 221, n. 12, who ascribes the fragment to Demetrios II.

[427] See Karst, *Die Chronik*, 121, ll. 5–8: "[s]einen Sohn jedoch, den Seleukos, der im Gefolge des Vaters zugleich mitgekommen war, in noch zartem Alter, faßte Aršak ab, führte ihm gefangen und verwahrte ihn königlich"; see also, Schoene, *Eusebi Chronicorum*, vol. I, 255–258.

[428] See Roberto, *Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta*, F 144 (= 218–219).

[429] See similarly, Edelstein and Kidd, *Posidonius*, vol. II, 304.

proclaimed) king after Sidetes' demise, but before eventually being captured by the Arsacids.[430]

A third alternative, already advocated by Bouché-Leclercq,[431] is to assume that "king Seleukos" is not referring to Seleukos, son of Antiochos Sidetes, but to his namesake, son of Demetrios II and Kleopatra Thea, who is reported by several authors to have occupied the throne after the death of Demetrios II in 126 BCE,[432] and to have ruled briefly as king Seleukos V before being put to death by the queen mother.[433]

While Eusebios/Porphyrios distinguishes between the two Seleukoi—one being Sidetes' son, whom Arsaces took hostage,[434] and the other, Demetrios II's son assassinated by his mother[435]—other sources know only of *one* Seleukos, the son of either Demetrios II, or Antiochos Sidetes. It is, thus, possible to surmise that the Seleucid prince in Arsacid hands was indeed Antiochos Sidetes' son,[436] but that homonymy with king Seleukos V helping, and the circumstances of the prince's imprisonment being evocative of the events leading to Demetrios II's captivity, the identities of prince Seleukos and king Seleukos V were partially amalgamated by the later tradition.[437] In this vein, the attribution, in the passage credited to Poseidonios by Athenaios, of the title of "king" to prince Seleukos may also be explained as the projection of Seleukos V's regal dignity upon the prince's persona, without us having to turn to the notion, difficult to establish, that prince Seleukos may have been hailed as king once Sidetes had succumbed.[438]

The case of prince Seleukos is of consequence to the present excursus as it may further substantiate the proposition that, beginning with Demetrios II, Arsacid Iran became increasingly involved in Seleucid policy,

[430] See Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 4, 52–53: "[t]atsächlich bezeugt der Poseidonios bei Athenaios ausdrücklich den Kampf des Königs Seleukos mit den Parthern. Nach Lage der Dinge benötigte das verwaiste Heer sogleich einen Oberbefehlshaber, und so wurde selbstverständlich Seleukos der Nachfolger seines gefallenen Vaters."

[431] See Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. I, 386, 393, n. 2, 396; and vol. II, 599–600.

[432] Just. 39.1.9; App. *Syr.* 68–69; Liv. *Per.* 60: *motus quoque Syriae referentur in quibus Cleopatra Demetrium virum suum et Seleucum filium indignata quod occiso patre eius a se iniussu suo diadema sumpsisset interemit*"; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 122, l. 8: "[e]s folgt dem Demetrios Seleukos, Sohn desselben"; also, Schoene, *Eusebi Chronicorum*, vol. I, 257–258.

[433] App. *Syr.* 69: *Σέλευκον δ' εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ Δημητρίῳ τὸ διάδημα ἐπιθέμενον ἐπιτοξεύσασα ἔκτεινεν εἴτε δείσασα περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δολοφονήσεως εἴτε καὶ μανιώδει πρὸς πάντας μίσει*. Karst, *Die Chronik*, 122, ll. 8–9; also, Schoene, *Eusebi Chronicorum*, vol. I, 257–258.

[434] Karst, *Die Chronik*, 121, ll. 9–13: "[u]nd dem Antiochos waren fünf Kinder . . . und der vierte Seleukos, welchen Aršak gefangen hielt"; also, Schoene, *Eusebi Chronicorum*, vol. I, 257.

[435] Karst, *Die Chronik*, 122, ll. 8–9: "es folgt dem Demetrios Seleukos, Sohn des desselben; und alsbald fand er durch der Mutter Verleumdung den Tod"; also, Schoene, *Eusebi Chronicorum*, vol. I, 257.

[436] See similarly, Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 50; also, Bellinger, "Hyspaosines of Charax," 59, n. 4.

[437] See Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. I, 386, 393, n. 2, 396.

[438] See Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 4, 52–53.

by backing pro-Arsacid candidates for the Syrian throne. Indeed, prince Seleukos was most likely helped onto the throne of Syria, once Demetrios II's political end was sealed, and it is in light of this assumed Arsacid policy that we ought to evaluate two further notices, one on the return of Sidetes' body to Syria, and another on Seleukos' flight to Parthia by John of Antioch.

Demetrios II's campaign to Egypt reportedly was fraught with problems. Not only did Antioch (and Apamea) revolt behind his back[439] and ask Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes to provide a suitable candidate for the throne of Syria,[440] but, having advanced as far as Pelusion, Demetrios II also faced mutiny from his army and was forced to retreat.[441] The pretender, supported by Ptolemaios, a certain youth Zabinas (later called Alexander II Zabinas), helped by Ptolemaic forces,[442] and coming from the sea, was able to occupy Antioch. Reportedly, the fabricated genealogy conveyed to Antiochenes presented Zabinas, according to Eusebios/Porphyrios, who in this follow Poseidonios, as the son of Alexander I Balas (*πέμπει βασιλέα τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς υἱὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου*)[443] or, according to Justin, as the adopted son of Antiochos Sidetes:

[Just. 39.1.5.]
Conposita fabula quasi per adoptionem Antiochi regis receptus in familiam regiam esset nec Syris quemlibet regem aspernantibus ne Demetrii superbiam paterentur, nomen iuveni Alexandri inponitur

"A story was invented, according to which he [Zabinas] had been admitted into the royal family through adoption by king Antiochos [Sidetes], and, since the Syrians would not reject any king in order not to have to endure Demetrios' arrogance, they called the young man Alexander."

Most recently, Kay Ehling has persuasively argued that the claim of Eusebios/Porphyrios is to be given preference to that of Justin, for the affinity of Alexander II Zabinas' coinage with that of Alexander I Balas seems to corroborate the genealogy reported by Eusebios/Porphyrios.[444]

[439] Just. 39.1.3.

[440] On Demetrios II's Egyptian campaign and demise, see Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, 247–250; Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. I, 388–394; Will, *Histoire*, vol. II, 432–436; Bellinger, "End of Seleucids," 58–65; Ehling, "Seleukidische Geschichte," 144–147; *Untersuchungen*, 208–209.

[441] Karst, *Die Chronik*, 121, ll. 23–25: "[b]is nach Pelusion gelangt, kehrte er ... zurück, da auch gar noch die Truppen seine Herrschaft bekämpften; denn sie haßten ihn"; also, Schoene, *Eusebi Chronicorum*, vol. I, 257.

[442] Just. 39.1.4.

[443] Schoene, *Eusebi Chronicorum*, vol. I, 258, ll. 21–26; also, Karst, *Die Chronik*, 121, l. 26 to 122, l. 2.

[444] Ehling, "Seleukidische Geschichte," 144–145; "Alexander Zabinas," 2–7; and, "Zu einer Bronzemünze," 85–89; *Untersuchungen*, 209. See also Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV*, 57–63.

If so, one may wonder from where Zabinas' ties of filiation with Antiochos Sidetes may have originated. One possibility is to surmise that this filiation may have been the consequence of an unforeseen event that occurred immediately afer Zabinas' seizure of Antioch. At this time, the Arsacids had returned the dead body of Antiochos Sidetes from Parthia to Antioch, and Alexander Zabinas by displaying his filial piety (towards Sidetes) was able to earn the esteem of Antioch's citizenry; Justin reports:[445]

[Just. 39.1.5.]
Interea corpus Antiochi interfecti a rege Parthorum in loculo argenteo ad sepulturam in Syriam remissum supervenit quod cum ingenti studio civitatum et regis Alexandri ad confirmandam fabulae fidem excipitur. Quae res illi magnum favorem popularium conciliavit omnibus non fictas in eo sed veras lacrimas existimantibus

"Meanwhile, the body of the dead Antiochos arrived in Syria, being sent back by the king of the Parthians, in a silver coffin for burial, and was received with great enthusiasm by the cities, as well as by king Alexander, in order to secure credit to the fiction. This show of affection procured him [Alexander] extraordinary regard from the people, every one supposing his tears to be not counterfeit but real."

We are hard pressed to believe the Arsacids chose this time to return the body, because they wanted to promote the recognition of Alexander Zabinas, Ptolemaios' pawn in Antioch, against the interests of their own protégé Demetrios II. Thus, if there is any credence to Justin's account, one possible explanation may be that the Arsacids, in order to preserve their political capital in Syria after several cities had rebelled against the increasingly unpopular Demetrios II, but still before Alexander Zabinas' investment of the city, might have decided to instate the captive prince Seleukos as their new pro-Parthian candidate upon the throne of Syria. By sending Seleukos along with the body of Antiochos Sidetes, the Arsacids may have hoped to direct the sympathy of the Antiochenes for the defunct king Sidetes towards his son Seleukos, whom they conceivably wanted to succeed his father.

A note by John of Antioch, which long ago had attracted the ire of Bouché-Leclercq,[446] may, nonetheless, prove useful. John of Antioch recounts that Seleukos having inherited the throne from Antiochos VII,

[445] Just. 39.1.6.

[446] See Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. I, 393, n. 2: "Voy. Le pot-pourri d'anachronismes et de quiproquos du moine Jean d'Antioche. Séleucos (V?) succède à A[ntiochos] VIII, et expulsé par Démétrios II, se réfugie auprès d'Arsace, dont il épouse la fille!"

was deposed by the returning Demetrios II and was hence forced to flee to the Arsacid king, whose daughter he married.[447] Obviously, one recognizes in this account many of the details that pertained to the story of Demetrios II's captivity, and one may, at first glance, be inclined to see in John of Antioch's narrative a *pot-pourri*. However, the main elements of the account—Seleukos succeeded his father Antiochos VII (*Σέλευκος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται*), but unable to maintain himself on the Syrian throne, fled to the Parthians (*καταφεύγει τε πρὸς τὸν Παρθυαῖον*), where he remained for good (*μένει κατὰ τὴν χώραν*)—may not, in view of the conjectured Arsacid restoration of Seleukos, be rebutted without more ado. If Seleukos accompanied his father's body intending to take possession of Antioch, perhaps even backed by a Parthian escort (like Demetrios II), he would obviously have been forestalled by the successful effort by Ptolemaios to place Zabinas on the throne, and been forced to return to Parthia with his escort. It is therefore possible to imagine that John of Antioch's story originally featured Seleukos and Zabinas, rather than Seleukos and Demetrios II.[448]

In conclusion, we may say that the Arsacids in their design to control Seleucid politics may have interfered by backing Seleucid princes, such as Demetrios II and Seleukos, as examples of subsequent Arsacid intervention in Syria further suggest.[449]

Indupanē and Sagdodonacus

After the Arsacid triumph over Antiochos Sidetes, and simultaneous to Frahād II's demise in his eastern campaign,[450] Hyspaosines of Characene,

[447] See Roberto, *Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta*, vol. I, F 144 (= 218–219): *Σέλευκος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου αὖθις ἐπανελθόντος καθαιρεῖται τῆς ἐξουσίας καταφεύγει τε πρὸς τὸν Παρθυαῖον καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα λαβὼν μένει κατὰ τὴν χώραν.*

[448] A different conclusion is reached by Fischer, who attempts to reconcile the accounts of Poseidonios and Eusebios/Porphyrios, on the one hand, with that of John of Antioch, on the other: "[e]ine Art Synthese empfielt sich: Seleukos könnte zunächst den Krieg (unter der Leitung eines Vormunds) fortgestezt, dann aber von seinem Onkel [Demetrios II] (der sogar dieser Vormund gewesen sein konnte) bedroht, bei den Parthern Zuflucht genommen haben"; *idem*, *Untersuchungen*, 54.

[449] One may think of possible Arsacid connivance with Antiochos IX Kyzikenos against his brother Antiochos VIII Grypos; see Bellinger, "Seleucid Dura," 65–67; "End of Seleucids," 67; and Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 228. One may also take into account the fate of the later Demetrios III, who, in fighting with his brother Philippos I, was defeated and made captive by the Arsacid general Mitrāṭu—a deed which Josephos (*AJ* 13.384) erroneously ascribed to Mitrāṭu's predecessor Mitradātâ, that is, Mithridates Sinakes. Demetrios III, as was the fate of his homonymous predecessor, spent his days in honorable Parthian confinement at the court of Gōdarz I, whom again Josephos (*AJ* 13.384) confuses with Mihrdād II; see below. Also see Bellinger, "End of Seleucids," 77–78; Dąbrowa, "Könige Syriens," 51; Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 245–246.

[450] Just. 42.1.1.–5.

taking advantage of the king's sudden end, took possession of Babylonia; his rule is attested for the period between 30/31.v.127 and 3/4.xi.127 BCE (= 24.ii.185 and 4.Viii.185 SE).

The *Diaries* report that Babylon was retaken by early November 127 BCE by the Arsacid general Timarchos, the guard commander of Babylon—whom we may, or may not, identify with the *pāḫātu* of Babylon—who had taken flight from Babylon a few months into Hyspaosines' successful occupation of the city. The *Diaries* give the following account:

> [t]hat month, on the 4th, Ṭimarkusu / who previously from the side of the king Arsaces was appointed **the guard commander and who** in month IV / **had escaped from Aspasinē, came from the side of Indupanē with troops from Media; / they entered Babylon.** That day, the administrator of Esagil and the Babylonians provided for him one bull and 3 (sheep) sacrifices // as an offering at the 'Gate of the Prince' of Esagil. The 6th, they went to Borsippa. **The 8th, / they came out of Borsippa and went to the side of Indupanē to the area of Seleucia which is on / the Tigris. The 9th, the great dais which in month I had** been put at . . . of the 'Pure Gate', / its top was changed. The night of the 27th, (it was) as before. That month, the 25th, the sacrifices which had been interrupted in the Akītu Temple / . . . to Bel, Beltija and Ištar of Babylon / . . . [. . .] the 28th, / [. . .] . . . they searched'[451]

Of interest, in the aforesaid passage, is the identity of the personage called Indupanē, who seems to have provided the means to reclaim the cities of Babylon, Borsippa, and Seleucia. The *Diaries* seem to indicate that Timarchos, having escaped from Hyspaosines (*Aspasinē išḫiṭ<i>*[452]) and conceivably found refuge with Indupanē in Media, had set out on his Mesopotamian campaign with Median troops supplied by Indupanē (*ultu ṭēḫi Indupanē itti ummāni māt Mādaya*). Although Indupanē is not attested under this name elsewhere,[453] we suspect him to be identical with the Arsacid general whom Antiochos Sidetes defeated.

[451] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –126 A obv.′ 6′–9′ and A ′rev.′ 1–7 (= 254–255).

[452] The text reads *Aspasinē išḫiṭi* possibly confusing the expected finite verb *išḫiṭ* with the oblique of *išḫitum!*

[453] The name may indicate **Hindubān(ag)* "protector of India" <**hindu-pāna-ka-* or **Hindupanāh(ag)* "(the one) to whom India is refuge" <**hindu-pati-nāθa-ka-*. For names composed with *°panāh*, such as *Anāhīd-panāh*, *Anōšruwān-panāh*, *Mihr-panāh*, *Zar-panāh*, and *Fray-panāh*, see Gignoux, *Noms propres*, nos. 98, 113, 654, and 1083; and *Supplément*, no. 139. Compare also Stolper, "Iranica," 249, who derives Indupanē from *Vinda-farnah-*; similarly, compare Zadok, "old Iranian Anthroponyms," 111–112, no. 9. Interestlingly, however, the toponym India is written *In-du*$^{?}$[. . .], much like the first component of *In-du-pa-né-e*, in a Babylonian chronicle of the Seleucid period; see van der Spek, "Antiochos, Bactria, and India (BCHP 7)," obv. 14′: "KUR *Ba-ah-tar u* KUR *In-du*$^{?}$ [.. ..]." Thus, there is good probability that *Indu°* in Indupanē represents Iranian *Hindu-*.

In one of the three battles in which the Arsacid armies suffered reverses at the hand of the Seleucids, Sidetes defeated a certain Arsacid commander called *Indates (Sindates),* according to Josephos, who cites Nicholas of Damascus as his authority: *τρόπαιον δὲ στήσας Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ τῷ Λύκῳ ποταμῷ νικήσας Ἰνδάτην τὸν Πάρθων στρατηγόν*[454] "Antiochos set up a trophy at the river Lykos after having defeated the Parthian general Indates."

In a short passage by Ḥamza Eṣfehānī[455] citing the names of satraps and margraves who had ruled in the name of the Iranian kings in the Gulf region, including Characene, a certain Sindād who reportedly succeeded another magnate by the name of Saxt, is mentioned:

[Hamzae Ispahansesis Annalium 108–109 = 137]

Antiquis temporibus sedecim satrapae Persici diversis Arabiae tractibus praefecti fuerunt quorum nomina supersunt. Ita ***Sacht terris Cenditarum et Hadharamaut*** *et locis adiacentibus diu imperavit nescio tamen quo tempore ac rege deus melius novit.* ***Sindād praefectura Sachti potitus diu in regione riparia habitavit*** *ubi plura aedificia exstruxit*

"In ancient times, sixteen Persian satraps, whose names have survived, were in charge of Arabia's manifold regions. Thus, **Saxt ruled for a long while over** the lands of Kinda and Ḥaḍaramut, and adjacent districts, however, I do not know at which time and under which rule; God knows best! **Sindād held the office of Saxt for a long time; he lived in the region endowed with river banks,** wherein he erected sundry edifices."[456]

In his "Altarabische Sprachstudien," O. Blau, over a century ago had identified Saxt with a certain Sagdodonacus,[457] reported by Pliny to have been the father of Hyspaosines of Charax, the first king of Characene:

[454] J. *AJ* 13.251; PFV reads *Σινδάτην*. Compare also Syncellus 553, who in a distorted passage reports of a certain Sindas, Parthian general, who, as he erroneously recounts, was defeated by Antiochos Grypos: *Ἀντίοχος ἅμα Ὑρκανῷ ὁ Γρυπὸς Σίνδαν τινὰ στρατηγὸν τῶν Πάρθων νικήσας τρόπαιον ἔστησε παρὰ τῷ Λύκῳ ποταμῷ*. See Mosshammer, *Georgius Syncellus*, 351, ll. 29–30.

[455] On Ḥamza and his sources see the recent article of Pourshariati, "Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī," 111–141.

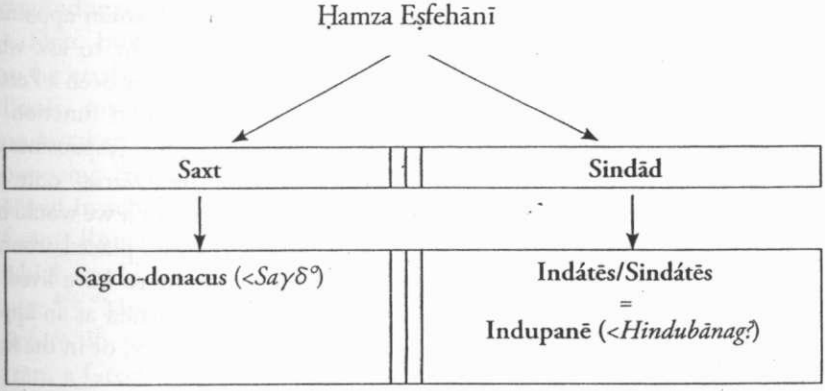
[456] The Arabic text, for which I am most greatful to Michael Cooperson, states: "In ancient times, sixteen margraves (*marzbān*) among the Persians ruled over scattered territories within the land of the Arabs, and he specifies their names: Saxt ruled over the land of Kinda and Ḥaḍaramut, and adjacent regions for some time, I do not know when and under whose rule; only God knows best! Sindād took over the appointment of Saxt and his presence continued for a long time in the riverine region, long enough to erect buildings there. He is the master of the 'Fortress with the Battlements.'"

[457] Blau, "Altarabische Sprachstudien," 331, n. 2: "Saxt könnte bloss Abkürzung aus Sagdo-donac sein." See also, Drouain, "Notice," 144. On Sagdodonacus, see Schuol, *Charakene*, 291; also, Bellinger, "Hyspaosines of Charax," 53–55.

[Plin. *HN* 6.139]
Flumina id oppidum [Charax oppidum Persici sinus intimum] expugnavere postea restituit Antiochos quintus regum et suo numine appelavit iterumque infestatum Spaosines Sagdodonaci filius rex finitimorum Arabum quem Iuba satrapen Antiochi fuisse falso tradit oppositis molibus restituit nomenque suum dedit . . .

"The waters destroyed this city [Charax, the city in the midst of the Persian Gulf]; later Antiochos, the fifth of the kings (with this name) re-established it, and called it after himself. And after it was spoiled again, **Spaosines, the son of Sagdodonacus,** king of the neighboring Arabs, whom Juba falsely mentions to have been satrap of Antiochos, restored [the city] by erecting opposing dams, and gave it his name . . ."

Indeed, Saxt (>*Saγδ°?) [458] may well have been derived from the first element of the name Sagdo-donacus, however the name Sindād could hardly be equated with the name of Sagdodonacus' son Spaosines, as further suggested by Blau.[459] Instead, Sindād seems to correspond to the Arsacid general Sindates/Indates, whom Antiochos Sidetes had reportedly defeated, and whom we suspect to be no other than the Indupanē of the *Diaries*, as the following diagram illustrates:



[458] Whether the form **Saγδ°* < *Saxt°*, which is consistent with the development of Ir. *-xt-* to *-γδ-* in Bactrian (e.g., λοχδο < *duxtā - duxtar-* "daughter"; λριγδο (δδριγαδο) < **dṛxta- - dār-* "to hold, to keep"), may further corroborate the assumed Bactrian origin of Sagdodonacus, remains, although intriguing, nonetheless insufficient a proof; on the Bactrian examples, see Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Documents*, 201–202. For a discussion of Sagdodonacus' Bactrian connections, see still Bellinger, "Hyspaosines of Charax," 57–59; Le Rider, *Suse*, 442–443; Potter, "Bronze Herakles," 279, n. 5; and Schuol, *Charakene*, 291–292. For a discussion of the etymology of the name Hyspaosines (possibly from **vispa-čanah-* "who appreciates all (things)," see Schmitt, "Der Name Hyspasines," 245–250.

[459] Blau, "Altarabische Sprachstudien," 331.

But how did Indupanē, the στρατηγός, who after his initial defeat in Mesopotamia was put in charge of the Arsacid troops in Media, and was instrumental in wresting Babylonia from Hyspaosines of Characene, make Ḥamza Eṣfehānī's list of Persian margraves (*marzbān*) who had ruled over Characene in ancient times? One possible reason for this confusion might have been that Indupanē, in all likelihood, was appointed margrave of Characene by Mihrdād II, in the wake of Hyspaosines' death, and during the infancy of latter's son.[460] That the Parthian margrave of Characene was deemed to be Persian by Ḥamza, who wrote while having the Sasanians in mind, does not amount to a stumbling block in our argumentation. More difficult a task is to reconcile Ḥamza's report on Sindād taking over Saxt's (= Sagdodonacus') position with that of Pliny on Hyspaosines succeeding to his father Sagdodonacus. We may recall that Ḥamza Eṣfehānī reports that Sindād/Indupanē merely assumed *the office* of Saxt (*malaka Sindād ʿalā ʿamalin Saḫtin*), thereby expressly indicating that both Saxt and Sindād had been Persian (or Parthian) appointees, unlike Hyspaosines who initially was the Seleucid governor of Mesene, and later having acquired the royal dignity was appointee no more. Thus, Hyspaosines' rule is of no bearing on Ḥamza's intention to provide a list of the Marshlands' Persian (or Parthian) margraves of old, and his omission of Hyspaosines, who reportedly never was an Iranian appointee, is consistent with that purpose. However, we still ought to ask whether Sagdodonacus, prior to Hyspaosines' accession, had ever been a Persian or Parthian margrave, for Indupanē to succeed him in that function. Were we to trust the 85 years of age attributed by Lucian to Hyspaosines on his deathbed,[461] and, moreover, take into account the *Diaries*' note on the date of Hyspaosines' death, that is, 10/11.vi.124 BCE, then we would be able to infer safely on the date of his birth, which is to be placed around 209 BCE.[462] This may indicate that Sagdodonacus ought to have lived in the second half of the third century and may have governed as an appointee over Characene, in the second half of the third century, or in the first half of the second century BCE.

Before the conquest of Mesopotamia by Mihrdād I in April 141 BCE, it is difficult to speak of any Arsacid sway over Characene that may have made Sagdodonacus accountable to an Arsacid overlord. Instead, we may wonder whether Sagdodonacus might have been a *Persian* appointee, as

[460] See above, 112–114.
[461] Lucian, *Macr.* 16.
[462] See Schuol, *Charakene*, 291; also, Bellinger, "Hyspaosines of Charax," 55, n. 16.

suggested by Ḥamza. An interesting notice by Pliny referring to the double victory of the Seleucid governor of the Mesene, Noumenios, over the Persians, under the Seleucid king Antiochos, may shed some light on the issue at hand:

[Plin. *HN* 6.152]
Mira res ibi traditur Numenium ab Antiocho rege Mesenae praepositum ibi vicisse eodem die classe aestuque reverso iterum equitatu contra Persas dimicantem et gemona tropaea eodem in loco Iovi ac Neptuno statuisse.

"A wondrous thing has occurred here: Noumenios, who had been instated as governor of the Mesene by king Antiochos, won here, on the same day, a battle against the Persians with his fleet, and once the tide had ebbed, for the second time, [he won a battle] with his cavalry; on the same spot, he placed a double trophy for Jove and Neptune."

Indeed, the very fact that Noumenios was ordered to confront the Persians may indicate that Persis, prior to his campaign, was in a state of independence or rebellion.[463] Whether, during this presumed phase of self-rule, Persis had been able to exert any sway over the adjunct territory of Characene, to the extent as to appoint an administrator, presumably, Sagdodonacus, remains to be seen.

First, however, the approximate date of Noumenios' campaign needs to be established. A possible *terminus ad quem* for the independence of Persis, towards the submission of which Noumenios' operations were undertaken, may be the winter 190/189 BCE, when the battle of Magnesia opposing Antiochos III to Rome took place in Asia Minor.[464] "As duly noted in scholarship, within Livy's copious depiction of Seleucid troops facing Roman legions, no mention of a Persian contingent is made,[465] which could be interpreted as a token of Persis' autonomy at that juncture.[466] "Moreover, this omission is striking as only a little over a decade before, in 205 BCE, following Antiochos III's return from his *anabasis* in Iran, a Greek inscription attested to the presence of the Seleucid king in

[463] See Wiesehöfer, *Dunkele Jahrhunderte*, 112; "Fars," 40–41; also Mittag, *Antiochos IV. Epiphanes*, 315.
[464] See Wiesehöfer, *Dunkele Jahrhunderte*, 102, 122; and "Fars," 40.
[465] Liv. 37.40–41.
[466] See Wiesehöfer, *Dunkele Jahrhunderte*, 102, 122; for a more nuanced opinion, see Schmitt, *Untersuchungen*, 50: "[w]enn bei Magnesia (190 v.Chr.) zwar 8000 Kyrtier und Elymaier, aber keine Perser im königlichen Heer genannt wurden, so wird man das vielleicht als Zeichen dafür werten dürfen, daß die Provinz sich damals vom Reiche zu lösen begann." For an interpretation of *auxiliares mixti omnium generum duo mili septingenti* "two thousand seven hundred auxiliaries consisting of all races" in Livy (37.40.11) as implicitly encompassing Persian troops, compare Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army*, 51.

the city of Antioch in Persis,[467] possibly indicating its continued obedience to Seleucid rule. Thus, some time between 205 and the winter 190/189 BCE, Persis could have gained autonomy from Seleucid rule. Whereas the *terminus a quo* for Noumenios' re-conquest of Persis may have been the winter 190/189 BCE, the *terminus ad quem* for his actions remains more elusive. We are informed through Pliny that Hyspaosines was the satrap of Antiochos, although we are left in the dark as to which one.[468] Determining the latter's identity would allow us to assess the date of Characene's return (from an assumed Persian dominion) to the Seleucid empire, as well as the end of Persis' presumed sway over it.

A possibility is to consider Antiochos VII Sidetes as the *quintus regum* of Pliny's record of Juba, to which he himself did not subscribe, and Hyspaosines as Sidetes' satrap[469] by disregarding the short reigns of the infant kings Antiochos V and VI.[470] However, from his very first mention in the *Diaries*, in December 138 BCE that is, just a few months following the crushing defeat of Demetrios II at the hand of Mihrdād I in 7/8. vii–4/5.viii.138 BCE, Hyspaosines is shown to have operated independently, initially to the detriment of the Elamites in the Lower Sealand (2/3–30/31. xii.138 BCE),[471] and later in concert with them against the Arsacids in

[467] *OGIS*, no. 231, ll. 1–10, vol. I, 377–378: *"Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Μαγνή|των τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι χάι|ρειν° Δημοφῶν καὶ Φιλίσκος αἱ Φέ|ρης οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πεμφθέντες πρὸς // ἡμᾶς θεωροὶ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἐπαγγεί|λαι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τ[ὰ] ἄλλα ἃ ἔψήφισ|ται ὁ δῆμος συντελεῖν τῆι ἀρχηγέ|τιδι τῆς πόλεως Ἀρτέμιδι Λευκοφρυ|ηνῆι, συμμείξαντες ἐν Ἀντιοχείαι // τῆς Περσίδος* . . . See also, Wiesehöfer, *Dunkele Jahrhunderte*, 61–62; 102, n. 5; and "Fars," 40; also Del Monte, *Testi*, 62–63, n. 12.

[468] On the state of former, and more recent, discussions on Antiochos' identity, see Potts, *Arabian Gulf*, 11–13; "Parthian Presence," 277–278; also, Schuol, *Charakene*, 113–114.

[469] Among the proponents of Antiochos VII Sidetes are: Saint-Martin, *Histoire des Arsacides*, vol. II, 27–29: "[p]endant que le roi Antiochus [Sidétès] s'avançait, avec son armée, dans l'intérieur de l'empire des Parthes pour en achever la conquête, il envoya un corps de troupe et une flotte pour établir sa domination dans les provinces méridionales . . . [Pline] parle d'un general appelé Numénius, qui avait été fait gouverneur du pays de Mésène par le roi Antiochos"; and *Recherches*, 133–151; following Saint-Martin, Toussaint Reinaud, *Mémoire*, 182–183, and Drouain, "Notice," 142–143, subscribe to the same opinion. Compare also most recently, and in contrast to his previous views, Potts, "Five Episodes," 357: "Aspasine at one point functioned as Antiochos VII's satrap in the 'satrapy of the Erythraean Sea', based at Alexandria/Antiochia-in-Mesene . . . [t]his, however, could not have been the case until 130 B.C., when Antiochus VII recaptured Babylonia."

[470] On events from Antiochos V's advent to the rise of Antiochos VII, see Habicht, "Seleucids and Rivals," 353–369; on the co-regency (with Antiochos IV), short reign, and coinage of Antiochos V, see Houghton and Le Rider, "Deuxième fils," 73–85; Le Rider, "Second fils d'Antiochos," 213–215; "Deuxième fils," 10–11; "L'enfant-roi Antiochos," 409–417.

[471] It is most unlikely to speak of any Seleucid authority in Characene, some three to four months after the collapse of Seleucid rule in Mesopotamia, at a time when Antiochos VII Sidetes had just set out to seize the throne of his captive brother, Demetrios, out of his base in Asia Minor. Thus, we have to conclude that Hyspaosines acted, while moving against the Elamites, either as an independent ruler pursuing his own policy; or in the interest of the Arsacids, to whom he might have sworn loyalty. Compare Schuol, *Charakene*, 293.

Mesopotamia (7/8.x.–5/6.xi.133 BCE). We have reason to presume that upon Demetrios II being captured, Hyspaosines became independent, and thus remained, at the very least, until the advent of Antiochos Sidetes.[472] We are further informed that Antiochos Sidetes controlled Mesopotamia and Elymais from 25/26.vii.130 until 5.xi.129 BCE. The question, therefore, is whether the Seleucids controlled Characene before Antiochos Sidetes' *anabasis*, or whether it remained independent. In case Characene was subjugated, then one ought to ask whether this conquest was in conjunction with Noumenios' campaign in Persis and in the Gulf region.

Several arguments render the possibility of Seleucid control of Characene during Antiochos Sidetes' short reign unlikely.

There is no coinage attesting to the latter's presence in Characene, whereas his rule in the adjoining Elymais is adequately documented by the numismatic evidence.[473]

Moreover, the occupation of Mesopotamia by Hyspaosines—no later than 30/31.v.127 BCE—so promptly after the reverse suffered by Seleucid troops at the hand of Frahād II, may indicate that the Characeneans had not partaken in Sidetes' ill-fated campaign and were not among the multitude decimated by Frahād II, for they were sufficiently powerful to dispute Mesopotamia with the Arsacids shortly thereafter. Therefore, Hyspaosines was probably not the subject of the Seleucid king, or otherwise he would have accompanied Antiochos Sidetes on his campaign against the Arsacids.[474]

Furthermore, assuming that Noumenios had operated at the behest of Antiochos Sidetes would imply that the former, before his foray into Persia, had taken control of Characene, for he is reported to have been the governor of the Mesene *(Numenius ab Antiocho rege Mesenae praepositus)*, which in turn would mean that Hyspaosines could not have been Antiochos Sidetes' governor. Accordingly, another Antiochos, other than Sidetes, must have been Noumenios' sovereign.

[472] See similarly, le Rider, "Atelier monétaire," 39, n. 1. Compare also, Wiesehöfer, Συνοίκησις und ἀπωρία χρημάτων," 118–119: "Und die Elymäer? Im Gegensatz zu den Charakenern, die den Seleukiden noch bis in die 120er Jahre die Treue hielten, folgten sie persischem Beispiel und erkannten die seleukidische Herrschaft über ihr Territorium nicht länger an."

[473] See Le Rider, *Suse*, 377–378; Schuol, *Charakene*, 217–220; 291–298.

[474] Compare Nodelman, "Preliminary History," 88, who even suggests Hyspaosines may have recruited the remnants of Antiochos Sidetes' decimated army for his own Mesopotamian campaign: "[t]he remnants of Antiochus' army may have been attracted to his [Hyspaosines'] service." Even if we were to assume, as was done by Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 52–53, that the Seleucid army did not immediately disintegrate upon Sidetes' death, but was instead led for some time by the latter's juvenile son, Seleukos, on campaign with his father, the fact that Seleukos, according to Poseidonios was eventually made captive by the Arsacids would still signify that the Seleucid troops ultimately were disbanded; see Edelstein and Kidd, *Posidonius*, vol. I, F. 64.

Aside from Antiochos Sidetes, both Antiochos III and Antiochos IV have been considered as Hyspaosines' overlord, although more recently the *communi consensus* seems to have shifted in favor of Antiochos IV; however, we shall see farther that still other solutions may be contemplated.[475]

Let us first investigate the possibility of Antiochos III being Hyspaosines' master.

It has been long recognized that Polybios, reporting on the revolt of Molon, the satrap of Media, against Antiochos III (in 222 BCE), mentioned the region and the eparchy of the Erythraean Sea, *Ἐρύθρα Θάλαττα*, while referring to the Mesene,[476] and it was only with Strabo[477] that the toponym *Μεσήνη* was first introduced in connection with his description of Arabia. Thus, the use of the expression Erythraean Sea during the rule of Antiochos III could be a strong indication that the emergence of the Mesene as a topographical and political appellation may have belonged to the reign of Antiochos III's successor, with the result that Hyspaosines may have been Antiochos IV's appointee.[478]

Yet another argument against Antiochos III is Polybios' being unaware of any Persian campaign undertaken in the wake of the king's eastern *anabasis* (212–205 BCE),[479] a silence that may be construed as a gauge of Persis' (ongoing) loyalty to the Seleucid throne, at least up to the year 205 BCE.[480] Since we deem Persis to have seceded at the latest in winter 190/189, Noumenios' campaign, which may have been undertaken in response to

[475] For older literature on proponents of Antiochos III, see Schmitt, *Untersuchungen*, 49, n. 3; and Mørkholm, *Antiochos IV*, 169, n. 14. For proponents of Antiochos IV, see von Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, 40–41; Tscherikower, *Hellenistische Städtegründungen*, 94–95; Bellinger, "Hyspaosines of Charax," 54–56; Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens*, 46–47; *Geschichte der Hunnen*, vol. I, 376–378; Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria*, 213–214; Nodelman, "Preliminary History," 85–86, n. 20; Schmitt, *Untersuchungen*, 48–50; Le Rider, *Suse*, 303–304, n. 5; 310; Salles, "The Gulf," 98; Potts, "Arabia," 137; *Arabian Gulf*, 12–14; "Parthian Presence," 277–278; Wiesehöfer, *Dunkele Jahrhunderte*, 121–123; Schuol, *Charakene*, 267–268; and most recently Mittag, *Antiochos IV. Epiphanes*, 305, n. 37: "[i]nsgesamt scheinen die Argumente für eine Datierung der Schlacht in die Zeit Antiochos' IV. stärker zu sein als die zuweilen vertretene Identifizierung des bei Plinius genannten Antiochos mit dem ersten, dritten oder siebenten Antiochos"; and 315. Undecided as to Antiochos' identity are Mørkholm, *Antiochos IV*, 169–170, n. 14; and more recently, Roueché and Sherwin-White, "Inscriptions from Failaka," 8–9.

[476] Plb. 5.46.7: *Ἐρυθρᾶς Θαλάττης* (*ἔπαρχος*); 5.48.13; 5.54.12.

[477] Str. 2.1.31 (84); 16.1.8 (739); 16.4.1 (767): *Ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀπὸ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐστὶν ἡ Μαικηνή (= Μεσήνη).*

[478] See le Rider, "Atelier monétaire," 36–39; Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens*, 46–47; *Geschichte der Hunnen*, 377; Stiehl, "Chronologie," 377; Schmitt, *Untersuchungen*, 48–49; Potts, *Arabian Gulf*, 12–13; and Schuol, *Charakene*, 265–266.

[479] On the *anabasis*, see Will, *Histoire*, vol. II, 51–69; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkand to Sardis*, 197–201; Ma, *Antiochus III*, 63–73.

[480] See Will, *Histoire*, vol. II, 64–65; Potts, *Arabian Gulf*, 13; Wiesehöfer, *Dunkele Jahrhunderte*, 122; also, compare Schmitt, *Untersuchungen*, 50.

that secession, ought to have occurred between 190/189 and 187 BCE, the latter date being that of Antiochos III's demise in Elymais.[481] One may wonder whether the condition of Seleucid troops shortly following the defeat of Magnesia, as well as the restrictive clauses of the treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE,[482] severely reducing Antiochos III's naval force,[483] may bide well for placing Noumenios' (naval) campaign in the wake of the debacle of Magnesia. However, in view of the considerable resources still available to the Seleucid kingdom,[484] and the infringements to which many clauses of the treaty were subject already during Antiochos III's lifetime, but perceptibly under Antiochos IV,[485] we ought to surmise that even Antiochos III's reduced manpower would have amply sufficed to reduce Persis, and that the remnants of the former Seleucid flotilla—some ten warships—were more than adequate to prevail against the Persians.[486] It is thus possible that Noumenios' military intervention was undertaken in conjunction with the reported campaign of Antiochos III in Elymais—which had led

[481] On Antiochos III's demise in Elymais, see Will, *Histoire*, vol. II, 238–240. On the date of the king's death, possibly on 3/4.vii.187 BCE (= 25.iii.125 SE), see Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 4, rev. 7–8, 134–135: "[Y]ear 125, Simanu [= month III], it was heard in Babylon that: on the 25th day An<tiochos> [III], the king, was killed in Elam." For the last mention of Antiochos III in the *Diaries*, for the period of 16/17.x.188 to 12/13.iii.187 BCE (= vii–xii.124 SE), see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. II, no. –187 upper edge 4 (= 334–335). See also, Del Monte, *Testi*, 237–238.

[482] See Plb. 21.42–43; Liv. 37.55.1–3, 38.38; App. *Syr.* 38–39. On the treaty of Apamea in general, see Will, *Histoire*, vol. II, 221–224; most recently, with special consideration of Roman policies, Dreyer, *Römische Nobilitätsherrschaft*, 340–362; also Badian, "Hegemony and Independence," 397–414. On the territorial stipulations of the treaty, see Holleaux, "Apamée," 208–243; on the topography of the territorial concessions, see McDonald, "Treaty of Apamea," 1–8, especially, 7–8; and Giovannini, "Clause territoriale," 224–236; on stipulations pertaining to the monetary indemnity paid to Rome, see Le Rider, "Clauses financières," 267–277.

[483] See Plb. 21.42.13–14: *ἀποδότω δὲ καὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς μακρὰς καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων ἄρμενα καὶ τὰ σκεύη καί μηκέτι ἐχέτω πλὴν δέκα καταφράκτων*; and Liv. 38.8–9: *tradito et naves longas armamentaque earum neu plures quam decem naves tectas neve plures quam [decem] naves actuarias nulla quarum plus quam triginta remis agatur habeto neve monerem belli causa quod ipse illaturus erit.* See also, McDonald and Walbank, "Naval Clauses," 30–39.

[484] Based on the investigation of the coinage of Seleukos IV, the successor of Antiochos III, in 187 BCE, under whose rule most of the Seleucid monetary obligations were shouldered, Le Rider has come to the conclusion that "tout se passe comme si la situation monétaire du roi séleucide . . . n'avait en rien souffert de la clause financière du traité d'Apamée. Le fait que les tétradrachmes royaux ont continué a tenir une place restreinte dans la circulation générale et à se comporter exactement comme par le passé indique à mon avis que Séleucos IV n'éprouvait pas de réelle difficulté à payer les Romains"; see Le Rider, "Ressources financières," 60. Also *ibid.*, 62: "[j]e proposerais donc après avoir examiné le monnayage de Séleucos IV et cherché à suggérer l'étendue de ses ressources, de considérer que les douze versements, en principe annuel, de 1000 talents aux Romains constituaient certes pour sa trésorerie une charge irritante, mais nullement aussi insupportable qu'on l'a souvent pensé."

[485] See Grainger, *Roman War*, 352–353; also Paltiel, "Treaty of Apamea," 30–41.

[486] On the vigor of Seleucid rule following the defeat of Antiochos III, see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkand to Sardis*, 215–216; Grainger, *Roman War*, 350–351.

to the plunder of Elymaean temples diversely interpreted as an attempt at exacting the means to meet Seleucid tribute obligations *vis-à-vis* Rome;[487] as a fortuitous consequence of the Elymaean campaign;[488] or as a conscious retaliatory action against Elymaean separatism.[489]

It is difficult, however, to imagine that Antiochos III, having subdued Persis with the help of his governor of Mesene, Noumenios, would have substituted him with Hyspaosines, son of Sagdodonacus—the latter being possibly a Persian appointee over Characene. Were we to suppose that Noumenios' action occurred during the rule of Antiochos III, we still would have to presume that Hyspaosines' appointment took place under Antiochos IV,[490] and account further for the reasons behind Antiochos IV's instatement of Hyspaosines–a possibility on which we shall elaborate below.

One more clue against the presumption that Antiochos III was Hyspaosines' overlord is provided by the state of commercial activities in the Persian Gulf in the third and second centuries, as reflected in the archaeological evidence.[491] Since a gradual decrease of commercial

[487] Will, *Histoire*, vol. II, 238–240.

[488] See Le Rider, "Ressources financières," 60–61.

[489] See Dąbrowa, "Séleucides et l'Élymaïde," 107–113. Dąbrowa is correct in pointing out that Antiochos III's campaign in Elymais might have been inspired by the desire to prevent or address its secession. And indeed a previously mentioned diary, dated 7/8.v.–5/6.vi.184 BCE (= ii.128 SE), wherein an Elamite enemy (*E[la]mû nakru)* is mentioned, may indicate that the Elamites had successfully shaken off the Seleucid dominion just a few years after Antiochos III's death in Elymais on 3/4.vii.187 BCE (= 25.iii.125 SE). However, the rebellion of this Elamite enemy in summer 184 BCE seems to be unrelated to the campaign of Antiochos III in previous years, as Dąbrowa seems to suggest, for the diary does not allow us to identify the Elamite enemy with the commander of Susa; to the contrary, the diary suggests that the commander of Susa was held captive[!] (and carried forth?) at the side of the Elamite enemy (*ana taḫušu*) during his victorious march. Furthermore, the very mention of a Seleucid general of Susa ([*rab*] *uqu ša Sušan*) clearly indicates that up to that time Elymais was Seleucid. See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. II, no. –183 A 'rev. 12'–13' (= 358–359); see also Del Monte, *Testi*, 69; and compare Dąbrowa, "Séleucides et l'Élymaïde," 111.

[490] This seems to have been the position adopted by Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria*, 213–214: "[s]imilarly the activities of Numenius, eparch of Mesene, in the Gulf recorded by Pliny . . . belongs to the time of Antiochos III, for it is known that the eparch of Mesene at the end of Epiphanes' lifetime was Hyspaosines." See also the superior explanation of Tarn's position by Bellinger, "Hyspaosines of Charax," 55, n. 16: "Tarn assumes: (1) that Numenius and Hyspaosines held the same position, (2) that they were agents of different Antiochi, (3) that since Hyspaosines was later king of the region Numenius must have held office before him . . . [h]e concludes that Numenius was eparch of Mesene under Antiochus III, Hyspaosines under Antiochus IV."

[491] On the archaeology of, and commerce in, the Persian Gulf during the Seleucid era, see Potts, *Arabian Gulf*, 92–97; 178–179; Salles, "The Gulf," 91–99; "Le Golfe," 597–610; "Fines indiae," 165–187; "Trade in the Indian Ocean," 260–262. On the numismatic evidence, consult, in addition to Potts, *Arabian Gulf*, 173–179, with reference to older literature, also Callot, "Monnaies dites 'arabes,'" 221–240, especially 234–238; on the island of Failaka in the Gulf, see Callot, "Failaka à l'époque hellénistique," 127–141 and "Failaka-Ikaros," 257–273, especially, 268–273. See also Wiesehöfer, "Fars," 40.

activities in the Gulf region may only be observed beginning with the reign of Antiochos IV, and since, furthermore, the adherence of Persis to the Seleucid polity is a condition for the flourishing of the Seleucid commerce in the Persian Gulf, we may have to infer that the secession of Persis and Characene probably occurred *after* the demise of Antiochos III in 3/4. vii.187 BCE (= 25.iii.125 SE), possibly under Antiochos IV.[492] This means that the attempt, notably by Noumenios, to reduce Persis to submission may also be placed during this period.

Now, we shall explore whether Antiochos IV Epiphanes is to be identified with Hyspaosines' overlord. Antiochos IV's death reportedly occurred sometime during 19/20.xi.–17/18.xii.164 BCE (= ix.148 SE),[493] which would place the *terminus ad quem* for the Seleucid recovery of Characene from a hypothesized Persian sway in the year 164 BCE; in other words, sometime between the years 190/189 and 164 BCE, Persis could have been not only independent, but also mighty enough to appoint Sagdodonacus over Characene.

A possible juncture for the re-conquest of Characene and the suppression of Persis by Antiochos IV could have been his eastern campaign, whereby Armenia was subdued,[494] and Ecbatana reportedly renamed,[495] before Antiochos IV turned his attention towards Elymais and Persis, wherein he ultimately succumbed to death.[496] The Armenian conquest

[492] See Le Rider, *Suse*, 299–311; 309: "les trouvailles de Suse montreront en effet que c'est sous Antiochos IV que le commerce séleucide avec le Golfe Persique commence à décliner sérieusement"; Salles, "The Gulf," 91–99; Callot, "Monnaies dites 'arabes,'" 237–238.

[493] See Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 4, rev. 14, 134–135: "[Year 148,] Kislîmu [= month IX]: It was heard that An<tiochos>[IV], the king, [was dead]." See also, Del Monte, *Testi*, 208–209. Of interest is also the report of the *Diaries* on the arrival, in the following month, that is, in 18/19. xii.164–15/16.i.163 BCE (= x.148 SE) of Antiochos IV's corpse in Babylonia; see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol III, no. –163 C_2 'obv. 17'–18' (= 18–19): "[. . . the men who] came [wi]th the king's corpse, with [. . .] / [. . .] . . . of *Antiochus, son of Antiochus - broken -* in [. . .]" (emphasis mine). See also, Del Monte, *Testi*, 82, 240; Gera and Horowitz, "Antiochus IV," 241; 249–252; and Will, *Histoire*, vol. II, 352–355.

[494] See D.S. 31.17a; App. *Syr.* 45: [Ἀντίοχος] ἐστράτευσε δὲ καὶ ἐπι Ἀτραξίαν τὸν Ἀρμενίον βασιλέα; and Eusebios (= Porphyrius *FGH* II, no. 260, F 36, F 56).

[495] St. Byz. Ἀγβάτανα. See Tscherikower, *Hellenistische Städtegründungen*, 99–10; Mørkholm, *Antiochos IV*, 116–117, 171–172, n. 22.

[496] On Antiochos IV Epiphanes' reign and eastern campaign, see Habicht, "Seleucids and Rivals," 350–353; Mørkholm, *Antiochos IV*, 166–180; also, Gera and Horowitz, "Antiochus IV," 243–249; most recently, Mittag, *Antiochos IV. Epiphanes*, 296–327. On Antiochos' rationale for campaigning in the East and Elymais, see Le Rider, *Suse*, 322–323; Wiesehöfer, "Συνοίκησις und ἀπωρία χρημάτων," 117–118; and Mittag, *Antiochos IV. Epiphanes*, 326–327. On the motives of Epiphanes' attempt to plunder Elymaean temples (much like his father) and his subsequent death in Persis, see Holleaux, "Mort d'Antiochos IV," 255–279, especially, 276–279: "le récit de Polybe, le seul qui doive être pris en consideration, montre que, voyant les barbares [les Élymaiens] prêts a lui tenir tête, Antiochos IV, beaucoup plus sage qu'on ne s'y fût attendu, éluda, par une retraite avisée, une rencontre qu'il estimait trop dangereuse. Et ceci signifie simplement que l'exemple

seems to have been reflected in a diary, dated to 1/2–29/30.x.165 BCE (= vii.147 SE), in a passage which appears to encompass, after the fact, the entire span of Antiochos IV's eastern campaign. There, a certain region called Ḫabigalbat is reported to have constituted the first objective of Antiochos IV's campaign:

[. . .] . . . of Habigalbat which is called . . . armil? . . . [. . .] / [. . .] as follows: king Antiochus [. . .] from the cities of [. . .] / [. . .] which went upon the sea?.[497]

It is possible that the antiquated toponym Ḫanigalbat, which in the latter half of the second millennium had been used in reference to the empires of Ḫurri and Mitanni, and later had come to designate a geographical extent to the north west of Assyria associated with diverse polities,[498] referred in this passage to Armenia. This likelihood may be substantiated by the further description of Ḫabigalbat as *māt* x-*armil*? "land of (?)Armil?,"[499] which may either be associated with the Neo-Assyrian toponym *Aramalê/Armarialî*, located to the north west of the Orumiyeh Sea and to the east of Lake Van,[500] or have constituted an early, albeit flawed, attempt at rendering the toponym *Arminî*,[501] used more regularly over half a century later.[502]

paternal lui fut un utile enseignement"; Dąbrowa, "Séleucides et l'Élymaïde," 111–112; and Mittag, *Antiochos IV. Epiphanes*, 317–318: "[z]usammenfassend ist festzuhalten, dass sich zwar nicht mehr sagen lässt, welchen Tempel Antiochos IV. während seiner *anabasis* in welchem Umfang um einen Teil seiner Tempelschätze erleichterte; dass er an mindestens einem Ort zu dieser Maßnahme griff, ist aber sehr wahrscheinlich, da ein wesentliches Ziel seiner *anabasis* gewesen zu sein scheint, die seleukidische Gebiete wieder stärker seiner Kontrolle zu unterwerfen und Loslösungstendenzen entgegenzuwirken. In diesem Zusammenhang wurden rückständige Abgaben eingezogen, was zu 'Tempelplünderungen' geführt haben dürfte." On Antiochos IV's place of death, see Wiesehöfer, *Dunkele Jahrhunderte*, 123–124; Drew-Bear, "Recherches," 155–157.

497 See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. II, no. –164 B/C 'obv.' B15', C13'–C14' (= 496–497).

498 On the history of Ḫabigalbat/Ḫanigalbat, see von Weiher, "Ḫanigalbat," 105–107; on the location of Ḫanigalbat, see Parpola and Porter, *Helsinki Atlas*, 9; map 3.

499 See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. II, no. –164 B/C 'obv.' B15' (= 496).

500 See Gera and Horowitz, "Antiochus IV," 243. On the toponyms *Aramalê/Armarialî*, see Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, 22 and 30; on the location of *Armarialî*, see Parpola and Porter, *Helsinki Atlas*, 6; map 4. See also, Liebig, "Zur Lage einiger Gebiete," 31–37.

501 See Del Monte, *Testi*, 80–81: "Proprio in quest'epoca Antioco IV entrò in Armenia per procedere alla sua spedizione orientale, ed è possibile che a questo si riferisca l'aulico Ḫanigalbat, del quale ora il Diarista conosce anche un nome più appropriato, purtroppo di difficile interpretazione. Le trace indicate con x possono appartenere anche all'inizio del segno AR (non comunque al determinativo di nomi geografici URU), ma lo IL finale è abbastanza sicuro, così da rendere *problematica* [italics mine] l'identificazione con il nome della Armenia, scritto più tardi ^{URU}*ar-mi-ni(-i)*; malgrado ciò si può supporre che il Diarista abbia avuto difficoltà a trascrivere un nome geografico per lui nuovo che solo più tardi entrerà nella tradizione scribale." See also, Gera and Horowitz, "Antiochus IV," 243–245.

502 For subsequent attestations of the toponym *Arminî*, see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –95 'flake' A 10' (= 416–417); no. –95 C 'obv.' 5'–6' (= 418–419); no. –95 D 'obv.' 11' (= 422–423).

Thus, it seems that the toponym Ḫabigalbat may have been a literary archaism to designate in general terms the land of Armenia.[503] Intriguingly, it is used a second time, in connection with the campaign of Mihrdād II to the East, again, most likely, against Armenia, in 7/8.viii–8/9.x.III BCE (= v.–vi.201 SE).[504]

The second piece of information provided by the diary of 1/2–29/30.x.165 BCE (= vii.147 SE), relates to the region to which Antiochos IV may have ventured in conjunction with his eastern campaign. The diary mentions the "cities of [. . .]" (*ālānu ša* [. . .]) without revealing the country to which the cities belong. *Prima facie*, one may infer that the cities were referring to Armenia, although the *Diaries* usually allude to it merely with the term ^{uru}*Ar-mi-ni(-i)* "(the city of) Armini" rather than with the expression URU^{meš} *šá* KUR . . ."cities of the country of [Armenia],"[505] to which we are accustomed with regard to Assyria, Elam, Gutium, Media, and Meluḫḫa (Egypt).[506] Bearing in mind that the itinerary of the eastern campaign led from Armenia to Media, wherein Ecbatana was renamed to Epiphania,[507] we may consider the aforesaid *cities* as referring to those of Media, that is, the *ālānu ša* [*māt Mādaya*] "cities of [the country of Media]."[508]

The third station mentioned in the above diary, to which the final stage of Antiochos IV's campaign seems to have taken him, is the Sea (*marratu*); the passage reads: ^{I}*An-ti-*$^{\text{ʾ}}$*u-uk-su* L[UGAL . . .] TA URU^{meš} *š*[*á* KUR *Ma-da-a-a*] / [. . .] *šá eli ma-rat* GIN^{meš} "[king] Antiochos [. . .] went from the cities [of Media] . . . (which) upon the Sea." Indeed the plural form *illikū* (GIN^{meš}) could refer to Antiochos IV and *his troops*, who, departing from the cities of Media, eventually ventured towards the Sea, that is, the Persian Gulf.[509] A parallel that may shed some light on the present passage may be drawn with the diary recorded on 7/8.vii.–4/6.viii.138 BCE (= iv.174 SE),

[503] Similarly, Del Monte, *Testi*, 81, who calls it a "literary reminiscence."

[504] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –110 'rev.' 14' (= 346–347): "[. . .] . . . with him towards the land of the Ḫabigalbat because of . . . I heard [. . .]." See also below, 244.

[505] For mentions of Armenia in the *Diaries*, see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –95 C 'obv.' 5'–7' (= 418–419); –95 C 'rev.' 12' (= 420–421); and no. –95 D 'obv.' 10'–11' (= 422–423).

[506] For examples on URU^{meš} *šá pi-ḫat* KUR *Aš-šur*^{ki}, see *ibid.*, no. –137 A 'obv.' 18' (= 160–161); on URU^{meš} *šá* KUR ELAM.MA, see no. –137 A 'rev.' 7' (= 160–161); on URU^{meš} SUD^{meš} *šá* KUR *Gu-ti-i*^{ki}, see no. –118 A 'rev. A22' (= 326–327); on URU^{meš} *šá* KUR *Ma-da-a-a*, see no. –140 A 'rev. 4' (= 134–135); no. –137 A 'obv.' 19' and A 'rev.' 9', 11' (= 160–161); no. –132 B rev. 21 (= 216–217); on URU^{meš} *šá* KUR *Me-luḫ-ḫaz*, see vol. II, no. –168 A obv.' A15 (= 470–471); and vol. III, no. –144 'obv. 35' (= 96–97).

[507] St. Byz. Ἀγβάτανα.

[508] See Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. I, 295–297; Will, *Histoire*, vol. II, 352–355.

[509] On the different meanings of the toponym *marattu*, as the Persian Gulf and the river Orontes, see van der Spek, "New Evidence," 173. On the location of *marattu*, see Parpola and Porter, *Helsinki Atlas*, 13, map 17.

wherein Demetrios II's ill fortune following his *anabasis* against the Arsacid empire is depicted. Here, Demetrios II's departure (to Babylonia) from the cities of a country—about whose name we are left in the dark—is mentioned, as well as his being accompanied by his troops: [1]*De-meṭ-ri* LUGAL *šá ina* IGI-*ma* ERÍN-*šu* TA URU^{meš} [. . .] "king Demetrios who before/in the past [had led] his troops from the cities of [. . .]."[510] Thus, assuming that the diarist, while recounting Demetrios II's campaign, had recourse to the report of Antiochos IV's campaign some three decades before—in the same way as the diary of Antiochos IV's campaign against the Ptolemaic empire seems to have served as *Vorlage* for the report on Demetrios II's Egyptian campaign[511]—then we may propose to restore ERÍN-*šu* as the other subject of *illikū* (GIN^{meš}) in our passage: [1]*An-ti-*[2]*u-uk-su* L[UGAL *u* ERÍN-*šu*] TA URU^{meš} *š*[*á* KUR *Ma-da-a-a*] "[king] Antiochos [and his troops] went from the cities [of Media] . . . (which) upon the Sea."

As for the location on the Gulf to which Antiochos IV and his troops[2], coming from the cities of Media[2], could have gone, a cursory glance at another diary, in which *marratu* occurs, may prove insightful. The *Diaries*' first record of Hyspaosines, which dates to 2/3–30/31.xii.138 BCE (= ix.174 SE) while depicting the hostile activities of the Characenean prince against the Elamites, also alludes to some of the regions and cities of the Gulf—albeit the names have not survived—that he had wrested from the Elamites before forcing them into submission:

> [. . .] of the lower Sealand, **the cities and canals of the gulf** [. . .] . . . lutra their names were (called[2] . . .] / [. . .] and made them obey to his command; he imposed tribute on them . . .[512]

Of interest to the present discussion is the mention of cities and canals in conjunction with *marratu*: URU^{meš} *ù* ÍD^{meš} *ša ma-rat* "the cities and canals of the Sea/Gulf," which could indicate that the passage on Antiochos IV's campaign to the Gulf could have contained a similar formula: [1]*An-ti-*[2]*u-uk-su* L[UGAL *u* ERÍN-*šu*] TA URU^{meš} *š*[*á* KUR *Ma-da-a-a*] / [*a-na* URU^{meš} *ù* ÍD^{meš}] *šá eli ma-rat* GIN^{meš} "king Antiochos [and his troops] from the cities [of Media to the cities and canals] that [are] on the Sea, (they) went."

[510] See similarly, van der Spek, "New Evidence," 172.

[511] See *ibid.*, 170. One may contrast the two passages describing the "Egyptian" campaigns of Antiochos Epiphanes and Demetrios II: "That month, I heard as follows: king Antiochos marched victoriously through the cities of Meluḫḫa and [. . .]"; see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. II, no. –168 A obv.' A14–A15 (= 470–471). And "That month [. . .] king Demetrius marched around the cities of Meluḫḫa victoriously"; *ibid.*, vol. III, no. –144 'obv. 35' (= 96–97).

[512] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –137 D 'obv. 13'–14' (168–169).

Although the *Diaries* seem to confirm that Antiochos IV had undertaken a campaign to the Gulf, it remains still uncertain whether he is to be identified with Pliny's *Antiochos quintus regum*, who reportedly re-established the city of Charax, *oppidum Persici sinus intimum*. A decisive factor speaking in favor of Antiochos IV as the one alluded to by the epithet *quintus regum* in the passage on the foundation of Charax, and by *ab Antiocho rege Mesenae praepositus* in the passage reporting on Noumenios, is yet another notice by Pliny inserted between the two others, in which the king Antiochos in question is mentioned with his title Epiphanes: *nunc a Charace dicemus oram Epiphani primum exquisitam*.[513]

Although there is some evidence hinting at Antiochos IV as the actor of Pliny's notices, there are some remaining inconsistencies: were we to consider Antiochos IV Epiphanes as the ruler responsible for re-establishing Charax and naming it after himself, as well as for appointing Noumenios as governor of Characene, then we would be hard pressed to ascribe to Antiochos IV yet another satrap of Characene—by the name of Hyspaosines this time—shortly before his death.[514] Indeed, we have to assume that at some time during Antiochos IV's eastern campaign, probably before the king's arrival at Persis, Noumenios was anointed satrap of Characene, and was instrumental in the occupation of Persis by the Seleucids. Since, prior to its Seleucid re-conquest, Characene was, judging from Ḥamza Eṣfehānī's account, led by Sagdodonacus (Saxt), a Persian subject and Hyspaosines' father, we have to infer Noumenios deposed him before launching his assault against Sagdodonacus' Persian overlord. Antiochos IV's eastern campaign taking place shortly before his death, it is unlikely that the king had the opportunity to replace his recently instated satrap of Characene with another candidate; but even if he were to appoint another governor, it would seem most improbable

[513] See Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens*, 46: "Eine Neugründung der Stadt geschah unter *Antiochos quintus regum*. Da Antiochos' III. 193 verstorbener Sohn und Mitregent mitzählte, ist Antiochos IV. Epiphanes gemeint. Die Bestätigung ergibt die *ora Epiphani primum exquisita*"; Mørkholm, *Antiochos IV*, 168; similarly, Le Rider, *Suse*, 310: "[l]e § 147 du livre VI de Pline commence par ces mots: *nunc a Characae dicemus oram Epiphani primum exquisitam*. A partir de Spasinou Charax, c'est-à-dire des embouchures de l'Eulaios et du Tigre, Pline nous fait suivre la côte de l'Arabie par Gerrha et le pays de Macae; à cet endroit (VI, 152), il nous mentionne la double victoire que remporta le même jour sur terre et sur mer *Numenius ab Antiochos rege Mesenae praepositus*: puisqu'au début du chapitre il parlait d'Antiochos IV, c'est peut-être sous ce règne qu'il faut placer cet exploit, bien qu'on l'ait souvent attribué à Antiochos III."

[514] The possibility of Hyspaosines and Noumenios having been, albeit subsequently, both satraps of the same Antiochos IV is raised by Schuol, *Charakene*, 267—268: "[d]ie (Neu-)gründung von Antiocheia/Tigris, die Einsetzung des Numenios und – zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt—des Hyspaosines ... unterstreichen die Absicht Antiochos' I., die seleukidische Kontrolle über Südbabylonien und den Persischen Golf zu intensivieren."

that his choice would have fallen on the *son* of Characene's former Persian appointee.

We may inquire whether Hyspaosines, relying upon the local influence and weight of his house, could have emerged, upon the end of Noumenios' tenure, at a time of Seleucid frailty, as a political force by securing control over Characene, and possibly imposing his *de facto* rule on the Seleucid house in exchange for the nominal recognition of its suzerainty.

The political tribulations pertinent to the rule of Antiochos IV's infant son, Antiochos V,[515] concomitant with the rivalry between the empire's magnates, namely Lysias and Philippos,[516] might have constituted the presumed period of Seleucid instability, during which Hyspaosines' rise may be placed.[517] This conjecture may also explain why Pliny disavows Juba's

[515] Antiochos V Eupator's accession occurred at the earliest in 19/20.xi.–17/18.xii.164 BCE, that is, the date of Antiochos IV Epiphanes' reported passing away. The first mention of Eupator's rule in the *Diaries* is dated to 11/12.viii.–9/10.ix.163 BCE (= v.149 SE), and the last to 4/5.iv.–28/29.x.162 BCE (= i.–vii.150 SE); see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no –162 obv. 1 (= 24–25), and no –161 A_{1+2} lower edge 1 (= 34–35). Administrative documents supply additional dates for Antiochos Eupator's rule. The earliest records ought to be BibMes 24 27, BibMes 24 29, duplicates that are dated to 5.ii.163 BCE (= 19.xi.148 SE); although they have been traditionally ascribed to Antiochos IV Epiphanes, they should, however, be attributed to Antiochos V, since they are clearly dated two months after the reported demise of Antiochos IV. Another early economic record is SBH 1, which is dated 8/9.iii.163 BCE (= 22.xii.148 SE). For BibMes 24 27, 29, see Weisberg, *Late Babylonian Texts*, 13–14, nos. 28, 29, pls. 66–69, 74–76, rev. 30–31; see similarly Del Monte, *Testi*, 239–241. For SBH 1, see Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*, 111, no. 1. The latest business records pertaining to Antiochos V's rule are BRM 2 40, dated 16.x.162 BCE (= 18.vii.150 SE), and an unpublished tablet at Yale reportedly dated to 11.i.161 BCE (= 15.x.150 SE); for BRM 2 40, see Clay, ed., *Documents from Erech*, 86, no. 40, pl. 36, n. 40, rev. 36–37; for the Yale tablet, see Bellinger, "Bronze Coins of Timarchus," 43; also Boiy, *Babylon*, 162–163, nn. 137, 139. Another set of duplicate records BRM 2 54 and BibMes 24 28 supplies the date 7.vii.162 BCE (= 5.iv.150 SE) for Antiochos V; see Clay, ed., *Documents from Erech*, 87, no. 54, pl. 49, n. 54, rev. 31–32; and Weisberg, *Late Babylonian Texts*, 13, no. 28, pls. 70–73, rev. 31–32.

[516] Prior to his campaign, Antiochos IV Epiphanes reportedly placed his juvenile son and successor, Antiochos V, under the tutelage of his chancellor Lysias, who was challenged by one of Epiphanes' companions (*ἕνα τῶν ἑταίρων*; J. *AJ* 13.360) Philippos. The question still remains, whether Epiphanes on his deathbed, changed, this arrangement in favor of Philippos, or whether the substitution story was a device invented by Philippos, in order to challenge Lysias upon the king's death and his return from the eastern campaign. On this episode, see 1 *Macc.* 6.14–17; and J. *AJ* 13.360–361, 379–386. See also Habicht, "Seleucids and Rivals," 353–354, nn. 107–108, with a survey of older literature.

[517] The *Diaries* adequately report on the state of turbulence prompted by the power play between Lysias and Philippos subsequent upon the death of Antiochos IV Epiphanes and the accession of Antiochos V Eupator. For the month 11/12.viii.–9/10.ix.163 (= v.149 SE), the *Diaries* recount that the *pulitē* (*οἱ πολῖται*) had left the city together with their families, due to factional infighting inside Babylon, intriguingly between, on the one side, the *šaknu ša šarri* "prefect of the king," possibly together with "the people of the land[2]," the *nišē* (*māti*[2]), and on the other side, the *pāḫāt Bābili* "governor of Babylon" and the *rab sikkati* "garrison commander" (both of whom had found refuge in the royal palace), the general of Babylonia (who had fled the city), as well as the *pulitē* (who had moved to the countryside). While the *pulitē* and the general of Babylonia had fled, and the *pāḫāt Bābili* and the *rab sikkati* were fenced in in the palace, the city seems to have been abandoned to the ravaging

note, according to which Hyspaosines was the satrap of Antiochos (*quem Iuba satrapen Antiochi fuisse falso tradit*), by which Juba probably meant Epiphanes, for Hyspaosines was in all likelihood the satrap of *the infant king Antiochos V*. Thus, when Pliny mentions *Antiochos quintus regum* as the restorer of Charax, he most certainly refers to Antiochos IV Epiphanes, and when he rejects Juba's claim that Hyspaosines was the satrap of Epiphanes, he still is right, since he knows the Characenean prince to have been governor under king Antiochos V Eupator, under the characteristic tribulations of whose rule Hyspaosines could have risen to preeminence.[518]

There is yet another piece of evidence favoring Antiochos IV, namely, the issue of a small series of bronze coins, most likely minted during the tail end of Antiochos IV Epiphanes' reign, and depicting on the reverse a galley's prow, whose *acrostolion* (stern-post) was adorned with a bandelette, presumably in order to celebrate a naval victory, which may have pertained to Noumenios' naval expedition.[519]

In recapitulation, we may say that, sometime after the emancipation of Persis from Seleucid authority before 190/189 BCE, Sagdodonacus, or Saxt as Ḥamza calls him, was appointed by the rulers of Persis as governor of Characene, to which they appear to have expanded their dominion. Upon the eastern campaign of Antiochos IV Epiphanes, probably prior to x.165 BCE (= vii.147 SE), but at the latest before the

whim of the *šaknu ša šarri*: "[t]hat month, the citizens who are in Babylon brought their women, their people, / the[ir². . .] out of Babylon, That month, the *šaknu* of the king /. . .they plundered the citizens who were in the countryside. / That month, the governor of Babylon. . .the *rab sikkati* / did not go out from the king's palace which is in Babylon into the city streets for fear of the *šaknu* of the king and the people. / That month, the general of Babylonia who. . .on the 29th day, who from Seleucia / which is on the Tigris and the king's canal had fled². . .was not seen." It is very probable that the *šaknu* of the king represents in this context Philippos' faction, in contrast to the supporters of Lysias, who are the *pulīṭē*, the governor of Babylon, the "garrison commander," and the general of Babylonia. Similarly, see Del Monte, *Testi*, 83–84; and van der Spek, "Ethnic Segregation," 399–400: "[o]ne can hardly suppress the feeling that everything is somehow related to the anarchy after Antiochus' IV death, when the appointed regents of the minor king Antiochos V, Lysias and Philip, struggled for the regency, and Timarchus tried to become king." It is unlikely, however, as Boiy, *Babylon*, 162–165, seems to suggest, that this episode refers to the reign of Demetrios I and his fight with Timarchos: "'[t]he *šaknu* of the king,'. . .who brought terror to Babylon and its surroundings, might be Timarchos." On the recently published chronicle reporting on the battle between the supporters of Lysias and Philippos in Babylon, see van der Spek, "Ethnic Segregation," 403–404.

518 Compare Schuol, *Charakene*, 267, who believes Hyspaosines was appointed governor of Characene subsequent upon Noumenios by Antiochos IV: "[d]ie (Neu-)Gründung von Antiocheia/Tigris, die Einsetzung des Numenios und—zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt—des Hyspaosines . . . unterstreichen die Absicht Antiochos' IV, die seleukidische Kontrolle über Südbabylonien und den persischen Golf zu intensiviern."

519 See Le Rider, *Suse*, 310: "Nous pouvons signaler, en relation avec cette activité, une émission susienne d'Antiochos IV . . . qui représente au revers une proue de galère dont l'*acrostolion* est ornée d'une bandelette: il peut s'agir d'une allusion à une heureuse expédition navale dans le Golfe Persique." Also, Potts, *Arabian Gulf*, 13.

king's death a year later in 19/20.xi.–17/18.xii.164 BCE, a Seleucid satrap of Characene, Noumenios, was appointed with the mandate to bring back Characene, and subsequently Persis, under Seleucid rule; Noumenios eventually replaced Sagdodonacus. As to the ascent of Hyspaosines, it may have occurred under the tumultuous rule of Antiochos V, between 19/20.xi.–17/18.xii.164 and 17/18.x.–16/17.xi.161 BCE (= viii. 148–vii.151 SE), when Seleucid authority in the eastern provinces was shaken by the rivalries between Seleucid magnates, and later by Demetrios I's seizure of power.[520] It was not until Demetrios II's defeat by Mihrdād I in 7/8. vii–4/6.viii.138 BCE that Hyspaosines shook off the nominal Seleucid suzerainty over Characene. Upon Hyspaosines' demise in 10/11.vi.124 BCE, Indupanē, or Sindates following Ḥamza, was instated as the first *Arsacid* governor of Characene, during the minority of Hyspaosines' son Apdakos.

Going back to our original inquiry, we may substantiate Ḥamza Eṣfehānī's report on the Iranian *marzbān* of Characene (or the satrapy of the Erythraean Sea) in ancient times: one of them was Saxt, or Sagdodonacus, Hyspaosines' father, governor of Characene during the interlude of Persian hegemony in the Gulf; and the other one was Sindād, or Indupāne, the Parthian appointee over Characene following Hyspaosines' death.

A note on the fratarakā Wahbarz, Wādfradād I, and Wādfradād II

The early rulers of Persis, known to us mainly through their coinage, may be divided into two groups.[521] The first group, whose rulers bear the title

[520] The earliest report on Demetrios I's accession is in a Goal Year text, dated to the year 151 SE (= 24/25. iii.161–11/12.iv.160 BCE), possibly, 22.vi.151 SE (= 8/9.x.161 BCE); see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. VI, no. 71 'obv. 29' (= 280–281). The earliest date in the *Diaries* is 17/18.x.–16/17.xi.161 BCE (vii.151 SE); see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –160 A 'obv.' 2' (= 40–41): "[. . . performed an offering] to the great gods and for the life of king Demetrius [*Demetri šarru*]"; for economic documents, notably, CT 49, 138, dated 16/17.i.160 BCE (= 4.x.151 SE), see van der Spek, "New Evidence," 167–168, n. 5; Del Monte, *Testi*, 241–242; and Boiy, *Babylon*, 165.

[521] On the *fratrakā* and early rulers of Persis, see authoritatively Wiesehöfer, *Dunkele Jahrhunderte*; also "Discordia et Defectio," 36–37; "Fars," 37–49; and most recently, "New Appraisal," which proposes to change the traditional sequence of the Persid rulers, from Baydād, Ardaxšahr, Wahbarz, Wādfradād I, and Wādfradād II, to Ardaxšahr, Wahbarz, Baydād, Wādfradād I, and Wādfradād II, and follows in this the new findings of Hoover, "Overstruck Coins," 213–215, who, based on Persid overstriking of Seleucid coinage, concludes that "[Baydād] was in fact not the first Persid ruler to strike coins," and suggests as more likely the sequence: Ardaxšahr, Wahbarz, Wādfradād I, Baydād, and Wādfradād II: "a revised Persid chronology that takes into consideration the overstriking and other evidence would begin with Artaxerxes I and Oborzus, sometime before c. 295, followed by Autophradates I, whose reign continued after c. 281. Bagadates I may have ruled between c. 295 and the reign of Autophradates, or, perhaps more likely, afterwards"; see Hoover, "Overstruck Coins," 215. I am grateful to Josef Wiesehöfer for kindly placing at my disposal his study prior to its publication. In the present study, we subscribe to Wiesehöfer's late dating and sequencing of the *fratarakā* rulers. For an early dating, compare the recent and excellent study of Sarkhosh Curtis, "Frataraka Coins," 379–394, who synthesizes the recent findings of Oliver D. Hoover, and of Klose and Müseler, *Statthalter, Rebellen, Könige*. Also favoring an

frataraka and use a particular iconography and ductus on their coins, encompasses five rulers: Ardaxšāhr, Wahbarz, Baydād, Wādfradād I, and possibly Wādfradād II.[522]

It is commonly believed that the reign of Wādfradād II, under whom the (Attic) drachm was first introduced as the main denomination of coins in Persis—whereas tetradrachms ceased being issued—coincided with the Arsacid ascendancy over Persis, and therefore Wādfradād II's rule ought to be placed, at least in part, in the immediate aftermath of the Arsacid conquest of Mesopotamia in April 141 BCE.[523] Wiesehöhfer has argued that among the *frataraka*, only Wahbarz and Wādfradād I may have been intermittently independent.[524] He has linked, following other scholars,[525] a certain Oborzos (Ὀβόρζος) whom we know from a passage in Polyainos, to the *frataraka* Wahbarz.[526] There, Oborzos is said to have been in charge of 3,000 Greek military settlers, the κατοίκοι, whom he ordered to be executed in a region of Persis called Κωμαστὸς, since he suspected them of fomenting a rebellion against him.[527] Wiesehöhfer is therefore correct in suggesting that Oborzos ought to have been a Seleucid appointee, in order to have had the right to command (πεμπέμναι "dismiss; send home") the κατοίκοι; what is more, the dismissal and subsequent killing of the κατοίκοι by Oborzos/Wahbarz ought to be regarded as the first attempt by the *frataraka* at gaining independence from the Seleucids.[528] Although some

early dating of the *frataraka* are Hoover, "Overstruck Coins," 213–215; Klose, "Statthalter, Könige, Rebellen," 93–103; Müseler, "Dunkele Jahrhunderte," 75–103; and Klose and Müseler, *Statthalter, Rebellen, Könige*, 11, 15; the works by Klose and Müseler, preceding that of Hoover, still subscribe to the traditional regnal sequence. For an important recent study (which was also published prior to Hoover's novel sequencing) with a late dating, see Callieri, *L'archéologie du Fārs*, with a thorough discussion of the archaeological, epigraphic, and literary material, especially, 115–146, for the analysis of the history of the local dynasts of Persis; also, Callieri "iconografia monetale," 25–38; and "Notes," 153–165. For more recent studies, see also Panaino, "Bayān," 265–268; de Jong, "Vexillologica sacra," 191–202. On the titulary of the *frataraka*, see Skjærvø, "Joy of the Cup," 93–104. Compare also Koch, "Herrscher in der Persis," 84–95. See also table 3.

522 See Skjærvø, "Joy of the Cup," 93–104; 102–103.

523 See Alram, *Nomina, Propria* 162–163; "Vorbildwirkung," 128; Wiesehöfer, *Dunkele Jahrhunderte*, 113, 118, 129; "Fars," 44–45.

524 See Wiesehöfer, "Fars," 41, 43, 45; and "New Appraisal," 107–121.

525 Already Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 341; Hill, *Greek Coins*, clxvii; and Stiehl, "Chronologie," 376; "Nochmals," 354.

526 See Wiesehöfer, *Dunkele Jahrhunderte*, 110; "Fars," 39; see also Callieri, *L'archéologie du Fārs*, 117.

527 Polyaen. 7.40: *Ὀβόρζος τρισχιλίους ἄνδρας τῶν ἐν τῇ Περσίδι κατοίκων ἐπιβουλευόντας αἰσθόμενος ἀπέπεμψατο δοὺς ἡγεμονάς τῶν ὁδῶν οἳ προήγαγον αὐτοὺς εἴς τινα τόπον τῆς Περσίδος [ὃς] καλεῖτα Κωμαστὸς ἔνθα κῶμαι πυκναὶ καὶ λεὼς πολὺς καὶ σταθμοὶ πολλοί. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλλος ἐν ἄλλῳ σταθμῷ κατήγετο φυλακῆς ἰσχυρᾶς κυκωσαμένης τὰς κῶμας ἕκαστος τῶν σταθμούχων τὸν ἴδιον ἐπισταθμον εὖ μάλα καταμεθύσας ἀπέκτεινε τὰ δὲ σώματα τῶν τρισχιλίων ταφέντα διὰ νυκτὸς ἀφανῆ ἐγένοντο.*

528 See Wiesehöfer, *Dunkele Jahrhunderte*, 127: "In diesem text [Polyainos 7.40] wird vorausgesetzt, daß Oborzos 3000 Katoiken befehligt, ein Umstand, der nur dadurch zu erklären ist, daß dieser Mann mit Billigung der Seleukiden in seinem Amt war," and further: "Oborzos' Tat dürfte der

reservations have been expressed in recent times as to whether Wahbarz may be equated with Polyainos' Oborzos without additional evidence,[529] a drachm attributed to Wahbarz and presented by Michael Alram some three decades ago may corroborate this equation.[530] On this drachm, which bears the name of Wahbarz, the latter is depicted in Achaemenid accoutrement finishing off a kneeling Greek foe (see figures 4 and 5).[531] The legend, which like those of other *frataraka* coins is reparted on three sides, distinguishes itself from them in that it introduces a new title, not otherwise attested on Persid coinage. The name of the king <whbrz> appears on the left side, the sequence <wnt ZY> on the bottom, and the title <krny> on the right side.[532] The legend may be read as follows:

whbrz wnt ZY krny	"Wahbarz was/may be victorious, (he)
Wahbarz wānād/wānēd ī kāren	who (is) the commander [the κάρανος]"

If our reading of the legend proves tenable,[533] then this prestige issue of Wahbarz could well have commemorated his killing of the Greek

Versuch gewesen sein, völlige Autonomie für die Persis durch Ausschaltung der seleukidischen 'Besatzungstruppe' zu erlangen"; "Fars," 42; and "New Appraisal," 107–121.

529 Compare Mittag, *Antiochos IV. Epiphanes*, 315, n. 84, who states: "[l]eider lässt sich nicht belegen, dass dieser Oborzos und der von den Münzen bekannte *frataraka whwbrz* . . . identisch sind."

530 See Alram, "Neue Drachme," 147–155.

531 *Ibid.*, 147, 150; see more recently Bivar, *Mithra*, 39–40, figs. 25a/b and 26a/b, who introduces a second specimen (from an unspecified private collection) of the same drachm that shows a slightly different type in the obverse, but which is identical as to the reverse type and legend with the one first introduced by Alram, which would strongly speak *against* the copies being forgeries. The two known copies of the drachm have been most recently published by Klose and Müseler, *Statthalter, Rebellen, Könige*, 27, figs. 17 and 18. I am grateful to Michael Alram for this bibliographical reference.

532 See Alram, "Neue Drachme," 147–148.

533 Alram, "Neue Drachme," 148, n. 2, and 152, n. 21, referring to Schmitt, interpreted <krny> as *kāren* or **kārān*, but, still following Schmitt, who hypothetically suggested reading in <wnt> an admittedly unlikely Middle Persian derivation from Old Persian **vantā* "victor," has ruled out an acceptable interpretation of the entire legend: "[e]ine vernünftige Interpretation der legende als ganzer ist derzeit nicht gegeben." The word <wnt> can easily represent the third singular present indicative or subjunctive of the verb *wān-* "be victorious; win," thus, *wānēd* or *wānād*, rather than a derivative of **vantā*. As to *Kāren* <krny>, which is attested in Sasanian inscriptions with the same spelling (and <k'lny>), as well as in Parthian Nisa documents as <kryn>, this may derive from the hypocoristicon **kārina-*, see Schmitt, "Sūren, aber Kārin," 197–205; or from **kāra-na-* (with the "Führer-Suffix" **-no-*); see Haebler, "κάρανος," 81–90. More recently, Rix, based on comparative evidence (e.g., *tribus* ~ *tribūnus*), has suggested emending the aforesaid suffixal form to **-hno-*. In our discussion, this presupposes a reconstructed form **kāra-Hna-*, which ought to have become **kārān* in western Middle Iranian; see Rix, review of *Serta Indogermanica*, 76, who is followed by Schmitt, *Iranier-Namen*, 58, n. 48. Although the ambiguity of the Aramaic script may permit the reading **kārān* for <krny>, the absence of a form with an elongated pre-suffixal vowel in extant Manichaean documents, or New Persian, makes it difficult to verify. Thus, we have adopted in light of the later evidence the form *kāren* from a possible **kāra-na-*. On *kāren*/**kārān*, see further Schmitt, "Persepolitanishes II," 189–190; Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, 177, nos. 8.763 and 8.769; Schmitt, "Namenüberlieferung," 187, no. F30; Petit, "Κάρανος," 34–45; Testen, "Καράνος = Κύριος," 173–174; and Tavernier, *Iranica*, 228, n. 4.2.949.



Figure 4a and b Special drachm (obverse/reverse) of Wahbarz, the *karanos* of Persis.



Figure 5a and b Special drachm (obverse/reverse) of Wahbarz, the *karanos* of Persis.

κατοίκοι,[534] and may unequivocally establish the identity of Wahbarz with Oborzos.

What is more, the exceptional use by Wahbarz of the title *kāren*, which undoubtedly continues the Old Persian title known in the *Nebenüberlieferung* as κάρανος, instead of the usual *frataraka*, might have reflected the political expansion of Persis, which during Wahbarz' rule encompassed for a short duration Characene. Before further exploring this argument, however, we shall deal with a few chronological issues.

Since Persis became autonomous for the first time between 205 and the winter of 190/189 BCE, Wahbarz' killing of the κατοίκοι must have fallen within this time span. The date of Wahbarz' effort for independence before

[534] See also Alram, "Neue Drachme," 149 and 153.

the battle of Magnesia may possibly be placed in the wake of the ill-fated expedition of Antiochos III in Greece that eventually led to his reverse at Thermopylae in 191 BCE.[535] Prior to this momentous defeat, there were few opportunities for Wahbarz to exploit momentary Seleucid weakness and risk secession, as the Seleucid king was leading a train of successful campaigns in Asia Minor which not only seem to have exalted his prestige among the Greek citizens—already heightened after the *anabasis*[536]—but ought to have reverberated as a unifying thrust within the empire.

Upon Antiochos III's return from his *anabasis*, the *Diaries* attest to the king's presence during the New Year celebration on 6/7.iv.205 BCE (= 8.i.107 SE) in Babylon[537]—where he had arrived coming from Antioch in Persis.[538] His stay in Babylonia was followed by a brief expedition to the Persian Gulf,[539] leading to the submission of the Arabian city of Gerrha.[540]

Already, in 204/203 BCE, the king, probably accompanied by queen Laodike, and the court passed through Teos in Ionia, which Antiochos III wrested from the kingdom of Pergamon,[541] and in 203,

[535] See Holleaux, "Rome," 402–405; Will, *Histoire*, vol. I, 206–207; Grainger, *Roman War*, 242–252.

[536] See Plb. 11.34.14–15, who echoes this sentiment. See also Holleaux, "Rome," 324; Herrmann, "Antiochos und Teos," 109; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkand to Sardis*, 200–201; also Dreyer, *Römische Nobilitätsherrschaft*, 274.

[537] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. I, no. –204 C rev. 14–18 (202–203): "That [month,] on the 8th, king Antiochus and the . . . / went out [from] the palace to the gate . . . of? Esagil . . . / of Esagil he made before them. Offerings? . . . Marduk-ēṭhir . . . / [. . .] of their descendants? were set, entered the *akītu* temple [. . .] / [. . .] made [sacrifices for] Ištar of Babylon and the life of king Antiochus [. . .]."

[538] *OGIS*, no. 231, ll. 1–10, vol. I, 377–378; on the location of Antioch in Persis, see Callieri, *L'archéologie du Fārs*, 26–27.

[539] Plb. 13.9.4–5?.

[540] See Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkand to Sardis*, 199–200; see also Salles, "Le Golfe," 607–608, n. 31. For an overview of scholarship, which prior to the aforesaid publication of Sherwin-White and Kuhrt deemed Antiochos III's expedition to Gerrha to have followed directly upon his sojourn in Persis, that is, at the tail-end of his *anabasis*, prior to the king's return to Seleucia, compare Potts, *Arabian Gulf*, 92–93, nn. 291–292. Compare Ma, *Antiochus III*, 64, who deems the Gerrhaean expedition to have followed upon the king's stay in Persis.

[541] Based on the interpretation of the Teos inscription, Herrmann has determined the years 204/203 BCE as the date of Antiochos III's (initial) presence in Teos, although the author concedes that the duration of the king's stay in Teos could well have extended beyond 204/203, since the minute investigation of differences between the extant honorary decrees for Antiochos III (blocks I–II), and the latter's letter to the city (block IV), which constitute the Teian dossier, suggests a lengthier, or probably recurrent, presence(s) of the king at Teos; the subtle changes consist of differences in the king's titulary, the changing nature of the royal recipients subject to honors by the city (Antiochos III and queen Laodike together, or Antiochos III alone), Antiochos III's itinerary changes within, or outside of, the city walls, as well as the temporality of the benefactions of Antiochos III and queen Laodike; see Herrmann, "Antiochos und Teos," 93–100; 106–111, particularly 100, where the author states: "[e]s kann somit nach Erörterung aller Gesichtspunkte als Ergebnis festgehalten werden: die Inschrift der Blöcke I und II ist in die Zeit bald nach dem Aufenthalt des Antiochos in Teos im Jahre 204 oder 203 zu datieren, wobei der text von Block II noch um einiges später liegen dürfte als der von Block I.

the king—or possibly his viceroy of cis-Tauric Asia Minor, Zeuxis, the ἀπολελειμμένος[542]—was campaigning in Caria.[543] Between 202 and 198 BCE, Antiochos III led successful campaigns in Coele-Syria and Phoenicia against Ptolemaic interests,[544] and from 197 to 193 BCE, we witness the king's successes in Cilicia and Thrace.[545] In 193, Antiochos III issued the edict regulating a centralized state cult for his queen Laodike,[546] wherein it

Der Antiochos-Brief in Block IV kann . . . nicht sicher eingeordnet werden; es ist zu vermuten, daß er aus einer späteren Zeit stammt, wobei wir die Möglichkeit haben, bis gegen das Ende der Herrschaft des Antiochos über Teos im Jahre 190 herabzugehen"; also *SEG* 41, no. 1003, for the entire text of the dossier, and 341 for a discussion of the datation. For a thorough re-edition and translation of the Teian dossier, see Ma, *Antiochus III*, 308–320, and for the discussion of the documents, 260–265; also Dreyer, *Römische Nobilitätsherrschaft*, 276–278, n. 190, who introduces new insights for an early date of 204/203. For a later date (197/196 BCE) for the acquisition of Teos by Antiochos III, compare Piejko, "Antiochus III and Teos," 13–69.

542 The full title of Zeuxis was ὁ ἀπολελειμμένος ὑπὸ το βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιτάδε το Ταύρου πραγμάτων "the one left by king Antiochos in charge of affairs on this side of the Taurus"; on the personage and his title, see Ma, *Antiochus III*, 53–54; 123–130; and "Dans les pas d'Antiochos III," 247.

543 A letter sent either by Antiochos III or his commander in cis-Tauric Asia Minor, Zeuxis, to the city of Amyzon in Caria, and dated to 24.v.203 BCE, attests to the presence of Seleucid authority in Amyzon, and, hence, in parts of Caria, in year 203 BCE Whether the Amyzonians, prior to their acquisition by Antiochos III, were under Ptolemaic rule, with the result that the Seleucid Carian campaign of 203 was targeting Ptolemaic possessions, is a matter of some controversy in recent scholarship; see Ma, Derow, and Meadows, "*RC* 38 (Amyzon) Reconsidered," 71–80, particularly 76–80, where Meadows suggests the city of Amyzon might have been, prior to the arrival of the Seleucids in Caria, already indirectly under Macedonian control—through the dynast of the neighboring pro-Macedonian city of Alinda, Olympichos (and his successor?); 78, n. 16—which would be of consequence for our understanding of the Syrian–Macedonian pact between Antiochos III and Philippos V of Macedonia; similarly, Ma, *Antiochus III*, 69–72. See alternatively Robert and Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon*, vol. I, 133: "[l]'expédition de mai [203] . . . est [déjà] un acte de violence contre le Lagide dans ses possessions de Carie"; and Dreyer, "Raubvertrag," 131–134, and *Römische Nobilitätsherrschaft*, 278–282, who also supports the idea of the Ptolemaic empire being in possession of Amyzon prior to the Seleucid campaign. On the contested authorship of the Amyzon letter of 203 BCE, and its assignment to Zeuxis, see Ma, Derow, and Meadows, "*RC* 38 (Amyzon) Reconsidered," 71–80, especially 71–74; Ma, *Antiochus III*, 66–67, n. 54; "*RC* 38 Again," 43–45; on its assignment to Antiochos III, see Dreyer, "Raubvertrag," 134–136; *Römische Nobilitätsherrschaft*, 279–281. On the text of the Amyzon letter, see further Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 165–169; Robert and Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon*, vol. I, no. 9, 132–138; Ma, *Antiochus III*, 292–294. On the Syrian–Macedonian pact (and the inscription of Bargylia), see Schmitt, *Untersuchungen*, 189–261; Blümel, "Rhodisches Dekret," 94–96; Dreyer, "Raubvertrag," 119–129, 136–138; *Römische Nobilitätsherrschaft*, 262–272. On the Rhodian sources of Polybios, see Wiemer, *Rhodische Tradition*, 11–18.

544 Still most valuable, Holleaux, "Chronologie," 317–335; Will, *Histoire*, vol. I, 118–119; also Gera, "Fifth Syrian War," 63–73. On the contested Seleucid invasion of the Attalid kingdom in 198, while Antiochos III was on campaign in Coele-Syria, see Ma, *Antiochus III*, 73, 279–281.

545 See Schmitt, *Untersuchungen*, 285–295; Ma, *Antiochus III*, 82–94; Sayar, "Von Kilikien," 227–234; and Dreyer, *Römische Nobilitätsherrschaft*, 285–291.

546 On the centralized state cults for Antiochos III and his προγόνοι, as well as queen Laodike, see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkand to Sardis*, 202–210. The civic royal cults were in principle initiated by the city as a token of appreciation of royal benefaction, but became in time increasingly subject to royal initiative or command; whereas, the centralized state cult was "one organised from the centre, by the king"; *ibid.*m 202. On the dialectic between the city and the

is revealed that a similar state cult had also been instated for Antiochos III and his *προγόνοι*;[547] copies of the edict were apparently sent to the four corners of the empire, judging from the copies that were found as far apart as Media, *Kermānšāh*, and Phrygia.[548]

It is thus unlikely that the elimination of the *κατοίκοι* could have occurred before 193, during a time when Antiochos III's policy of restoring the Seleucid empire was making progress, and was eventually crowned by the instatement of the state cult of 193.[549] There are chances that the secession of Persis may have followed Antiochos III's ill success during the Greek campaign—where the Seleucid king suffered a small reverse, albeit pregnant with consequences—and prior to the battle of Magnesia.

The end of Wahbarz' rule is equally difficult to establish. A possible date that may be advanced would be in conjunction with Antiochos III's reported campaign in Elymais, where the king fell in 3/4.vii.187 BCE (25. iii.125 SE). It is envisageable that Antiochos III reorganized the affairs of Persis during his final oriental campaign. That Elymais remained Seleucid after Antiochos III's death and until 7/8.v.–5/6.vi.184 BCE (= ii.128 SE) is now suggested by a fragmentary diary, wherein the Seleucid governor of Elymais seems to have fallen into the custody of an Elamite enemy (*E[la-] mû nakru)*.[550] The ongoing Seleucid hold on Elymais until summer 184 BCE, in spite of Antiochos III's demise a few years earlier in 187 BCE, may indicate that the Seleucid rule following Magnesia and the king's death was still strong enough to hold sway over eastern provinces, or to recover

ruler, and the "language of euergetism," see now the illuminating remarks of Ma, *Antiochus III*, 179–242; "Dans les pas d'Antiochos III," 243–259. On the formation and character of local state cults in Greek *poleis*, see Habicht, *Gottmenschentum*, 160–179; 185–213; and 230–242. On the differentiation between royal civic cults and the royal state cult initiated by Antiochos III, see Dreyer, *Römische Nobilitätsherrschaft*, 314–320, especially 318; see also van Nuffelen, "Culte royal," 298–300. On civic royal cults, in spite of all differences, as precursors of the Seleucid dynastic state cult, see Gauthier, *Inscriptions de Sardes*, 73–78; and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkand to Sardis*, 206, 209: "the pre-existence of available localised cults and ceremonies was what facilitated the construction of royal cult from the centre, and, for all we know, gave these cults an impact for those participating." More recently, see Sève-Martinez, "Quoi de neuf," 239; Debord, "Culte royal," 291–294; and Dunand, "Transferts culturels," 134–137.

547 Compare Ma, *Antiochos III*, 64, n. 47, and 356, who suggest that Antiochos III's state cult could have been established already in 205 BCE in the wake of the king's return "to celebrate his exploits and the reimposition of Seleukid authority over the possessions in the East." On the meaning and importance of the *προγόνοι*, see Rostovtzeff, "*ΠΡΟΓΟΝΟΙ*," 56–66; and Herrmann "Antiochos und Teos," 81–82; 151–154. Also van Nuffelen, "Culte royal," 290–293; and Debord, "Culte royal," 300–301.

548 On the text of the edict, see now conveniently Ma, *Antiochos III*, 354–356, no. 37. For a picture of the Nahavand inscription, see figure 6.

549 Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkand to Sardis*, 209.

550 See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. II, no. –183 A 'rev. 12'–13' (= 358–359).



Figure 6 Antiochos III's inscription from *Nahavand*.

them, had they seceded from the empire.[551] Thus, hypothetically one may consider that Wahbarz' autonomous rule was brought to an end simultaneously with the Elamite campaign of Antiochos III in summer 187 BCE.

However, this possibility may be deemed less attractive, were we to take into account Sagdodonacus' appointment as the *marzbān* of Characene by the rulers of Persis sometime between the date of her independence in 191/190 BCE and the battle of Noumenios at the tail end of Antiochos IV's *anabasis*, before winter 164 BCE. A likely time for Sagdodonacus to have assumed control over Characene as a Persian appointee could have been after the defection of Elymais in summer 184 BCE, when the Seleucid hold over other eastern territories could have been (further) compromised.

At this juncture, the unusual title of Wahbarz, *kāren*, becomes worthy of attention. One may recall that in the few instances wherein the Old Persian title **kārāna-* is reported—under the guise of the Greek word κάρανος[552]—it referred to the extraordinary powers bestowed by Dareios II upon his son Cyrus the Younger, which enabled the latter to assume command over the military forces of several satrapies in Asia Minor.[553] One may therefore posit that Wahbarz, the *frataraka* of Persis, may have adopted the title *kāren*, a reminder of the Achaemenid κάρανος, upon expanding his rule over the territories of Characene. Thus, by abiding by the subtle nuances of Achaemenid administrative titulatures, wherein the *frataraka* represented a subordinate governor (to the satrap),[554] and the κάρανος, in contrast, reflected the exalted position of one commanding

[551] Compare Wiesehöfer, *Dunkele Jahrhunderte*, 123.

[552] In two passages of his *Anabasis*, Xenophon mentions that aside from being appointed satrap over three satrapies of Asia Minor, that is, Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, Cyrus the Younger was also made commander (*στρατηγός*) of all the troops that gathered in the plain of Kastolos: *ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκιάς στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζεσθαι* . . . "again, when he was sent down by his father to be satrap of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia and was also appointed commander of all the troops that ought to assemble in the plain of Kastolos . . ." (X. *An.* 1.9.7), and: *Κῦρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζονται* "Cyrus he [Dareios] summoned from the dominion over which he had made him satrap, and he had also made him commander of all the forces that assembled in the plain of Kastolos" (X. *An.* 1.1.2). In the *Hellenica*, it is reported that Dareios supplied Cyrus the Younger with a letter, wherein he was introduced as the κάρανος—instead of the *στρατηγός* used in the *Anabasis*—of the troops to be mustered at Kastolos; the κάρανος is then glossed as *κύριος: καταπέμπω Κῦρον κάρανον τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων. τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον.* "I send down Cyrus as *karanos* of those assembling in Kastolos; *karanos* means 'lord'" (X. *HG* 1.4.3–4).

[553] See Keen, "Persian *karanoi*," 88–95; and Klinkott, *Der Satrap*, 320–330.

[554] On the function of the *frataraka* in the Achaemenid period, where the title is reported from the garrison of Elephantine, see Briant, *Cyrus to Alexander*, 342, 472. See also Wiesehöfer, "PRTRK," 305–309; also Tuplin, "Administration," 125–127.

over supra-satrapal/-provincial forces, Wahbarz may have been intent on indicating his control over more than one region or province, while refraining from adopting the royal title.[555]

Thus, the adoption by Wahbarz of the title of *kāren* on his prestige mint may have indicated not only his triumph, as illustrated through the iconography, over the ΚΑΤΟΊΚΟΙ, whose defeat represented the beginning of Persid independence, but also the new dignity of the ruler of Persis, whose (military and political) power went beyond Persis to encompass Characene.

Coming back to the date of Wahbarz' *fin de règne*, we may posit that it was induced by the campaign of Noumenios who, having first secured Characene, also submitted Persis to Seleucid control by December 164 BCE. This would mean that Wahbarz had ruled independently over three decades, a period deemed too long for the more discrete reigns postulated by Wiesehöfer for the *frataraka*.[556] Another, albeit unlikely, possibility is to assume that Antiochos III subdued Persis in the wake of his Elymaean campaign between spring and summer 187 BCE. In such case, it is unlikely Wahbarz could have continued his rule as a Seleucid appointee, having been responsible for the elimination of the ΚΑΤΟΊΚΟΙ and the secession of Persis. Yet another scenario is to presume that Wahbarz merely *nominally* (and ephemerally) submitted to Seleucid authority, in an attempt to preempt the prospect of a looming Seleucid campaign into Persis, and was thereby able to preserve his rule;[557] upon the death of Antiochos III, and, later, upon Elymais' defection, he could have regained his independence.

[555] On the meaning of the title *frataraka ī bayan*, see Shayegan, "Nugae epigraphicae," 173–175. For an excellent review of prevalent interpretations of the title in scholarship, see Callieri, *L'archéologie du Fārs*, 128–132, and 145–146. Compare also the important conclusions—with which we disagree—of Panaino, "Baγān," 283: "[a]fter all these general considerations I propose that it would be more prudent to assume that in the expressions *Frataraka ī baγān* 'the governor (for the sake/for the account = in the name) of the Gods' (if this is the 'echtpersisch' underlying 'legend') only the ancient gods of Pārs were meant and referred to." Similarly, compare Skjærvø, "Joy of the Cup," 102–103: "[t]he meaning of *prtrk'y 'lhy*' may therefore be: 'ahead of/outstanding among gods > those of divine descent > kings' or, conceivably, 'the one (set) ahead (of others) of = by the gods,' which would be reminiscent of Darius' claim that 'Ahuramazdā made me king, one king of (= among, over?) many." See also the judicious remarks of Grenet, review of "Baγān."

[556] See Wiesehöfer, *Dunkele Jahrhunderte*, 127: "daß Strabon von unabhängiger Herrschaft in der Persis nichts weiß, [ist] am ehesten damit zu erklären, daß diese Zeit völliger Autonomie eben recht kurz war"; and "Fars," 42.

[557] In order to re-impose Seleucid rule, Antiochos III showed, throughout his *anabasis*, the willingness to offer settlements to local dynasts, be it Xerxes in Armenia, Aršak in Parthia and Hyrcania, Euthydemos in Bactria, Sophagasenos in India, or be it the Gerrhaeans on the Persian Gulf. The nature of the settlements consisted in Antiochos III's acknowledgment of the dynasts' right to rule in exchange for their recognition of Seleucid sovereignty and tribute payment. On analogies with Antiochos III's policy towards the cities of Asia Minor, see Ma, *Antiochos III*, 64.

As to Wādfradād I's rule, we may assume that it fell between those of Baydād and Wādfradād II. Baydād's rule seems to have lasted from December 164 (which corresponds to the end of Wahbarz' reign) until possibly as late as 146 BCE, a date that coincides with the accession of Demetrios II. An alternative, less likely date for Baydād's end of rule may have been the Arsacid conquest of Mesopotamia in April 141 BCE, which probably put an end to Seleucid authority in Persis as well. If one were to give credence to Justin's report on Persian assistance to Demetrios II's Parthian campaign, which followed upon the Arsacid occupation of Mesopotamia[558]—in spite of us having shown that neither the Bactrians, nor the Elymaeans, who are also mentioned by Justin, provided such aid to the Seleucids—then the independent Persid ruler who co-operated with the Seleucids ought to have been Baydād's successor, Wādfradād I, since the next ruler, namely, Wādfradād II, was instated by the Arsacids *after* the definitive defeat of Demetrios II in summer 138 BCE.[559] Thus, Baydād's reign could have begun in winter 164 and lasted until 146, with a *terminus ante quem* being spring 141 BCE, when we suspect Wādfradād I to have been already in charge as the second independent ruler of Persis. However, it has been recently proposed that the coinage of Baydād and Wādfradād I may suggest their having ruled as rival kings for some time in Persis.[560] If, indeed, this proposition stands, then the period encompassing Demetrios I's *fin de règne*, Alexander Balas' usurpation, and the counter coup by Demetrios II, that is, approximately from spring 150 to winter 145 BCE, known as a time of dynastic strife, could have led to the formation of rival kings in Persis as well, with Baydād and Wādfradād possibly being supported by different Seleucid factions.

The first king (*šāh*) of Persis in Arsacid vassalage, who probably was instated following the accession of Frahād II, the later *šar mātāti*, after 25/26.–30/31.i.133 BCE, was Dārāyān I, who is associated with the establishment of a new dynasty in Persis, whose rulers, unlike their predecessors, the *frataraka*, called themselves *šāh* "king," and who may be dubbed the *Dārāyānids*, as we have shown elsewhere.[561]

[558] Just. 36.1.3–4.

[559] See Wiesehöfer, *Dunkele Jahrhunderte*, 129; and "Fars," 42. See also table 3.

[560] The possibility of Baydād and Wādfradād I being, at least for a discrete period of time, rival kings is supported by the simultaneous presence of a graffito with the name of Baydād <bgdt> on a coin of Wādfradād I; see Hoover, "Overstruck Coins," 215: "[a]n Aramaic graffito naming *bdt* (Bagadates) scratched into a drachm of Autophradates I may also indicate that Bagadates followed Autophradates"; as well as a tetradrachm of Wādfradād I being overstruck on a tetradrachm of Baydād, see Klose and Müseler, *Statthalter, Rebellen, Könige*, 87, no. 2/18. This constellation has led Hoover *apud* Sarkhosh Curtis, "Frataraka Coins," 388, to raise the possibility of their being rival rulers.

[561] Shayegan, "Nugae epigraphicae," 173–175. See also table 3.

Table 3. *Early rulers of Persis: The frataraka*

Satrap/Rulers of Persis	Persis/Elymais/Characene	Seleucid/Arsacid Empires	Period
Alexandros	• Defection of Alexandros in support of his brother Molon	• Rebellion of Molon against Antiochos III	222
	• Suicide of Alexandros	• Crushing of Molon rebellion	220?
Ardaxšāhr Ardaxšāhr *frataraka* ī Bayān pus Pārs (*after* 220-?)	• Baydād instated as dynast of Persis by Antiochos III?		*after* 220?
	• Persian contingent at Raphia	• Defeat of Antiochos III at the battle of Raphia against Ptolemaios IV	217
		• Antiochos III's *anabasis*	212–205
Ardaxšāhr↑ or Wahbarz↓	• Antiochos III in Persis		205
	• Confirmation of Ardaxšāhr's rule? / or		
	• Instatement of Wahbarz?		
		• Antiochos III's return from his *anabasis*, and celebration of New Year in Babylon	6/7.iv.205 (8.i.107 SE)
		• Antiochos III at Teos, Ionia	204
		• Seleucid campaign against the Ptolemaeic empire in Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine	202–198

Table 3 (*cont.*)

Satrap/Rulers of Persis	Persis/Elymais/Characene	Seleucid/Arsacid Empires	Period
• Wahbarz Wahbarz *frataraka* i Bayān pus Pārs (193'–164 BCE)	• Wahbarz already instated?	• Antiochos III's edict establishing royal state cult for queen Laodike (and disclosing state cult for the king and his *προγόνοι*)	193
	• Massacre of the *κατοίκοι* in *Κωμαστὸς* in Persis, during Antiochos III's campaign in Greece		*after* 193 *before* 190/189: 192–191?
	• Beginning of Persid autonomy from Seleucid rule		
		• Seleucid defeat at Magnesia: No Persian contingent present	Winter 190/189
		• Celebration of Antiochos III and royal family in Babylon	11/12.ii–11/12.iii.187 (xi.124 SE)
	• Campaign and death of Antiochos III in Elymais		3/4.vii.187 (= 25.iii.125 SE)
	• Nominal submission of Wahbarz?		
		• Accession of Seleukos IV[a]	Summer 187
	• Defection of Elymais: Elamite enemy marching victoriously		7/8.v.–5/6.vi.184 (= ii.128 SE)
	• Defection of Wahbarz and second independent rule?		
	• Sagdodonacus appointed *marzbān* of Characene by Wahbarz the *Kāren* [= *κάρανος*]		*after* 184 and *before* 164

		• Accession of Antiochos IV	27/28.v–26/27.vi175 (= iii.137 SE)[b]
	• Noumenios: Seleucid commander of Characene > End of Sagdodonacus' rule • Battle of Noumenios and end of Wahbarz' rule	• Antiochos IV's *anabasis*	x.165–17/18.xii.164 (= vii.147–ix.148 SE)
Baydād Baydād *frataraka* ī Bayān pus Bayward (xii.164–xi.146? BCE)	• Accession of Baydād as Seleucid client		x.165–17/18.xii.164 (= vii.147–ix.148 SE)
		• Death of Antiochos IV	19/20.xi.–17/18.xii.164 (= ix.148 SE)
	• Hyspaosines satrap of Characene	• Rule of Antiochos V Eupator	19/20.xi.164–5.ii.163 *to* 16.x.162–11.i.161 (= ix.148–19.xi.148 *to* 18.vii.150–15.x.150 SE)
		• Rule of Demetrios I	24/25.iii.161 *to* 20/21.vi.–19/20.vii.150 (= 151–iii.162 SE)
Baydād I↑ and?/or? **Wādfradād I↓**	• Beginning of rival? rule of Baydād and Wādfradād during Seleucid dynastic strife: Demetrios I, Balas, and Demetrios II?	• Rule of Alexander Balas	23?.iv.150–19/20.vii.150 *to* 21.xi.146 (= 1?.i.– iii.162 *to* 20.viii.166 SE)

Notes:

[a] See Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 4, rev. 7–8, 134–135: "Year 125, Simanu [= month III]: It was heard in Babylon that: 'on the twenty-fifth day An<tiochus> [III], the king, was killed in Elam.' The same year: Se<leukos> [IV Philopator], his son, ascended the throne. He reigned for twelve years."

[b] See Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 4, rev. 9–10, 134–135. "Year 137, Ulûlu [= month VI], the tenth day: Se<leukos> [IV], the king, died / The same month: An<tiochos> [IV Epiphanes], his son, ascended the throne. He reigned for eleven years."

Table 3 (*cont.*)

Satrap/Rulers of Persis	Persis/Elymais/Characene	Seleucid/Arsacid Empires	Period
Wādfradād I Wādfradād *frataraka* ī Bayān pus [Pārs²] (xi.146²– viii.138 BCE)	• Beginning of Wādfradād I's rule as sole ruler in Persis?	• Accession of Demetrios II	21.xi.146–7/8.ix.145 (= 20.viii.166–17.vi.167 SE)
	• First mention of Kammaškiri the Elder as independent ruler in Elymais		7/8.ix.145 (= 17.vi.167 SE)
	• Persid independence under Wādfradād I?	• Arsacid conquest of Mesopotamia	12/13.iv.141 (= 1.i.171 SE)
Wādfradād II Wādfradād [. . .] (*post* viii.138– ? BCE)	• Beginning of Wādfradād II's rule as Arsacid client	• Mihrdād I defeats Demetrios II in Babylonia and halts his *anabasis*	*after* 7/8.vii.–4/6.viii.138 (= iv.174 SE)
• **Dārāyān** Dārāyān šāh (*post* 133– ? BCE)	• First king of Persis in Arsacid vassalage	• Accession of Frahād II, the later *šar mātāti*	*after* 25/26.–30/31.i.133?

Table 4. *The Arsacid empire, the Seleucids, and the kingdoms of Elymais and Characene from Mihrdād I to the accession of Mihrdād II*

Arsacid/Seleucid Empires	Elymais	Characene	Time
Demetrios II/Mihrdād I	**Kammaškiri the Elder/Okkonapses**	**Hyspaosines**	**Dates**
• First mention of **Demetrios II** in the *Diaries* on the eve of **Kammaškiri the Elder**'s threat to Seleucid Babylonia			7/8.ix.145 (= 17.vi.167 SE)
• First Elamite raid in Mesopotamia			7/8.ix.145–vii/viii.144 (= 17.vi.167–iv.168 SE)
• Continued control of Mesopotamia by Demetrios II			13/14.iii.141–11/12.iv.141 (= xii.170 SE)
• Arsacid conquest of Mesopotamia by Mihrdād I			12/13.iv.141 (= i.i.171 SE)
• Second Elamite raid in Mesopotamia			11/12.xii.141–28/29.i.140 (= ix.–27.x.171 SE)
• Mihrdād I's absence in Hyrcania			11/12.xii.141–28/29.i.140 (= ix.–27.x.171 SE)
	• Accession of **Okkonapses** in Elam		Mid[?] 138
• Mihrdād I defeats Demetrios II in Babylonia and halts his *anabasis*			7/8.vii.–4/6.viii.138 (= iv.174 SE)
• Third Elamite raid in Mesopotamia			3/4.viii.138–5/6.i.137 (= 28.iv.–6.x.174 SE)
	• Reported famine in Elymais		3/4.viii.138 (= 28.iv.174 SE)

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Arsacid/Seleucid Empires	Elymais	Characene	Time
Demetrios II/Mihrdād I	**Kammaškiri the Elder/Okkonapses**	**Hyspaosines**	**Dates**
• Famine prompts Elamite forays into Mesopotamia warded off by the Arsacid commander Philinos			2/3–30/31.xii.138 (= ix.174 SE)
	• Characenean expansion to the detriment of Elamites in the lower sealand		2/3–30/31.xii.138 (ix.174 SE)
	• Elamite plundering of Nippur		5/6.i.137 (= 6.x.174 SE)
	• End of Okkonapses		Early[2] 137
• Death of Mihrdād I			25/26.–30/31.i.133? (= 10–15.xi.178 SE)
Frahād II	**Tigraois/Kammaškiri the Younger**	**Hyspaosines**	**Dates**
	• Accession of Tigraois		Early[2] 137
• Accession of **Frahād II**			*after* 25/26.–30/31.i.133? (= 10–15.xi.178 SE)
	• Fourth Elamite raid in Mesopotamia		7/8.x.–12/13.xi.133 (= 1.vii.–7.viii.179 SE)
	• Combined Elamite and Characenean raid of Arsacid territory		7/8.x.–5/6.xi.133 (= vii.179 SE)
• Combined Elamite and Characenean offensive against Babylon, Borsippa, and other Mesopotamian cities			6/7–12/13.xi.133 (= 1–7.viii.179 SE)
	• Frahād II defeats Tigraios in battle		12/13.xi.133 (= 7.viii.179 SE)

• Use of title *aršakâ šar mātāti* by Frahād II	10.xii.133 (= 5.ix.179 SE)
• Frahād II places **Kammaškiri the Younger** on Elamite throne in the wake of Tigraois' defeat	12/13.xi.133 (= 7.viii.179 SE)
• Capture of Tigraios	2/3.ii.–3/4.iii.132 (= xi.179 SE)
• *Diaries*' last mention of Frahād II's **first rule** in Mesopotamia	25/26.vii.130 (= 17.iv.182 SE)
• **Antiochos VII Sidetes**' ephemeral hold on Mesopotamia and Elymais	25/26.vii.130–5.xi.129 (= 17.iv.182–13.viii.183 SE)
• End of **first leg** of Antiochos' campaign and subsequent winter quarters	25/26.vii.130 (= 17.iv.182 SE)
• Beginning of **second leg** of Antiochos' campaign against Media and Parthyene	Spring 129
• Uprising of Babylonian cities against Seleucid troops in winter quarters and death of Antiochos Sidetes	Late Fall 129

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Arsacid/Seleucid Empires	Elymais	Characene	Time
• *Diaries*' first mention of Frahād II's **second rule** in Mesopotamia			5.xi.129 (= 13.viii.183 SE)
	• Arsacid direct rule over Elymais		5.xi.129–30/31.v.127
• Demise of Frahād II in the East against the Saka		• First attestation of Characenean rule in Mesopotamia (coinciding with Frahād II's demise in the East)	30/31.v.127 (= 24.ii.185 SE)
Ardawān I	**Kammaškiri the Younger**	**Hyspaosines**	**Dates**
• Accession of Ardawān I			Mid? 127
• Re-conquest of Mesopotamia by Arsacid general Timarchos			3/4.xi.127 (= 4.viii.185 SE)
	• No Characenean presence in Elymais		30/31.v.–3/4.xi.127
	• Ardawān I continues Frahād II's direct rule over Elymais		v.127–mid? 125
		• Continued Characenean ravage of Babylonia	2/3.iv.126 (= 5/6.i.186 SE)
• Demise of **Ardawān I** in the East			Mid? 125

Mihrdād II	Pittit	Hyspaosines	Dates
• Accession of Mihrdād II	• Pittit's ascent and death of Kammaškiri the Younger?		Mid[?] 125
• Arsacid–Characenean entente in Babylon and recognition of Arsacid suzerainty by Hyspaosines			7/8.xi.–6/7.xii.125 (= viii.187 SE)
		• Timotheos, son of Hyspaosines, thrown at the king's command into chain and sent to his father	7/8.xi.–6/7.xii.125 (= ix.187 SE)
	• Conquest of Susa by Mihrdād II		7/8.xii.125–4/5.i.124 (= viii.187 SE)
	• Defeat of Pittit by Arsacid forces		19/20.i.124 (15.x.187 SE)
	• Mihrdād II's direct rule in Elymais		19/20.i.–3/4.ii.124 (15–30.x.187 SE)
		• Death of Hyspaosines and enthronement of the latter's, and Queen Talasi'asu's, juvenile son: Apdakos?	10/11.vi.124 (= 9.iii.188 SE)
		• Arsacid control over Characene	10/11.vi.124 (= 9.iii.188 SE)

The "dark period of Parthian history"

Prologue: The identity of Gōdarz I

In spite of abundant scholarly work on the "dark period of Parthian history,"[562] to which modern scholarship more frequently refers as the "Dark Age" of Arsacid history, there is no consensus on the classification of numerous coin issues and their attribution to the proper Arsacid ruler.[563] Despite some intriguing recent works on the subject, Otto Mørkholm's classification of the "Dark Age" coinage, in which the author restricts his investigation mainly to issues of tetradrachms from Seleucia on the Tigris, stands out as a model of clarity and rigor. In part in reaction to some of the excesses of past reconstructions of the "Dark Age," whereby fragmentary and inadequate written sources were being harmonized with the numismatic evidence, leading, thus the author, to "utter confusion," Mørkholm championed a sequencing of the coins of this period, which would solely rely upon numismatic criteria.[564] However, even Mørkholm conceded that while the sequencing of the coinage of the "Dark Age" may be achieved by allowing the coins to "tell their own tale," their attribution to specific rulers within that sequence remained a matter of conjecture.[565] While subscribing to the author's methodological procedure and his sequencing of the issues, yet since the comprehensive publication of the *Diaries* has provided us with an important corpus of primary sources that is adequate both in quantity and quality, it may be warranted to complement slightly Mørkholm's attribution of coins to particular rulers of the

[562] The name of the period was coined by Rawlinson, *Sixt Monarchy*, 137.

[563] See A. Simonetta, "Remarks," 15–40; Simonetta and Sellwood, "Again on Parthian Coinage," 95–117; Sellwood, "Gotarzes, Orodes, and Sinatruces," 73–110; "Susa," 293–294; "Parthian Dark Age," 2–25; "Parthian Coins," 279–298; Dobbins, "Mithradates II," 63–79; "Successors," 19–45; B. Simonetta, "Osservazioni [II]," 65–78; "Osservazioni [I]," 115–138; Dilmaghani, "Parthian Coins," 216–223; and Loginov and Nikitin, "Coins from Margiana," 39–51. For relatively recent overviews of this controversy, see Mørkholm, "Greece to India," 90–92; "Parthian Coinage of Seleucia," 33–47; also Alram, "Stand und Aufgaben," 375–377. Most recently, see Simonetta, "Revision," 69–108, especially 105–107 entailing the author's conclusions; Assar, "Chronology of 91–55," 55–104; and Vardanyan, "Dark Age Coins," 105–129, which contains a useful appendix (1) wherein the different attributions by modern scholars of the mints of the "Dark Age" have been tabulated.

[564] Mørkholm, "Parthian Coinage of Seleucia," 34, 46: "of course, consistency between numismatic and other sources is always highly desirable. But in the present case the other evidence, as it stands now, is so sporadic and fragmentary that it is an illusion to talk of consistency. This requires source material of a certain quantity and a certain quality. My contention is that, in this case, the coins and the other historical sources cannot be integrated. It is precisely the desire to harmonize the coinages with the *disjecta membra* of the written evidence which has led to utter confusion. The web of conjectural attributions must be removed, and the coinages allowed to tell their own tale. Then the sequence of issues becomes reasonably clear, ***but the attribution to different rulers will still be a matter of speculation*** [italics mine]."

[565] *Ibid.*

Table 5. *Mørkholm's Classification of the "Dark Age" coinage*

Titulature on Coinage	= King's Name	(T) = Tetradrachm (D) = Drachm
Arsakes Epiphanos Philhellenos	= Mihrdād II	(T): S. 32.1[a]
[Gōdarz I]	= [Gōdarz I]	[no coinage]
Arsakes Autokrator Philopator I	= Unknown ruler	(T): S. 31.1–4
Arsakes Euergetes I	= Unknown ruler	(T): S. 34.1
Arsakes Theopator	= Sinatruces	(T): S. 30.1–11
[Urūd I]	= [Urūd I]	[no coinage]
Arsakes Philopator II	= Frahād III (as co-regent)	(T): S. 37.1 (T): S. 36.1–3
Arsakes (Theos) Euergetes II	= Frahād III	(T): S. 38.1 (T): S. 39.1
Arsakes Theos Eupator	= Mihrdād III	(D): S. 40.1–2; 4–13; 16 (D): S. 41.2–4; 7–10; 12–15
Mihrdād III	= Mihrdād III	(T): S. 41.1
Arsakes Ktistes	= Urūd II or/and Mihrdād III	(T): S. 44.1
Arsakes, son of Phraates	= Urūd II or/and Mihrdād III	(D): S. 41.17
Arsakes Philopator Dikaios	= Urūd II	(D): S. 42.1–2 (D): S. 43.2/3/7/9/10

Note:

[a] The abbreviation <S.> refers to the classification of Parthian coin types according to the standard work of Sellwood, *Introduction*.

period. However, it should be mentioned that the picture that the *Diaries* reveal in no way substantiates more recent numismatic research on the "Dark Age" as a period fraught with political instability and turmoil, owing to multiple and simultaneous claims to royal power by rival kings and competing factions. Intriguingly, Mørkholm's research had come precisely to this conclusion without the benefit of the *Diaries* covering the Arsacid period, which were to be published only some two decades later.

Mørkholm's classification of the coins of the "Dark Age," based upon the combined numismatic evidence of drachms and tetradrachms, is as shown in Table 5. Strikingly, Mørkholm did not ascribe any coinage to Gōdarz I and Urūd II in his reconstruction. The reason for discarding Gōdarz I was based upon the assumption that the latter's reign lasted

merely a few months, during which he could not have produced four issues of tetradrachms (S. 31.1–4). This is a conjecture, however, that resulted from the author's subscribing to the generally accepted reading of cuneiform tablets where the name(s) of Gōdarz I (and Urūd) occur(s),[566] and which has been since then challenged in scholarship. The core of the Arsacid dating formulae[567] containing the names of Gōdarz I and Urūd, may be established as follows based upon their occurrence on extant diaries:[568]

^{1}*Ar-šá-ka-a* / ^{1}*Ar-šá-kam* (LUGAL / LUGAL LUGAL^{meš}) *šá iṭ-ṭár-ri-du* ^{1}*Gu-tár-za/-a* / ^{1}*U-ru-da-a* (LUGAL) *(ù)* . . .	*Aršakâ / Aršakam (šarru / šar šarrāni) ša iṭṭarridu Gutarza/-â / Urudâ (šarru) u* . . .

The formula has been traditionally translated as "Arsaces (king/king of kings) who has expelled Gotarzes/Orodes(, the king and . . .)." Thus, Mørkholm following other scholars before him argued that tablets with the name of Gōdarz I belonged in reality to Gōdarz I's successor (called generically Arsaces), who had chased him away. Earlier Oelsner had interpreted Arsaces as the anonymous king who was chased away by the new king Gōdarz I, rather than the opposite: "Jahr sowieso, das gleich ist dem Jahr sowieso, Arsakes, der verjagt wurde; Gotarzes (bzw. Orodes) ist könig (und . . .," hence attributing a decade of rule, that is, the years iii.90 to iv.80 BCE, to Gōdarz I.[569] It is thus evident that "[t]he translation chosen makes a difference to whether the date in question is taken to mark the beginning or the end of the reign of Gotarzes or Orodes or whether it is neutral."[570] Clearly, the interpretation of the formula depends on how the verbal form *(ša) iṭṭar(r)idu* is analyzed. Indeed, *iṭṭar(r)idu,* usually taken to derive from *ṭarādu(m)* (a–u) "escape; chase away," could either represent a Gt–stem[571] preterite in the subjunctive (* *iṭ-t-arid-* > *iṭṭarid-*), which although not otherwise attested, would mean "(who) has expelled," or, by making allowances to the orthography, a Gt–stem durative (* *iṭ-t-arrad-* > *iṭṭarrid-*) "(who) is expelling"; an N–stem preterite in the subjunctive (**i-n-ṭarid-* > *iṭṭarid-*), or durative (**i-n-ṭarrad-* > *iṭṭarrid-*) with the

[566] Mørkholm, "Parthian Coinage of Seleucia," 43, n. 39; see also Simonetta, "Remarks," 15–40, in particular, 18–20 and 19, n. 2; Dobbins, "Successors," 19–45, especially, 19–21, n. 9; and Sellwood, "Parthian Dark Age," 2–25, especially 24–25, appendix ii.

[567] On the formulae, see also Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 41.

[568] See Appendix; also table 6, in chronological order.

[569] Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 42.

[570] McEwan, "Campaign," 92.

[571] On the reflexivity of Gt-stem in opposition to G-stem, see recently Streck, *Verbalstämme*, 84–86; also 44, no. 79, for the interesting example of *aṭpulu* "to answer to oneself (?)" < *apālu.*

Table 6. *Arsacid dating formulae: Gōdarz I and Urūd I*

Gōdarz	Urūd
[Aršakam/Aršakâ šarru] ʳšaʾ iṭṭarrid[u Gutarzaⁱ/-â šarru]	*Aršakam šar šarrāni ša iṭṭarridu Urudâ šarru*
Aršakâ [ša iṭṭa]rridu Gutarzâ šarru	*[Arša]kâ ša iṭṭarrid[u] [Ur]udâ šarru u Isp[ubarzâ aḫšassu] ʳšarratuʾ*
Aršaka šarru ša <iṭ>ʳṭarriduʾ [Guṭ]arza u Asiʾabaṭar ša AD LÚ UŠ A *aššassu/altišu šarratu*	*[Arša]kâ ša iṭṭarrid[u] [Ur]udâ šarru u Isp[ubarzâ aḫšassu] ʳšarratuʾ*
ʳGuʾṭaris šarru ša iṭʾ[ṭarriduʾ] [. . .]	*Aršakam ša iṭṭarrid[u . . .]*
[Aršakâ ša iṭṭ]arridu Gutarza šarru u [. . .]	*Aršakam ša i[ṭṭarridu? . . .]*
Aršakâ ša šumʾ[-šu]/rʾ[ṭṭaridu] Guṭarzâ šarru u Asiabaṭ[ar] aššassu/altišu šarratu	*Aršakâ šarru u I[spubarzâ aḫšassu šarratu]*
] Aršaʳkaʾ šarru ša šumšu Gutarza	*Aršakâ šarru u I]spubarzâ aḫš[s]su ʳšarratuʾ*
Aršakâ [šarru . . .]a aššassu/altišu šarratu	
Aršakâ ša iṭṭarridu Guṭarzâ šarru u Asibaṭar?/ Asitu[. . .]gurâʾ aššassu/altišu šarratu	

passive sense "(who) has been/is expelled"; or finally, an unlikely Gtn–stem preterite in the subjunctive (**iṭ-tan-rid-* > *iṭṭarrid-*) with an iterative sense "(who) expelled time and again."[572]

Some time ago, however, J. P. McEwan re-analyzing this bone of contention, submitted a new interpretation of the verbal form, and objected to the meaning of *ṭarādu(m)* as "chase away" within this context for three reasons:

> [e]ven if, as some have done, we ignore the verbal morphology altogether and translate *ad sensum* we are still left with only one possible translation, "(who) has expelled". This reading, while linguistically possible, is precluded by three considerations. The first is the presence in the date formulae of the queens. A female member of the ruling family was included in dates, coins, etc. only when her presence was considered necessary to legitimize the male ruler with whom she was associated. Hence it would be illogical to find mention of a queen being expelled rather than being, as elsewhere, associated with the *ruling* monarch. The second is that the title king is sometimes given to the ruler who was supposedly expelled and omitted for the ruler who is said to expel him. This fact alone makes nonsense of the translation. The third and final consideration is that the purpose of a date

[572] See McEwan, "Campaign," 92; also Bottéro *apud* Sellwood, "Parthian Dark Age," 24–25.

formula is not to give historical notices but simply to identify the year and reign. The occurrence of historical notice in such a context would be both unnecessary and unparalleled.[573]

A fourth argument in support of McEwan's thesis, to which he himself refers, is provided by the variant formula: *[1]Ar-šá-[r]ka[ˀ]* LUGAL *šá* MU-*šú [1]Gu-tár-za (Aršaʳkaˀ šarru ša šumšu Gutarza)* "Arsaces king whose name is Gōdarz," found on an astronomical diary, whose explicit date, in relation to other documents bearing Gōdarz I's name, had hitherto remained concealed. In 1890, J. N. Strassmaier had already suspected the formula to represent an alternative for other formulae containing the name of Gōdarz I, hence, to be a gauge on how to interpret the meaning of *iṭṭar(r)idu*.[574] The date of the diary with the variant formula has now been conveniently computed by Sachs as 16/17.iii.87 BCE,[575] that is, *following* the dates of at least five (possibly six) tablets, on which the formula *Aršakâ šarru ša iṭṭarridu Gutarzâ (šarru)* occurs.[576] As it seems unlikely that *after* the assiduous record of Gōdarz's eviction, scribes would still make reference to his rule to date tablets, MacEwan's thesis that "the most likely translation of *iṭṭarridū* in the context would be '(who) is called,' derived from a postulated verb **ṭarādu* 'to call, name,'"[577] becomes more probable, particularly since the meaning of the formula as "Arsaces (king) who is called Gozares(, the king)" would then be equivalent to that of the formula dated to 16/17.iii.87 BCE.

This latter hypothesis, which has gained some momentum in recent scholarship,[578] is further substantiated by the use of **ṭarādu* in other contexts, wherein it seems to refer to rivers and city quarters (*kapru*). In a diary recounting the devastation caused by Hyspaosines of Characene in Mesopotamia, some people (*nišū*), possibly in flight from Characenean troops, are reported to have gone to a water course, called river Nagrā: *[. . .–]nē ša ina libbi ša taṭṭarridu Nagrā ([id]na-ag-ra-a) iṣû* "[. . . –]*nē*

[573] McEwan, "Campaign," 92.

[574] See Epping and Strassmaier, "Babylonische Planeten III," 226: "Zur Bedeutung von *ustarridu* [sic] führt vielleicht eine andere Variante: *Aršakâ šarru ša šumu-šu Gutarzâ*, 'Arsaces, dessen Beiname Gutarzâ ist.'" See also Boiy, *Babylon*, 182.

[575] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –87 C 'rev. 31' (= 454–455).

[576] See table 6.

[577] McEwan, "Campaign," 92–93.

[578] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, 456, who à propos this passage state: "this line supports the proposal of McEwan . . . to see in *ša iṭṭarridu* an expression for a second name of a king"; see also Del Monte, "Ad BibMes 24 22," note 3; *Testi*, 136, n. 239, and 251–255, where the author translates *ša iṭṭaridu* as "che è chiamato." Similarly, van der Spek, "Šatammus," 442; Boiy, *Babylon*, 181–182, nn. 174–175; 185; also Assar, "Chronology of 91–55," 63–64. Compare, however, Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," 224, who still translates *ša iṭṭaridu* as "der vertrieben wurde"; compare also, more recently, Simonetta, "Revision," 74.

"which is in the middle, (and) which is called the river Nagrā, (thereto) they went."[579] In another instance, Del Monte, commenting on two Hellenistic contracts from Uruk that may have originated from the same scribal milieu,[580] was able to demonstrate that the use of *ṭarādu* in the one text was rendered with *qabû* "to say; tell" in the parallel text.[581] Thus, the aforesaid formula, which in its abridged form would be: *Aršakâ (šarru) ša iṭṭarridu Gutarzâ (šarru),* may be translated as "Arsaces (the king) who is called (king) Gōdarz," with the result that we may ascribe almost a decade of rule to Gōdarz I, beginning with 6.iii.90 and ending in 21.iv.81 BCE (= 16.xii.221–14.i.231 SE).[582]

In view of Gōdarz I's assumed decade-long rule, we may attribute to him the four issues of tetradrachms (S. 31.1–4) struck by a certain *Arsakes Autokrator Philopator,* which Mørkholm was reticent to ascribe to Gōdarz I, for he deemed his rule elusive.[583] In spite of this probable equation, the question remains: why do the cuneiform tablets refer to Gōdarz I—as well as to his successor Urūd—with his proper name, occasionally mentioning those of his consort as well, before this practice was abandoned some time later and the old formula entailing solely the dynastic appellation "Arsaces king" re-established?

The answer to this question, however, depends on the identity of Gōdarz I, who is believed by some scholars to have been the *Gegenkönig* of Mihrdād II's in his final years.[584] Supposedly, it was because of the co-existence of these two rulers within the Arsacid realm that the

[579] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries,* vol. III, no. –125 A obv.' 16–17 (= 260–261); of interest is the reiterated use of the verb *ṭarādu* in the same diary, l. 18, in conjunction with the *puliṭē,* albeit in an unclear context: *puliṭē* ˹x *šá*˺ *i-ṭṭarridū*; see also diary no. –108 A'obv.' B16 (= 354–355).

[580] The first contract BibMes 24 22: 2–3 reads: *ina ka*[*p-ri*] *šá iṭ-ṭa-ri-du kap-ri šá* ^{d}60 "in the city quarter, which is called [*iṭṭarridu*] the quarter of Anu"; in contrast, the other document VS 15 27: 3–4 states: *ina* KI^{ú} ^{é}*iri*$_{10}$-*gal šá i-qab-bu-ù kap-ri šá* É DINGIR^{meš} *ša* UNUG^{ki} "in the city quarter Irigal, which is called [*iqabbû*] the quarter of the temples of Uruk." On BibMes 24 22, the deed of sale of a *bīt ritti* property, dated to 6.v.181 BCE (= 3.ii.131 SE), see Weisberg, *Late Babylonian Texts,* 12, no. 22; pls. 48–51; Doty, review of *Late Babylonian Texts,* 114; and Del Monte, "Ad BibMes 24 22," note 3; on VS 15 27, the deed of sale of another *bīt ritti* property, dated to 2.iii.155 BCE (= 15.xii.156 SE), see Schroeder, *Kontrakte,* 34–35, no. 27; and Del Monte, "Ad BibMes 24 22," note 3; on both sales, see also Boiy, *Babylon,* 182, nn. 174–175; and Assar, "Chronology of 91–55," 64.

[581] See Del Monte, "Ad BibMes 24 22," note 3: "[n]ebenbei sei gemerkt, daß der parallele Gebrauch der Zeitwörter *iṭṭaridu* und *iqabbû* die Vermutung von McEwan . . . zu bestätigen scheint, der zufolge neben dem bekannten *ṭarādu* ein Zeitwort ṬRD mit der Bedeutung im Passiv 'genannt werden,' 'to be called,' für diese Zeit angenommen werden muß." On *ṭarādu* in this meaning, see also the recent entry in *The Assyrian Dictionary,* 19 (2006): 60–61. "ṭarādu B 'to name, call.'"

[582] On the dates, see appendix.

[583] See table 5.

[584] Compare Dilmaghani, "Parthian Coins," 217–218; Wolski, *L'empire,* 95–96; and Loginov and Nikitin, "Coins from Margiana," 41.

Babylonian tablets specified the name of the ruler who held sway over Babylonia, while Mihrdād II was still alive.[585] Several conjectures have been made with respect to Gōdarz I's identity; thus, it has been suggested that Gōdarz I could have been Mihrdād II's own brother,[586] an assumption based upon the reading of the ostracon 2638 (1760) from Nisa, dated to the year 157 of the Arsacid Era (AE), that is, 91/90 BCE[587]:

/ı/ ŠNT I C XX XX X III III I 'ršk MLKA BR[Y BRY Z]Y [pry](p)tk
/ı/ sarδ 157 [AE] Aršak šāh puh[rēpuhr č]ē [Friya](p)atak

"year 157 [= 91/90 BCE] Arsaces king, grandson of Friyapatak . . ." [588]

The year 157 AE indeed corresponds to the reign of Gōdarz I, suggested by the simple title of *šāh* in contrast to the more elaborate titulature of *šāhān šāh*, common on coins and cuneiform tablets pertaining to Mihrdād II's *fin de règne*.[589] If the *Aršak šāh* of the ostracon is identical with Gōdarz I and the reading *BR[Y BRY]* is correct, then Gōdarz I could have been a brother of Mihrdād II, for the latter is reported by Justin to have been the grandson of a certain *Priapatius* [= *Friyapatak*]: *tertium Parthis rex Priapatius fuit sed et ipse Arsaces dictus*.[590] However, this conclusion seems highly speculative and is unlikely for the following reason: the photograph of ostracon 2638 (pl. 1760) neither permits a clear

[585] See Wolski, *L'empire*, 95–96: "[i]l est symptomatique que ce soient les seuls souverains qui apparaissent dans les documents cunéiformes de la territoire de la Babylonie sous leur propres noms, car étant donné le règne simultané de quelques souvererains, Mithridate II, Gotarse et Orode, il était indispensable de les distinguer de façon visible."

[586] See Дьяконов and Лившиц [Diakonoff and Livshits], *Документы из Нисы*, 20–21; also Chaumont, "Études I," 154–159.

[587] On the ostracon, see Дьяконов and Лившиц, *Документы из Нисы*, 113 and pl. 1760; the complete text according to the authors is: (1) ŠNT I C XX XX X III III I 'ršk MLKA BRY BR[Y Z]Y (pry) ptk (2) BRY AHY BRY ZY(?) 'ršk; see also Bader, "Parthian ostraca," 263–264; for a more recent survey of Parthian documents from South Turkmenistan, see Livshits and Nikitin, "Parthian Documents," 312–323. For the historical interpretation of the ostracon, see also Bickerman, "Ostracon no. 1760," 15–17; and Chaumont, "Études I," 145; still fundamental, Кошеленко, "Генеалогия первых Аршакидов," 31–37 = "Genealogia dei primi Arsacidi," 133–146.

[588] See Schmitt, "Namenüberlieferung," 182, no. C16; for the attestation of the name as *pir-ri-ya-bat-ti-iš* in the Elamite Persepolis Fortification Tablets, see Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, 100; for the etymology of the name < **friya-pati-* "qui est en tête des êtres chers," see Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres*, 91; compare also Gershevitch, "Amber at Persepolis," 221; also, Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, 218, no. 8.1338; and Tavernier, *Iranica*, 184, no. 4.2.613.

[589] See Chaumont, "Études I," 154–55.

[590] Just. 41.5.8; for the complete genealogy, see Just. 41.5.8–42.2.3. See also Chaumont, "Études I," 150; and Кошеленко, "Генеалогия первых Аршакидов," 34 = "Genealogia dei primi Arsacidi," 139. Compare also Wolski, *L'empire*, 64. On the older *Friyapat*, father of Aršag, see Koch, "Heimat und Stammvater," 165–173.

reading of *Friyapatak* (*pryptk*), nor of *puhrēpuhr* (*BRY BRY*) "grandson": of *pryptk*, merely the final letters *-(p)tk* can be read with some certainty,[591] and of *BRY BRY*, solely the letters *BR[Y²]* (of the first *BRY*).[592] Even the recent publication by I. M. Diakonoff and V. A. Livshits of the ostracon 2638 (1760) in the fifth volume of plates of the *Parthian Documents from Nisa*,[593] mainly reproduces plate(s) known from these authors' initial publication in 1960, based upon which current readings will furthermore remain unproven.

Another argument for the *Gegenkönig* thesis is based upon the evidence of an Arsacid deed of sale written in Greek and pertaining to half a vineyard (*raz*) called Dādbakān (*Δαδβακαν-ρας*); it is dated Apellaios 225 SE (= 19/20. x.–17/18.xi. 88 BCE) and was found together with two other deeds (another Greek and one Parthian document) in a cave in the mountain of *Kūh-e Sālān* near Kurdish *Šār-e Owrāmān* (Avroman).[594] The Greek parchment in question (Avroman I), having been attributed to Mihrdād II by some scholars, would make Gōdarz I, the new Arsaces whose rule is attested already since 6.iii.90 BCE (= 16.xii.221 SE), a usurper against Mihrdād II.[595] The *invocatio* of the deed, wherein the name of the king and his consorts, as well as the year, in which the deed was drafted, is indicated, is as follows:

[Avroman I (A) ll. 1–5]
Βασιλεύοντος βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου εὐεργέτου δικαίου ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ φιλέλληνος καὶ βασιλισσῶν Σιάκης τε τῆς ὁμοπατρίας αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῆς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ Ἀρυαζάτης τῆς ἐπικαλουμένη[ς] Αὐτομὰ τῆς ἐγ βασιλέως μεγάλου Τιγράνου καὶ γυναικὸς αὐτ[οῦ] καὶ Ἀζάτης τῆς ὁμοπατρίας αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῆς καὶ γυναικὸς

"Under the reign of the king of kings, Arsaces, the Benefactor, the Just, the Manifest and the Philhellene, and (the reign) of the queens: Siakē his sister, of the same father, and wife; and Aryazatē called Automa, daughter of the Great King Tigranes and his wife as well as Azatē his sister, of the same father, and wife."

[591] For a seemingly divergent opinion, see Bickerman, "Ostracon no. 1760," 15, n. 12; also MacKenzie, "Names from Nisa," 209–215; also Schmitt, "Namenüberlieferung," 182, no. C16.

[592] Upon my request, Prods Oktor Skjærvø kindly examined the published photo of 1760 and confirmed that the words in question cannot be discerned.

[593] Diakonoff and Livshits, *Parthian Economic Documents*, pl. 2638.

[594] On the Avroman Greek parchments, see Minns, "Parchments," 22–65. On the geography and place names of the documents, see Edmonds, "Place Names," 478–482; also MacKenzie, "Avroman," 110–111. On the Parthian document, see still Nyberg, "Documents from Avroman," 182–230; and Henning, "Mitteliranisch," 28–30. For a succinct discussion of these evidences see Frye, *History of Ancient Iran*, 214–215

[595] See Dilmaghani, "Parthian Coins," 217–218.

Arsaces' title is indicated with the form *βασιλεύων βασιλέων* "the one ruling over the kings," which evidently corresponds to the title of "king of kings," first unequivocally attested for Mihrdād II in a Goal Year text of the year 112/111 BCE (= 200 SE), and a diary dated to 6/7.viii–5/6.x.111 BCE (= v–vi.201 SE).[596] In contrast, Gōdarz I's title in cuneiform documents reverted to the standard (*aršakâ/-am*) *šarru*, with the possible exception of a Goal Year text dated 83/82 BCE (= 229 SE), whose colophon refers to Gōdarz I as *Aršakam šar šarrāni*.[597] Thus, the *Diaries* setting a precedent for the use of the imperial title by Gōdarz I would render the attribution of the Avroman I deed of 88 BCE to Gōdarz I less objectionable. On another front, the redaction of the Avroman I deed in Media may suggest that the choice of Gōdarz I's titulature in this part of the empire may have been geared toward the Greek element,[598] which historically had settled in the cities of the region.[599] Furthermore, the reference to the title of Tigranes of Armenia, who is called *βασιλεύς μεγάλος*—in contrast to Arsaces the *βασιλεύων βασιλέων*—was meant to establish the undisputed hegemony of the Arsacid empire over Tigranes of Armenia, who, in November 88 BCE, was still an Arsacid subject, and would thus remain for some time. As we shall see, Tigranes' coins in Armenia began to bear the legend "king of kings" at the earliest in the year 66 BCE, hence not after Armenia's successfully contending for preponderance against the Arsacid house in the Orient shortly before 83 BCE, but following Pompeius' intervention in Asia Minor, that is, intriguingly, at the nadir of Tigranes' power.[600] In recapitulation, we may say that the Avroman I deed, written before the dispute over the imperial prerogative arose, reflected Gōdarz I's desire ostensibly to establish his precedence over Tigranes in the eyes of the Greek citizens of Media. By ascribing the Avroman I deed of sale to Gōdarz I, there is no basis for assuming Mihrdād II was alive in 88 BCE, and, consequently, that Gōdarz was his rival king.

An alternative conjecture as to Gōdarz I's identity is to regard him as Mihrdād II's legitimate son and successor. Although this hypothesis

596 See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –110 'rev.' 1′ (= 346–347), and vol. VI, no. 93 flake 3′ (= 360–361).

597 See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. VI, no. 92 colophon 12′ (= 358–359).

598 See Minns, "Parchments," 59–61.

599 The *Diaries* know of the Cities of Media, the *ālānu ša māt Mādaya*; for some examples, see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –137 A 'rev.' 8′–11′ (= 160–161), and no. –132 B rev. 21–22 (= 216–217). See also Polybios (10.27.3), who reports of many Greek cities founded in Media by Alexander: *περιοικεῖται δὲ πόλεσιν Ἑλληνίσι κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου φυλακῆς ἕνεκεν τῶν συγκυρούντων αὐτῇ βαρβάρων πλὴν Ἐκβατάνων.*

600 See table 12.

had not found much approval among scholars,[601] new evidence seems to warrant the validity of R. H. McDowell's insights, who, to my knowledge, first suggested this possibility.[602] Others still, while reckoning that Gōdarz I possibly succeeded to Mihrdād II, have put forward other rival kings, be it Sinatruces,[603] or be it Mihrdād III,[604] as usurpers during Mihrdād II's latter days, and in defiance of Gōdarz I's rule, in the southern or eastern provinces of the empire. These assertions, however, repose primarily upon numismatic evidence, may find scant support in the literary and documentary sources, and can be contradicted by a diverging interpretation of the period's coinage, since as Mørkholm clearly has established: "the six different coinages . . . between Mithradates II and Mithradates III were all issued *in Babylonia, in Iran, and in Susa, i.e. throughout the Parthian kingdom* [italics mine],"[605] which suggests that "[t]he rulers responsible for the coinages must all have been in control of practically the entire kingdom,"[606] thus, "[t]he *numismatic material provides no information on local usurpers of restricted authority* [italics mine]."[607] From a numismatic perspective therefore there is no objection against the succession of Gōdarz I to Mihrdād II, nor any conclusive corroboration for the rival rule of a Sinatruces or Mihrdād III. But, first, we must establish Gōdarz I's identity.

Kōfzād the šāhrab

Eight decades ago Ernst Herzfeld reconstructed the badly damaged Greek inscription of an Arsacid relief at Bisitun depicting four grandees paying homage to a fifth individual.[608] The reconstruction, which drew on sketches

[601] See, notably, Debevoise, *History*, 48–49; Schippmann, *Parthische Geschichte*, 32; "Arsacid Dynasty," 527; Frye, *History of Ancient Iran*, 95–96.

[602] See McDowell, *Coins*, 206–211; on 208, the author states: "[i]n this connection it is interesting to note the possibility that Gotarzes, 'Arsaces,' and Orodes may have been sons of Mithradates I. It is difficult to doubt that by the close of his reign Mithradates had at least three grown sons." See also Dobbins, "Successors," 23, 41–42; and similarly Simonetta and Sellwood, "Again on Parthian Coinage," 106; 108: "probably Gotarzes I, if he is the same as the Gotarzes Satrap of Satraps of Mithridates, as this extraordinary high rank may indicate that *he was a son of Mithridates II* [italics mine]."

[603] See more recently Assar, "Genealogy and Coinage II," 52–54; and "Chronology of 91–55," 55–62.

[604] See Simonetta, "Revision," 78–80; 105–106.

[605] Mørkholm, "Parthian Coinage of Seleucia," 40; for the different mints of Arsacid coinage, see also Sellwood, "Parthian Dark Age," 11–16; and Dobbins, "Successors," 25–41.

[606] Mørkholm, "Parthian Coinage of Seleucia," 40.

[607] *Ibid.*

[608] See Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 35–41, pls. 21–23. Herzfeld describes the relief as follows: "[u]nmittelbar über einer aus dem Fels hervorsprudelden Quelle und über einer halb von Natur halb von Menschenhand geformten Sockelbank erblickt man eine geglättete Tafel, heute auffällig nicht durch die alten verwitterten Bilder, sondern durch eine im Kielbogen geschlossene Nische mit neupersicher Inschrift. Diese Inschrift hat einen großen Teil des alten Felsbildnisses vernichtet. Sie ist noch nicht gründlich aufgenommen, aber sie berichtet in großer Breite die fromme Stiftung

made by the 17th century European traveler Grelot, was reads as follows by Herzfeld:[609]

/1/ (Κω)φασάτης Μιθράτης π(ε)[?- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -] (Γ)ωτάρζης
/2/ σατράπης (τῶ)ν σατ(ρ)[άπῶν βασιλεὺς μέγας Μιθραδά](τ)ης

/1/ Kophasatēs, Mithratēs, [. . .] Gōtarzēs
/2/ the satrap of satr[aps, and the great king Mithrada](t)ēs.

The name *Κωφασάτης* corresponds to the Kōfzād *kwp(y)zt*[610] of the Nisa documents. Recently Rüdiger Schmitt has pointed out that the satrap (*šahrab*) Kōfzād of the Nisa documents[611] is identical with the Bisitun grandee *Κωφασάτης*, especially since the attested dates of his satrapal function, within the years 85–80 BCE,[612] coincide with the reign of Gōdarz I.[613] Although one may not subscribe to Schmitt's further conclusions that Kōfzād ought to have supported Gōdarz I in his uprising against Mihrdād II in order to have kept his position as satrap[614]—simply because there is little evidence for a power struggle between Mihrdād II and Gōdarz I, as we shall see—the identification of Kōfzād the satrap with the *Κωφασάτης* seems sound.

Mitrāṭu the generalissimo and his predecessors

The second dignitary of the Bisitun relief is called *Μιθράτης*. The Babylonian *Diaries* know of a certain Mitrāṭu who was active possibly between 22/23.x.–21/22.xi.91 BCE (= viii.221 SE) and 19/20.ii.–20/21.iii.82

eines Shaikh 'Alī Khān zur Erhaltung der Pilgerstraße und eines Karawansarai im Dorfe Bīstūn, und stammt aus dem 18ten Jhdt. Trotz dieses Beweises seiner Tugenden verwünschen wir heute den frommen Stifter wegen der Zerstörung des seltenen Denkmals, und müssen versuchen, den Schaden wieder wett zu machen. Genaueres Hinsehen läßt auf den Tafeln die griechische Inschrift wohl erkennen, die der Kielbogen zerschneidet, deren größerer Rest links, ein kleiner rechts vom Bogen erscheint." See also Schottky, "Parther, Meder und Hyrkanier," 87–90; and compare Fowler, "Most Fortunate Roots," 138–139.

609 Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 39.

610 On the name *Kōfzād* <**kaufa-zāta-* "born to the mountain?," see Gignoux, *Glossaire*, 55; *Noms propres*, no. 504, 107; *Supplément*, no. 177, 43. Also, MacKenzie, "Names from Nisa," 213; and Schmitt, "Namenüberlieferung," 181, no. C11, 197. Of interest is also the patronymic **kaufakāna-*; see Tavernier, *Iranica*, 231, no. 4.2.974.

611 On Nisa documents mentioning the *šahrab Kōfzād*, see [Diakonoff and Livshits], *Документы из Нисы*, 55, no. 590, and 99, no. 890; and Diakonoff and Livshits, *Parthian Economic Documents*, Texts I (2), 81–160, nos. 996 (1135), 997 (889), [998 (890),] 999 (1986), 1000 (6), 1002 (1189), [1003 (590),] 1004 (1244), 1005 (839 bis), 1006 (1062), 1007 (1786), 1023 (2190), 1038 (Nova 159), 1039 (Nova 126), 1040 (Nova 127), 1041 (Nova 131), 1042 (Nova 132), 1050 (1240), 1051 (731), 1052 (Nova 97).

612 Based on the edition of ostraca available to him at the time, Schmitt indicated solely the years 84 and 83 for Kōfzād's function as a satrap; the second instalment of texts from Nisa edited by Diakonoff and Livshits now allows us to situate Kōfzād's activities during the years 85–80 BCE; see Schmitt, "Namenüberlieferung," 197.

613 *Ibid.*, 197.

614 *Ibid.*

BCE (= xii.229 SE) as chief of troops in Babylonia ([lú]GAL.GAL *uqān/uqa*).[615] In several passages, he is mentioned campaigning in Mesopotamia, apparently pacifying towns and regions in the grip of terror (*gilittu*). The reason for this collective fear, which we shall further discuss below, seems to have been prompted by the death of Mihrdād II and ongoing Arab incursions in Mesopotamia:

That month, **Mitratu, the chief of the troops,** [. . .] from the city of Ma[. . .] / [. . .] who were with him, crossed the Tigris, on the other side of the Tigris he departed. Šasa[. . .] / [. . .] . . . That month the people of the towns who before had entered Babylon for fear [returned?] to their towns [. . .][616]

and:

Mitratu, the chief of the troops, departed from the other side of the Tigris to his place / [. . .] because of fear? threw [. . .] which were on the surroundings of Babylon and Seleucia.[617]

Again:

That month / [. . .] **the chief of troops,** departed on the other side of the Tigris as before. // [. . .] departed? [. . .] surroundings of Susa.[618]

Other commanders in the field, while Mitrāṭu acted as the supreme commander of Arsacid royal troops in Babylonia, included the following: a general ([lú]GAL *ú-qa*)[619] by the name of *Aspastanu*,[620] who could be identical with the nameless general of Babylonia *rab ummāni?/uqāni? māt Akkad* ([[lú]GAL?] ˹ERÍN-*nī*˺ KUR URI[ki]),[621] mentioned a few years later;

615 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –90 'obv. 15'–17', 32'–33', 49', rev.' 18 (= 435–441); no. –87 C 'rev. 49'–50' (= 456–457); no. –83 'obv.' 2'–6'; 21'–22'; rev.' 17–20 (= 470–475); no. –82 B 'rev.' 3'–6' (= 480–481). A diary mentions a chief of troops ˹GAL *u*'*qānu* for 26/27.iii.–23/24.iv.96 BCE (i.216 SE), but it is difficult to determine whether it is the first reference to Mitrāṭu, or the last to his predecessor Mitradātâ; see vol. III, no. –95 'flake'A 11' (= 416–417). The last mention of the name of Mitrāṭu in the *Diaries* is 8/9.vii–7/8.viii.84 (= iv.228 SE); and the last time the title [lú]GAL.GAL *uqān* is used under Gōdarz, which probably is to be ascribed to Mitrāṭu, is 19/20.ii.–20/21.iii.82 BCE (= xii.229 SE).

616 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –90 'obv. 32'–33' (= 436–437).

617 *Ibid.*, no. –90 'obv. 48'–49' (= 438–439).

618 For further examples, see *ibid.*, no. –90 ' rev.' 18 (= 440–441): "[. . . the chief? of] troops mustered [. . .] from the other side of the Tigris and turned to the surroundings of Kar-Aššur"; no. –87 C 'rev. 49'–50' (= 456–457): "[. . . Mitr]atu, the chief of troops, / came and on the other side [. . .]"; no. –83 'obv.' 2'–6' (= 470–471): "[. . .] on the Tigris, attacked, and wailing . . . [. . .] / when they sent [. . .] this [M]itratu [. . .] / [he]lp? of these troops who had come to an agreement with Mitratu [. . .]"; no. –83 'obv.' 21'–23' (= 472–473): "[. . .] That month, Mitratu, the chief of troops [. . .] / [. . .] his troops to the rivers and the steppe? [. . .] / [. . .] Seleucia [. . .]."

619 *Ibid.*, no. –87 C 'rev. 32' (= 454–455).

620 From a possible **aspa-stā-na-*; see Zadok, "Anthroponyms and Toponyms," no. A-13; Stolper, "Iranica," 247; and Tavernier, *Iranica*, 120, no. 4.2.161, and 201, 4.2.750.

621 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –82 B 'obv.' 18' (= 478–479).

the satrap of Babylonia ([lú]GAL UKKIN KUR U[RI[ki]]),[622] and the the governor of Babylon (*pīḫāt Bābili*),[623] who seems to be identical with a certain Raznumitra (< **Rašnmiθr*) mentioned in conjunction with the *pulṭē* later in the *Diaries*.[624] The similarity between the names *Μιθράτης* and Mitrāṭu, the exalted position of the latter as the ruling commander of Babylonian troops, possibly with authority over satrap(s) and other commander(s), as well as the years of Mitrāṭu's command, all seem to indicate that Mitrāṭu and *Μιθράτης* are one and the same person.[625] The beginning of Mitrāṭu's command seems to coincide with the seizure of power by Gōdarz I, who probably appointed him.

Indeed, prior to Mitrāṭu, under Mihrdād II, the *Diaries* mention a certain Mitradātâ as the commander of troops.[626] It is unclear whether Mitrāṭu's and Mitradātâ's far-reaching mandates were extraordinary commands with which they were invested at times of crisis, such as the reported Arab incursions during this period, or whether they simply were ordinary commands. Judging from the *Diaries*, from the outset of Arsacid dominion in Babylonia up to Mitradātâ's appointment, only four other supreme commanders with extensive authorities over satraps, governors, and generals were active in Babylonia.[627]

The first one is a certain **Antiochos**, son of king *Aryabōžan* (or *Aryabarzan*[?]) (*Anti*[?] *ukusu māru ša Ar*[?]*abuzanâ*[?]*-burzanâ*[?] *šarru*,)[628] who initially was invested before king Arsaces with the office of the "general of Babylonia who is above the four generals" ([[lú]GAL ERÍN[meš] KUR URI[ki] *ša ana m*]*uḫḫi* 4 [lú]GAL ERÍN[meš]),[629] probably with authority not

622 *Ibid.*, no. –86 A 'obv.' 9' (= 458–459).

623 *Ibid.*, no. –90 'obv. 30' (= 436–437).

624 *Ibid.*, no. –82 B 'rev.' 5' (= 480–481).

625 See Del Monte, *Testi*, 168–169, n. 280.

626 See below, 203–204.

627 See also Del Monte, *Testi*, 53–57.

628 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –140 A 'rev. 7' (= 134–135) read the name as [1]*Ar-*'*a-a-bu-za-na-a* ([1]*An-ti-*'*u-uk-su* A *šá* [1]*Ar-*'*a-a-bu-za-na-a* LUGAL), which could well render Iranian **Ariya-bauj-ana-* "who rejuvenates Iranians," attested in Nisa documents as *Aryabōžan* <'rybwzn>, and known from the Greek *Nebenüberlieferung* in names ending in *°βουζάνης*, such as *Μιθροβουζάνης*. See Zadok, "Anthroponyms and Toponyms," no. A-11; Schmitt, "Namenüberlieferung," 183, no. D2 ; *Iranier-Namen*, 129, n. 21; and Stolper, "Iranica," 245–246; on the name *Bōžan* (*Βωζάνης*), see Huyse, "Namengut," 21. One may also suggest the reading [1]*Ar-*'*a-a-bur*$_{12}$*-za-na-a*, which could stand for Iranian **Ariya-bṛz-ana-*, well attested in forms such as *Ἀριοβαρζάνης*, but also in Parthian ostraca as *Aryabarzan* <'rybrzn>; see Schmitt, "Namenüberlieferung," 183, no. D1; *Iranier-Namen*, 81–82, no. 3.1.1.

629 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –140 A 'rev. 8' (= 134–135); for other passages referring to Antiochos' command, see also no. –140 B rev.' 9 (= 140–141); no. –140 C obv. 37 (146–147); no. –140 C 'rev. 30'–34' (150–151); no. –140 D 'obv. 13'–15' (154–155).

only over the governor of the city of Babylon *pāḫāt Bābili* (lú*pa-ḫat* E^{ki}) itself,[630] but also over a certain Nikanor (*Nikanūru* [lúGAL ERÍN]^{meš} KUR URI^{ki}) who seems to have been appointed shortly after the generalissimo himself, to the office of general of Babylonia.[631] Antiochos' command is attested between 1/2.vii.141 BCE (= 22.iii.171 SE),[632] date at which his letters patent were read in Babylon, and 2/3.i.–31.i./1.ii.140 BCE (= x.171 SE), when he is last mentioned holding command.[633]

The *Diaries* report next of a certain **Philinos** as the "general who is above the four generals" (lúGAL ERÍN^{meš} *šá ana* UGU 4 rlúGALn [ERÍN^{meš}]);[634] his command is attested for the period between 1/2.xi.–1/2.xii.138 BCE (= viii.174 SE) and 31.x./1.xi.133 BCE (= 24.vii.179 SE), when note of his replacement by the new supreme commander Theodosios reached Babylon.[635] Although Philinos had already been summoned in 12/13. iv.–12/13.v.133 BCE (= i.179 SE) to Media, to the presence of Bagayaša, the brother of king Frahād II,[636] it is only half a year later that the substitution takes effect, during which time Philinos could well have continued serving in Babylonia.

Under Philinos, we are informed of the presence of a general of Babylonia *rab uqān māt Akkad* (lúGAL ERÍN^{meš} KUR URI^{ki}),[637] of a satrap of Babylonia *muma''ir māt Akkad* (lú*mu-ma-'i-ir* KUR URI^{ki}),[638] as well as the guard commander *muḫḫi maṣṣarti* (lú*muḫḫi* EN.NUN).[639]

During the tenure of the supreme command of **Theodosios** (*Te'udisi'sic ana muḫḫi* 4 lúGAL ERÍN^{meš} *ša* KUR URI^{ki})[640], between 31.x./1.xi.133 BCE (= 24.vii.179 SE) and 19/20.iv.120 (= i.192 SE)—or at the latest 22/23.v.120 BCE (= 4.ii.192 SE)—we encounter a general of Babylonia *rab uqān māt*

630 *Ibid.*, no. –140 A 'rev. 5' (= 134–135).
631 *Ibid.*, no. –140 A 'rev. 6' (= 134–135); no. –140 B rev.' 10' (= 140–141).
632 *Ibid.*, no. –140 A 'rev. 5' (= 134–135).
633 *Ibid.*, no. –140 D 'obv. 13'–15' (154–155).
634 *Ibid.*, no. –137 C 'rev. 16' (= 168–169); no. –137 E 'rev. 7' (= 178–179); no. –136 B 'obv.' 12' (= 182–183); no. –134 B 'rev. 9' (= 196–197); no. –133 B/C rev.' 19 (= 206–207); no. –132 A 'obv.' 3' (= 208–209); no. –132 B rev. 21–25 (= 216–217).
635 *Ibid.*, no. –132 B rev. 21–25 (= 216–217).
636 *Ibid.*.
637 *Ibid.*, no. –137 D rev.' 26–28 (= 174–175).
638 *Ibid.*, no. –133 B/C rev.' 22'–25' (= 204–205); B/C rev.' 18–21 (= 206–207); no. –132 B obv. 28 (= 214–215).
639 *Ibid.*, no. –137 D rev.' 25–26 (= 174–175). See also table 10.
640 Theodosios is first mentioned in an obscure passage in 30/31.viii.133 BCE (= 22.v.179 SE); no. –132 A 'rev.' 4'; also see no. –132 B rev. 21–25 (= 216–217); possibly no. –129 A_2 'obv.' 19' (= 248–249); possibly –129 A_2 'rev.' 14' (= 250–251; no. –124 A 'rev.' 19' (= 270–271).

Akkad,[641] a satrap of Babylonia (*muma"ir māt Akkad*),[642] an unknown governor of Babylon (*pāḫāt Bābilî*),[643] who, we are told, was a Greek citizen appointed by the king,[644] much like the famous Timarchos, whom we have encountered before,[645] and who is reported to have been nominated previously by the king as the commander of the guards in Babylon *rab maṣṣarti* (lúGAL EN.NUN) at the latest by 6.vii.–3.viii.127 BCE (= iv.185 SE),[646] Timarchos seems to have perished at the hand of plundering and raiding Arabs in 28/29.vii.124 BCE (=28.iv.188 SE):

[. . .] . . . the 28th, the chief of guard and many city[?] people [. . .] from Borsippa to Babylon [. . .] / [. . .] fell upon them [. . .] they [. . .], they plundered them, and **they killed this chief of the guard in Babylon.** Panic [. . .].[647]

The unnamed satrap of Babylonia, like the general of Babylonia,[648] is initially depicted in combat against Hyspaosines (*Aspasinē*) of Characene, who besieged the cities of Babylonia.[649]

Already in 19/20.iv.120 BCE (= i.192 SE), we hear of a new generalissimo,[650] whose name has not survived, but for the final syllable *-nâ*, although he is said to be the **son of Bagayaša**, king Frahād II's brother: [. . .]*-nâ māru ša Bagayaša* ⌜*ša ana*⌝ *muḫḫi* 4 lúGAL ERÍN-*ni*^{meš};[651] in the same passage, a governor of Babylon (*pāḫāt Bābilî*),[652] and a general with the name *Urraḫšu*[?][653] (*Urraḫšu* lúGAL *ú-qa*) are also mentioned.[654] The command

[641] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –132 D_1 'rev.' 7'–8' (= 232–233); no. –129 A_2 'obv.' 19' (= 248–249), only lúGAL ERÍN^{me}[^{š} . . .] may be read in this diary, thus, it either stands for lúGAL ERÍN^{me}[^{š} KUR URI^{ki}] "general of Babylonia," or for lúGAL ERÍN^{me}[^{š} *šá ana* UGU 4 GAL ERÍN^{meš}] "the general over the four generals"; the same problem also exists with no. –129 A_2 'rev.' 14' (= 250–251), where we may only read lúGAL ERÍN[^{meš}]; no. –124 B 'obv.' 6' (= 272–273); no. –124 B 'rev.' 12' (= 278–279). This *rab uqān māt Akkad* is most probably identical with the lúGAL ERÍN^{meš} KUR URI^{ki} mentioned in the Bagayaša Chronicle recently edited by van der Spek, "Size and Significance," 284, A obv. 20'.

[642] *Ibid.*, no. –129 A_1 'obv.' 6' (= 244–245); no. –129 A_2 'obv.' 16' (= 248–249); no. –129 A_2 'rev.' 14', 17' (= 250–251); no. –125 A obv.' 15 (= 260–261); no. –124 A 'rev.' 6', 18' (= 268–271); no. –124 B 'obv.'4', 20' (= 272–275).

[643] *Ibid.*, no. –129 A_2 'obv.' 17'–18 ' (= 248–249); no. –124 B 'rev.' 15', 17' (= 278–279).

[644] *Ibid.*, no. –129 A_2 'obv.' 17' (= 248–249).

[645] See above, III and 151.

[646] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –126 A 'obv.' 6'–7' (= 254–255); this is the date in which Timarchos escaped from Hyspaosines of Characene and joined Indupanē in Media.

[647] *Ibid.*, no. –123 A rev.' 6–7 (= 284–285).

[648] *Ibid.*, no. –124 B 'obv.' 6' (= 272–273).

[649] *Ibid.*, no. –125 A obv.' 15–21 (= 260–261); no. –124 B 'obv.' 4' (= 272–273). See also table 10.

[650] *Ibid.*, no. –119 B 'obv.' A_2 16', A_2 18' (= 310–311).

[651] *Ibid.*, no. –119 C 'obv. C11'–12' (= 312–313).

[652] *Ibid.*, no. –119 C obv.' C12' (= 312–313); no. –118 A 'rev. A19' (= 326–327).

[653] *Urraḫšu* may reflect the Parthian name *Walγaš* (MP. *Wālaxš*) possibly from *varda-* "increase/exercise" and *xšāya-* "to rule"; see Gignoux, *Noms propres*, no. 934.

[654] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –119 C obv.' C12' (= 312–313); might be the same as the one in charge of the generalship (*rab uqūtu*) referred to in no. –119 $A_2$18' (= 310–311).

of *-nâ*, son of Bagayaša, seems to have lasted at the very least until 3/4.x.119 BCE (= vii.193 SE).[655]

The immediate predecessor of Mitrāṭu as the commander-in-chief of troops in Babylonia is the aforementioned **Mitradātâ.** Noteworthy is that, beginning with Mitradātâ, and in spite of his holding sway over a number of subaltern commanders, much like his predecessors, the title of the supreme commander changed from "the general (of Babylonia) who is over the four generals" to the more simple "commander-in-chief of troops" (^{lú}GAL.GAL *uqānu*). This Mitradātâ, whose command is attested from 25/26.iv.112 BCE (= 5.i.200 SE) to possibly 26/27.iii.–23/24.iv.96 BCE (= i.216 SE),[656] may be identical with the Mithridates Sinakes, who, according to Josephos, was the Arsacid governor (of Mesopotamia) under Mihrdād II. Indeed, Josephos reports that the power struggle between the Seleucid princes Demetrios III and Philippos I led to the former besieging his brother in Beroia in Syria,[657] whereby the city's *τύραννος*, a certain Straton, who was allied to Philippos, called for help from Azizos the *phylarchos* of the Arabs, as well as Mithridates, the Arsacid governor of the Parthians (*ὁ Παρθυαίων ὕπαρχος*):

[J. AJ 13.384]
Στράτων δὲ ὁ τῆς Βεροίας τύραννος Φιλίππῳ συμμαχῶν Ἄζιζον τὸν Ἀράβων φύλαρχον ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ Μιθριδάτην τὸν Σινάκην τὸν Παρθυαίων ὕπαρχον.

"Straton, the ruler of Beroia, who was allied with Philippos, called in Azizos, the *phylarchos* of the Arabs, and Mithridates Sinakēs, the *hyparchos* of the Parthians."

One problem with the above identification pertains to Josephos' further reporting that Demetrios III was sent to Mihrdād II[658] and was kept in great honor by the latter until his demise by sickness: *Μιθριδάτης δὲ ὁ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς τὸν Δημήτριον εἶχεν ἐν τιμῇ τῇ πάσῃ μέχρι νόσῳ κατέστρεψε Δημήτριος τὸν βίον* "Mithridates [II], the king of the Parthians, held Demetrios in the greatest honor, until the life of Demetrios came to an end, due to illness."[659] As we shall see below, however, Mihrdād II reportedly died in 22/23.xi.–20/21.xii.91 BCE,[660] and

[655] *Ibid.*, no. –118 A 'rev. A21' (= 326–327). See also table 10.
[656] *Ibid.*, no. –111 A obv.' 17 (= 338–339); no. –111 C 4' (= 344–345); no. –107 C 'rev. 15' (= 370–371); no. –99 B 'flake' 15' (= 404–405); possibly no. –95 'flake' A 11' (416–417).
[657] J. *AJ* 13.384: *Δημήτριος δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπελθὼν εἰς Βέροιαν ἐπολιόρκει τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον ὄντων αὐτ πεζῶν μὲν μυρίων χιλίων δὲ ἱππέων.* See also above, 150, n. 449.
[658] J. *AJ* 13.385.
[659] J. *AJ* 13.385.
[660] See below, 225–226.

Demetrios III's coinage is attested only until the year 88/87 BCE (= 225 SE [of the Macedonion Calendar]),[661] which would mean that Demetrios III's defeat at the hands of Mitradātâ during the reign of Mihrdād II may have belonged, were we to follow the numismatic evidence, to the reign of Gōdarz I, and the tenure of his supreme commander in Mesopotamia Mitrāṭu. Thus, Josephos appears to have correctly captured the name of Mihrdād II's commander as Mithridates (Sinakēs), but has erroneously ascribed the episode of Demetrios III's seizure to the reign of Mihrdād II, when in reality it occurred under Gōdarz I, and the agent who fulfilled it was Mitrāṭu.

Under Mitradātâ, we encounter a satrap of Babylonia (*muma"ir māt Akkad*),[662] and a general (lúGAL ERÍN-*ni*),[663] who might, or might not, be identical with the general of Babylonia (*rab uqān māt Akkad*) mentioned later in the *Diaries*.[664]

If we combine the years in which a supreme commander—despite changes within the official titulature of the commander—was in charge of Babylonia,[665] we will see that between xii.138 and x.119 BCE there was *continuous* presence of a generalissimo in Babylonia, that is, *Philinos*: xii.138–xi.133; *Theodosios*: xi.133–iv.120; and *son of Bagayaša*: iv.120–x.119; and *intermittently* for the years vii.141–ii.140, as well as iv.112-iii.82, namely, *Antiochos*: vii.141–ii.140; *Mitradātâ*: iv.112–iv.96; and *Mitrāṭu*: xi.91–iii.82. Thus, for the most part of a period of some sixty years, a commander-in-chief is attested in Babylonia. The presence of supreme commanders in Babylonia often coincides with the appearance of foreign enemies within the imperial territories, which makes it conceivable that the state of warfare with foreign enemies was responsible for the assignment of extended mandates to a few commanders. The parallels are as follows:

(1) During the command of Antiochos, the Arsacids have to face the second Elamite raid of king Kammaškiri the Elder in Mesopotamia, which lasted from 11/12.xii.141 to 28/29.i.140 BCE (= ix.–27.x.171 SE),[666]

[661] See Houghton and Spaer, *Sylloge*, 382–385, nos. 2867, 2880', pls. 186–187; also Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 245, n. 1092.

[662] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –111 B 'rev.' 8', 10' (= 342-343); no. –109 A 'obv.' 13' (= 348–349); no. –109 B 'obv.' 7' (= 352–353).

[663] *Ibid.*, no. –111 B 'rev.' 11' (= 342–343).

[664] *Ibid.*, no. –107 B 'obv.' 13' (= 366–367).

[665] See table 10.

[666] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –140 C obv. 34–44 (= 146–147); no. –140 C rev.' 30'–37' (= 150–153). The Elamite king is first reported in diary no. –144 'obv. 14'–18' (= 94–95), while campaigning in Mesopotamia on Seleucid territory. Kammaškiri's presence in Mesopotamia probably led to the mobilization of royal Seleucid troops by Demetrios II; the troops were mustered by the Iranian(?) general Ardaya of Babylonia, as mentioned in diary no. –144 'obv.

and whose forces so seriously threatened Babylon and Seleucia as to force the king's representative, Antiochos, to negotiate with them (or side with them?).[667]

(2) Under Philinos, the Arsacids confronted several foreign foes and external dangers: first, the Seleucid king Demetrios II, who, in 7/8.vii–4/6.viii.138 BCE (= iv.174 SE), was defeated, captured, and together with his nobles settled in Iran proper;[668] second, the third Elamite raid under king Okkonapses, which distressed Mesopotamia between 3/4.viii.138 and 5/6.i.137 BCE (= 28.iv.-6.x.174 SE); and third: the fourth Elamite raid under Tigraios, which was carried out in conjunction with the Characenean forces of Hyspaosines (Aspasinē), the "Elamite enemy,"[669] during the period of 7/8.x.–12/13.xi.133 BCE (= 1.vii.–7.viii.179 SE). The Arsacids reacted against the combined forces of Tigraios and his Characenean ally by carrying the war into Elymais,[670] and installing upon the Elamite throne the pro-Parthian Elamite prince, Kammaškiri the Younger,[671] who, having revolted against his father, lived in Babylonian exile as an Arsacid protégé.

(3) Later, during the mandate of Theodosios, there was the campaign of Antiochos VII Sidetes who ephemerally occupied Babylonia between 25/26.vii.130 and 5.xi.129 BCE (17.iv.182–13.viii.183 SE),[672] followed by the reiterated campaign of Hyspaosines, which finally led to the brief seizure of Babylonia for the period of 30/31.v.–4.xi.127 BCE (= 24.ii.–4.viii.185 SE).[673] Still under Theodosios, Hyspaosines of Characene entered into a compact with the Arsacids, which was sealed with Hyspaosines' son Timotheos being returned to his father in 7/8.xi.–6/7.xii.125 BCE (= viii.187 SE); what is more, the Elamite ruler Pittit confronted his suzerain Mihrdād II, but was defeated by him on 19/20.i.124 BCE (= 15.x.187 SE).[674]

Aside from these enemies, the *Diaries* are very explicit as regards the danger and vigor of Arab incursions into Mesopotamia, which are for

36′–37′ (= 96–97); the same general would later lead the Seleucid forces against the Elamite king and force him out of Mesopotamia—not, however, before Kammaškiri plundered the area; see diary no. –144 rev.′ 17–22 (= 98/99–100/101).

667 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –140 C rev.′ 30′–37′ (= 150–152).

668 *Ibid.*, no. –137 A 'rev.' 8′–11′ (= 160–161). See above, 68–72, 74–75.

669 *Ibid.*, no. –137 D 'obv. 9′–14′ (= 168–169); no. –133 B rev. 18–20 (= 216–217); no. –132 D_2 'rev.' 16′–23′ (= 230–231).

670 *Ibid.*, no. –132 D_2 'obv.' D_2 8′– D_2 9′ (= 226–227): "[t]hat month, I heard / [. . .] Susa they made, and killed many troops of the Elamite in fighting . . ."

671 *Ibid.*, no. –132 D_2 'rev.' 16′–21′ (= 230–231). See above, 88–101.

672 See above, 125.

673 See above, 110–112.

674 See above, 114–120.

the first time attested in 130/129.[675] There are continuous reports of Arab hordes undertaking violent and menacing campaigns in Babylonia as late as in 91/90,[676] although it remains unclear whether these Arabs *originally* were parts of Hyspaosines' contingents, acted in concert with him, or were simply independent tribes. The fact, on the one hand, that their plundering campaigns are mentioned without any apparent connection with Hyspaosines' actions on several tablets, in which both concur, and, on the other hand, the fact that the Arabs became an even more formidable foe following Hyspaosines' demise suggest that from the beginning they were independent from the Characenean kingdom.

The *Diaries* report four different waves of Arab raids into Mesopotamia that extend partially over the duration of the generalissimi's mandates in Mesopotamia, as table 7 illustrates.

It is our impression that at least Philinos, Antiochos, and Theodosios were invested with supreme commands in Mesopotamia partially in

675 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –129 A_2 'rev.' 19' (= 249–250).

676 *Ibid.*, no. –125 A obv.' 21 (= 260–261): "[t]hat month, the Arabs . . . [. . .] went around in the land [. . .]"; no. –124 A 'obv.' 8'–9' (= 264–265): "[t]hat month, the Arabs from above the wind[?] attacked and plund[ered[?] . . .] / [. . . traffic] was cut off [to] Borsippa and the other cities. The people who went out to[?] the surroundings of the city and the other fields [gave] presents [. . .]"; no. -124 A 'rev.' 4'–7' (= 268–269): "[t]hat month, fire in the king's palace as before . . . [. . .] / [. . . the Ar]abs broke a hole into the wall of Babylon in the . . . house next[?] to the gate of Zababa . . . [. . .] / [. . . the 2]3rd, the satrap of Babylonia entered Babylon from Seleucia which is on the Tigris [. . .] / [. . . because] of the Arabs was cut off, and as before they gave presents to the Arabs [. . .]"; no. –124 B 'obv.' 21' (= 274–275): "[t]hat month, the Arabs plundered as before; panic of the Arabs as before was much in the land . . . [. . .]"; no. –124 B 'rev.' 20' (= 278–279): "[t]hat month, there was plundering by the Arabs as before"; no. –123 A rev.' 6–7 (= 284–285): ". . . the chief of the guard and many city[?] people [. . .] from Borsippa to Babylon [. . .] / [the Arabs] fell upon them [. . .] they plundered them, and they killed this chief of the guard in Babylon. Panic [. . .]"; no. –122 A 'obv.' 8' (= 290–291): "[. . . Arabs[?]] plundered the rivers."; no. –122 D 'obv.' 9'–11' (= 298–299): "[t]hat month the Arabs [. . .] / [. . .] all[?] Babylonia were surrounded[?] many[?] days, the (gates[?]) of Babylon were not opened (because of[?]) fighting . . ."; no. –119 B 'obv.' B_1 13' (= 310–311):"[t]hat [month], plundering by the Arabs in Babylonia"; no. –118 A22 (= 320–321): "[t]he people went out from Babylon to the rivers and fields which were without Arabs"; no. –118 A22' (= 326–327): "[t]hat month, the Arabs became hostile, as before, and plundered. That month, king Arsaces [went] to the remote cities of the Gutian country in order to fight"; no. –111 B 'rev.' 11'–12' (= 342–343): "[. . .] . . . [t]hat month. (there was) an attack of the Arabs as before. The general, the [. . .] / [. . .] these[?] troops defeated the Arabs . . ."; no. –108 B 'rev. 20' (= 360–361): "[. . .] Seleucia . . . plundering by the Ar[abs[?]] as before"; no. –105 A 'rev. 22'–23' (= 390–391): "[t]hat month, I heard that the Arabs [. . .] / departed to the surroundings of Seleucia which is on the Euphrates. Other Arabs went [. . .]"; no. –93 A rev.' 11 (= 428–429): "[t]hat month, there were many sick and dead in the land"; no. –93 A rev.' 23–26 (= 430–431): "[. . .] I heard that Arsaces, king of kings, departed to[?] the province of Media as before. That month, pregnant women / [. . .] dug the river which is above Seleucia which is on the Euphrates, as before. A heavy work obligation / [. . . which were] written to the administrator of Essangil and the Babylonians, were read in the house of counsel which is in the Juniper Garden / [. . .] the Babylonians whose names were written in this leather document who . . . make known with him [. . .]"; no. –90 'obv. 17' (= 434–435): "that month, the people of the towns who before had entered Babylon for fear, [returned[?]] to their towns [. . .]."

Table 7. *External threats and Arab raids during the tenure of Arsacid supreme commanders in Babylonia*

Supreme commanders	Events	Arab raids	Dates of commands
Antiochos	• Second Elamite raid under Kammaškiri the Elder	—	1/2.vii.141 *to* 2/3.i.–31.i./1.ii.140 (= 22.iii.171– x.171 SE)
Philinos	• Defeat and capture of Demetrios II • Third Elamite raid under Okkonapses • Fourth Elamite raid under Tigraios in concert with Hyspaosines of Characene • Defeat of Tigraios and instatement of Kammaškiri the Younger in Susa	—	1/2.xi.–1/2.xii.138 *to* 31.x./1. xi.133 (= viii.174–24.vii.179 SE)
Theodosios	• Campaign of Antiochos Sidetes • Hyspaosines' seizure of Babylon • Defeat of new Elamite ruler Pittit	126/125–123/122	31.x./1.xi.133 *to* 19/20.iv.120 (= 24.vii.179–i.192 SE)
Son of Bagayaša	• Capture of Dura-Europos *post* 116 • Arsacid support of Antiochos Kyzikenos to capture Antioch against Antiochos VIII Grypos in 114/113	120/119–119/118	19/20.iv.120 *to* 3/4.x.119 (= i.192–vii.193 SE)
Mitradātâ	• First Arsacid and Roman diplomatic encounter in aftermath of Tigranes' (an Arsacid client) eviction from Cappadocia, and Ariobarzanes' restoration by Sulla, in 96 or 92	112/111–106/105	25/26.iv.112 *to* 26/27.iii.–23/24.iv.96 (5.i.200– i.216 SE)
Mitrāṭu	• Death of Mihrdād II in winter 91 • Arsacid support of Philippos I against Demetrios III before 88/87 • Extension of Tigranes' power in Syria, Cilicia, and Coele-Syria in 87/86 or 83	94/93–91/90	22/23.x.–21/22.xi.91 *to* 19/20.ii.–20/21.iii.82 (= viii.221–xii.229 SE)

order to withstand the Seleucid, Elymaean, and Characenean offensives; however, Theodosios' successors were given extensive military powers to counter the devastating Arab raids. Thus, while the nature of the power granted to the supreme commanders of Mesopotamia could have been *extraordinary*, it became increasingly permanent as exterior enemies continued to pose lasting threats to the security of Mesopotamia and the empire. However, in order to substantiate this assumption, we ought to have a glance at the structure of Arsacid command in Babylonia and Iran, to the extent the Diaries supply us with new information.

A note on the Arsacid command structure in Babylonia

Several authors have recently discussed the identity of "the general (of Babylonia) who is above the four generals" under the late Seleucids and early Arsacids.[677] It has been suggested, notably by Karlheinz Kessler, that the general above the four generals might have been merely understood by the Seleucids to mean the στρατηγός of Babylonia who is ranked above the four other στρατηγοί of Babylonia,[678] although we do not know for sure of four στρατηγίαι in Babylonia. Another suggestion by Yasuyuki Mitsuma[679] is to identify the general above the four generals with the commander of the Upper Satrapies known from the epigraphic material as ὁ ἐπί τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν,[680] whose extensive command encompassed the eastern satrapies mostly limited in the west by the Tigris (or occasionally the Euphrates).[681]

First, however, we shall turn our attention to the identity of the four generals, before attempting to draw inferences about the office of their leader. The *Diaries* know merely of four officials with military functions during the mandates of the Arsacid supreme commanders: the general (of Babylonia), the guard commander, the satrap of Babylonia, and the governor of Babylon.

Judging from the *Diaries*, only *one* general (of Babylonia) *rab uqu/uqān (māt Akkad)* was active at any given time under the command of a generalissimo,[682] from Antiochos to Mitrāṭu, thus making us wonder who the remaining three generals might have been. It has been recently suggested that the four generals of Babylonia could represent the

[677] See Kessler, "Zum Militärwesen," 173–182; Mitsuma, "Offices of Generals," 26–55; "General of Four *stratēgia*," note 9; Potts, "Once More," note 51; and Capdetrey, *Pouvoir séleucide*, 289–290.

[678] Kessler, "Zum Militärwesen," 178: "was für Griechen ohne weiters als Strategos von Babylonien, der über den 4 (anderen) Strategen stand, verstanden werden konnte."

[679] See Mitsuma, "Offices of Generals," 26; "General of Four *stratēgia*," 9.

[680] See Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. VIII, 7–80.

[681] See below, 220.

[682] See similarly Mitsuma, "Offices of Generals," 27.

ἀκροφύλακες "garrison commanders" of the four major Babylonian cities, that is, Babylon, Seleucia, Borsippa, and Kutha.[683] There are several issues with this argument. As we shall see, the ἀκροφύλαξ is most likely to be identified with the guard commander, the *muḫḫi maṣṣarti*, rather than the *rab uqu*. More importantly, however, the general of Babylonia is always depicted leaving (for a campaign), or returning to, Seleucia.[684] Never during the Arsacid period is the *rab uqu* depicted regaining another city, such as Borsippa, or Kutha; which makes us believe that, like the satrap of Babylonia, the *rab uqu* actually resided in Seleucia.[685] If so, it is unlikely that the *rab uqu* represented the ἀκροφύλαξ of any of the four major Babylonian cities.

So who is then the general of Babylonia? He may correspond to the Arsacid *stratēgos* of Babylonia, whose function is well attested from Seleucid and Arsacid documents.

Indeed, from a Greek metrical inscription found in Susa, composed in honour of a certain Zamaspes, we are informed of an Arsacid *stratēgos* of Susa, who is called Tiridates and presented as the Susian στρατίαρχος of king Phraates.[686] Ernst Cumont has identified this Phraates as king Phraates IV, and Tiridates as the general who, as Justin reports,[687] briefly usurped his throne in the years 32/31 BCE.[688]

The term στρατίαρχος has also been used in another Susian inscription dedicated to Zamaspes, probably in 9/8 BCE,[689] this time in reference not to Tiridates, but to Zamaspes himself, who is called the *stratiarchos* of Susa (στρατίαρχος Σούσων Ζαμάσπης); here, στρατίαρχος could well be

[683] See Del Monte, *Testi*, 55–56; following the latter, see Capdetrey, *Pouvoir séleucide*, 289–290.

[684] A few examples: Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –137 D rev.′ 28: "together with his troops he went from Babylon to Seleucia. That month, the 2nd, the general of Babylonia went out from Seleucia and . . ."; no. –132 D_1 ′rev.′ 7′: "the general of Babylonia [went out] from Babylonia to Seleucia."

[685] Compare Del Monte, *Testi*, 55, who makes the same observation, but reaches a different conclusion: "[i]n conclusione, se vi vogliono vedere in questi '4 generali' i responsabili della amministrazione militare e civile delle quattro principali città della Babilonia, come sembrerebbe ovvio, bisogna ammettere che la lora residenza normale era a Seleucia e non a Babilonia."

[686] Cumont, "Nouvelles inscriptions [1]," 212–213, l. 7; see also Wilhelm, "Griechische Epigramme," 91, l. 7, who reconstitutes: στρατίαρχος ὁ Σου[σιανὴν διακοσμῶν]; differently SEG 7, no. 12, n. 7: "in fine e.g. Σου[σιανὴν σατραπείας]". [See figure 7].

[687] Just. 52.5.6: *hoc absente regem Parthi Tiridaten quondam constituerant qui audito adventu Scytharum cum magna amicorum manu ad Caesarem in Hispania bellum tunc temporis gerentem profugit* "during his [Phrahates'] absence, the Parthians had installed a certain Tiridates as king, who upon hearing that the Scythians were approaching, found refuge, together with a large group of his friends, with Caesar, who was at that time making war in Spain."

[688] Cumont, "Nouvelles inscriptions [1]s," 213–214. On Tiridates, see also Bengston, *Strategie*, 280–283; Le Rider, *Suse*, 418; Schippmann, *Parthische Geschichte*, 45, 109, n. 56; and Wolski, *L'empire*, 146.

[689] On the date, which could also be 1/2 CE, see Cumont, "Inscriptions de Suse," 249; also Wilhelm, "Griechische Epigramme," 82–83.

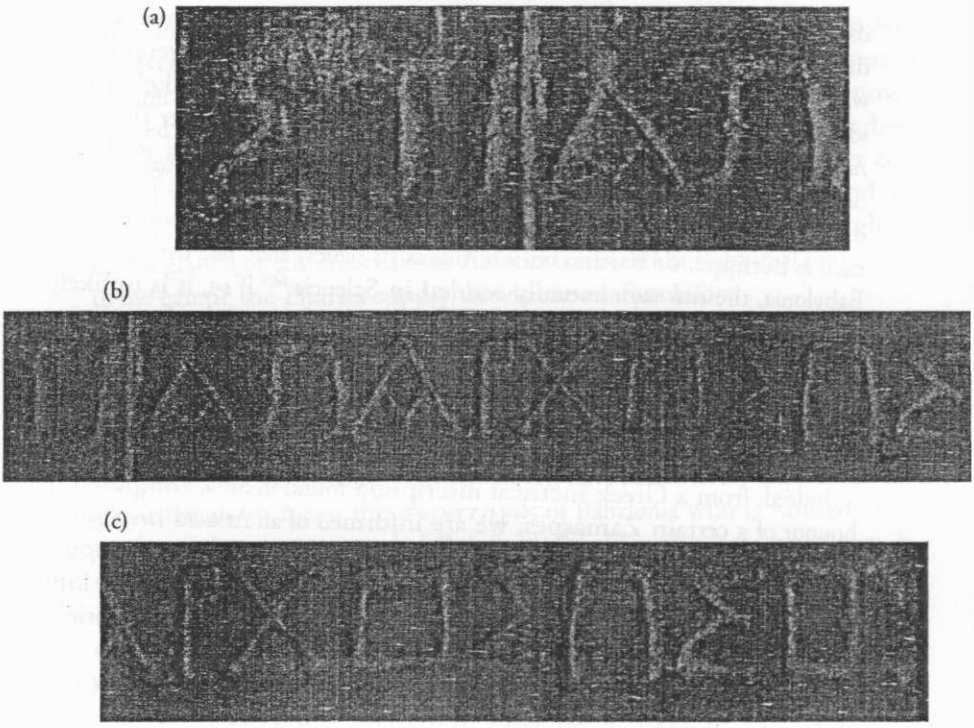


Figure 7a–c Details of a Greek inscription composed in honor of Zamaspes, the *stratiarchos* of Susa.

the poetic rendition of the word στρατηγός as suggested by Cumont.[690] Thus, in the second half of the first century BCE, two *stratēgoi* of Susiana are attested.

That the office of the *stratēgos* of Susiana should not be equated with that of the region's satrap may find support in the testimony of our second Susian inscription.[691] Therein, Zamaspes was reportedly promoted to satrap, consequent upon the benefits (ὀνησιφόρα) that the irrigation works he had carried out, as the *stratēgos* of Susa, had produced.

[690] Cumont, "Inscriptions de Suse," 243: "στρατίαρχος, qui se trouve dans l'autre pièce (I) en l'honneur de Zamaspès, paraît être un terme poétique pour στρατηγός qu'excluait la métrique, puisque la voyelle précédente devait être nécessairement longue par position. Peut-être Zamaspès avait-il succédé dans ces fonctions de stratège à Tiridate, à qui le titre de στρατίαρχος appartient dans le premier morceau." See also Bengston, *Strategie*, 282.

[691] Compare Cumont, "Inscriptions de Suse," 245–246: "[s]i notre lecture est admise, à Suse σατράπης était synonyme de στρατίαρχος, c'est-à-dire de 'stratège,' comme a l'époque des Séleucides au moins dans l'usage vulgaire."

On account of these, the king, following our inscription, made him a *φιλόπατρις καὶ φιλόδοξος ἑταῖρος* "'companion,' friend to (his) fatherland and glory."[692] The irrigation works are also the very reason why the citizens (*φρουροὶ ναετῆρες*) in charge of guarding the citadel (*ἄκρα*) of Susa erected for him a statue and dedicated the inscription;[693] that they addressed him with his (former) title of *στρατίαρχος* (= *stratēgos*) might be related to the affinity they felt for him in his function as their benevolent military commander, rather than the satrap he had become. The division of the functions of *stratēgos* and satrap under the Arsacids[694] may further be deduced from a late Arsacid inscription (14.x.215 CE), wherein a certain *Husāk Šūš šāhrab* "Husāk, satrap of Susiana,"[695] is mentioned, whereby Šūš ought to be understood as Susiana rather than merely as the city of Susa.[696] In late Seleucid Susiana, much like in Babylonia, a distinction seems to have been made between the functions of satrap and *stratēgos*; the *Diaries* report in 7/8.v.–5/6.vi.184 BCE (= ii.128 SE) of a general of Susiana (*rab uqu ša Sušan*),[697] as does a late Seleucid inscription of a *stratēgos* of Susiana (*στρατηγὸς τῆς Σουσιανῆς*), called Arrheneides.[698]

Aside from the *stratēgos* of Babylonia, the *Diaries* clearly indicate the simultaneous presence of an Arsacid satrap of Babylonia (*muma"ir māt Akkad*),[699] the independence of whose office from that of the *stratēgos*

[692] *Ibid.*, 241, ll. 5–6: [κ]ρείνας [γὰ]ρ φιλόπατ[ριν καὶ] φιλο[δ]ο[ξον ἑτα]ῖρον εἵλετο [σατ]ράππην ε[ἰδότ' ὀν]ησιφόρα. For the text of the inscription, see Wilhelm, "Griechische Epigramme," 79 = *SEG* 7, no. 13, ll. 5–6.

[693] Cumont, "Inscriptions de Suse," 241, ll. 9–12; and 247–248.

[694] On the division between the offices under the Arsacids, see the remarks of Bengston, *Strategie*, 288: "[e]s hat also dabei zu bleiben, daß ebenso wir im Seleukidischenreich so auch bei den Parthern jener merkwürdige Zwiespalt in der Verwaltung der Satrapien geherrscht hat, der sich auch hier in dem Nebeneinander von Strategen und Satrapen zum Ausdruck bringt."

[695] On the inscription of Husāk, see still Henning, "Tang-i Sarvak," 176; most recently, see Skjærvø, "Aramaic in Iran," 292–293, who reads the fourth line of the inscription slightly differently than Henning; the latter would read: *Artabānu šāhān šāh / puhr Walaγaši šāhān šāh dišt / hansāk ēd čē / Xwasāk Sūš šahrab*; in contrast, Skjærvø reads: *Ardbān šāhān šāh / puhr Walγaš šāhān šāh *dišt / či[t] ak im man / Husāk Sūš šahrab*. However, as far as we may judge from new photographs of the stele, the words which Skjærvø interprets as *cy[t]k ZNE LY* can be only partially confirmed; the fourth line should be read *hn(s)k ZK LY*, or *hansāk ēd man*, thus: *Ardbān šāhān šāh / puhr Walγaš šāhān šāh *dišt / hansāk ēd man / Husāk Sūš šahrab* "Artabanos, king of kings, son of Vologeses, king of kings, I, Husāk, satrap of Susiana, made this stele." [See figures 8–9].

[696] Compare Schmitt, "Namenüberlieferung," 170; also Frye, "Sasanian Titles," 355.

[697] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. II, no. –183 A 'rev. 12'–13' (= 358–359).

[698] *OGIS*, no. 747, vol. II, 487: *Πυθαγόρας Ἀριστάρχου | σωματοφύλαξ Ἀρρενείδην | Ἀρρενείδου τὸν στρατηγὸν | τῆς Σουσιανῆς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον.*

[699] Of interest, albeit of contested liability, is Josephos' mention—within the fantastic tale of the brothers Asinaios and Anilaios (*AJ* 18.310–379) who ascended to rulers of Babylonia from a past rooted in banditry—of a satrap of Babylonia (*τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σατράπης*; *AJ* 18.318) who set out to confront them under the reign of Artabanos (II). On Asinaios and Anilaios, see Täubler, *Parthernachrichten*, 62–65; Smith, "Asinaeus and Anilaeus"; Rajak, "Parthians in Josephus,"

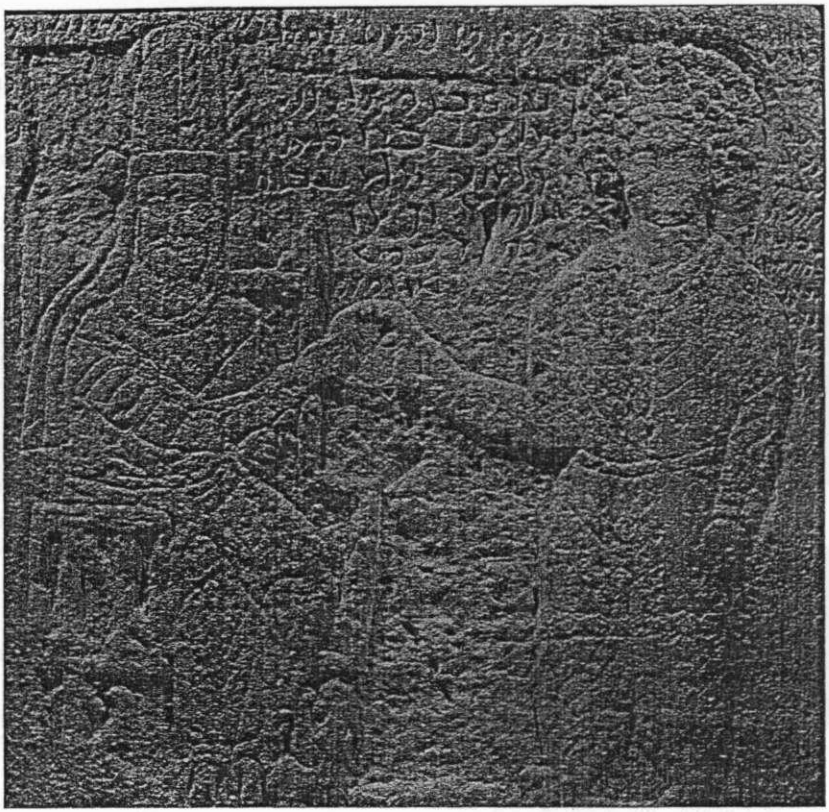


Figure 8 Investiture scene of the late Arsacid satrap of Susa Husāk receiving the ring of rulership from Ardawān V.

is supported through comparison with Susian affairs, namely, both Zamaspes' rise from the position of στρατίαρχος to that of the satrap of Susiana, as well as the presence of the *šāhrab* Husāk in the later Arsacid period.

The governor of Babylon, the *pāḫāt Bābili*,[700] is always mentioned in conjunction with the *puliṭē*, the Greek citizens "who are in Babylon": *pāḫāt Bābili u puliṭē ša ina Bābili*.[701] In one diary, he is clearly mentioned being chosen from among the *puliṭē*: *ʿištēnʾ ištu puliṭān ša ina Bābili*

314–317; and most recently, Fowler, "Kingship and Banditry," 148–160. On the satrap of Babylonia, also Rostovtzeff and Welles, "Parchment Contract," 46–47, n. 66a.

700 On the *pāḫāt Bābili*, see Boiy, *Babylon*, 204–209.

701 *Ibid.*, 207–209.

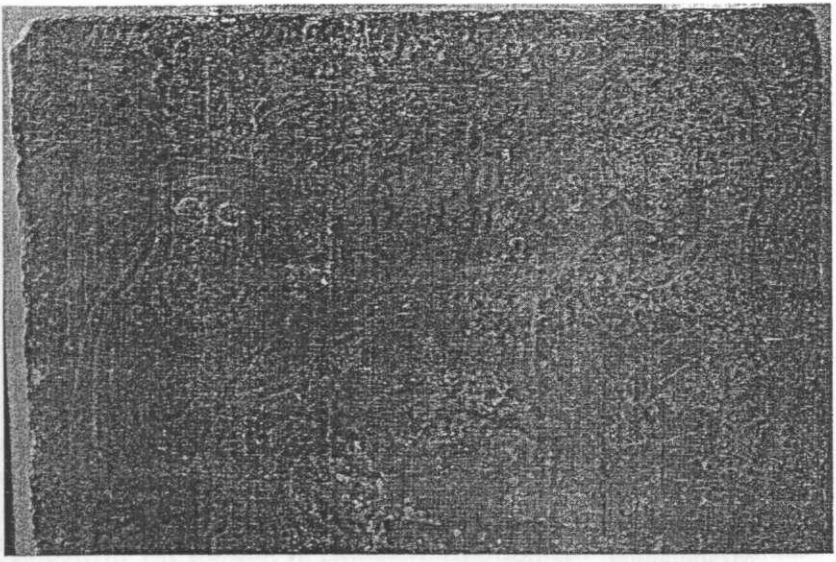


Figure 9 Investiture scene of the late Arsacid satrap of Susa Husāk receiving the ring of rulership from Ardawān V.

ša ina [*šip*]*ištu ša šarri ina* [*pāḫāt*]*ūtu Bābili munû*: "one of the citizens who were in Babylon, who in the letter of the king was appointed to the office of governor."[702] It is apparent that the *pāḫāt Bābili* is not only a royal appointee—and certainly no local magistrate—entrusted with the city's protection, but also the military leader of the Greek colons in Babylon, possibly in charge of levying troops from among Greek colons for the war efforts. The *pāḫāt Bābili* has been identified with the Seleucid *ἐπιστάτης*[703] in recent scholarship,[704] although the equation remains conjectural.[705] From Arsacid Dura-Europos,[706] we know of the office of

[702] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –129A$_2$ 'obv.' 17' (248–249): *'1-en' ta* ^{lú}*pu-li-ṭa-an šá ina* E^{ki} *šá ina* ^{k}[^{uš}*ši-p*]*iš-tú šá* LUGAL *ina* ^{lú}[*pa-ḫat*]*-ú-tu* E^{ki} *mun-nu-ú*.

[703] On the Seleucid *epistatēs*, see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkandi to Sardis*, 165–166; and also Capdetrey, *Pouvoir séleucide*, 301–306.

[704] See Sherwin-White, "Babylonian Chronicle Fragments," 268; more recently, van der Spek, "Ethnic Segregation," 396; and Capdetrey, *Pouvoir séleucide*, 265.

[705] See the objections of Boiy, *Babylon*, 204: "[s]ince the *pāḫāt Bābili* is linked with the *πολῖται* . . . a Greek name for the *pāḫāt Bābili* is a priori logical, but until now we have no definitive proof how he was called in Greek."

[706] For a succinct and condensed survey of the written evidence at Dura-Europos during the Arsacid rule, see Millar, "Dura-Europos," 473–492; for parchments and dipinti, see Welles, Fink, and Gilliam, eds. *Parchments and Papyri*, nos. 13, pl. viii:2; 14, pl. vii:1; 16, pl. ix:1; 18, pls. v:3 and xxix:2; 19, pl. viii:1; 21, pl. ix:3; 22, pl. ix:1; 24, pl. xi:2 = Cotton, Cockle, and Millar, "Survey," 220, nos. 36–43. Greek, Semitic, Latin, and Iranian inscriptions found at Dura are dispersed

a στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστάτης τῆς πόλεως "general and administrator of the city," which is attested on inscriptions from Arsacid Dura, from the second half of the first to the first half of the second centuries CE.[707] Several officials bore the aforesaid title, among them a certain Seleukos, son of Lysias, who assumed this function from 51/52 to 61/62 CE.[708]; see table 8.

The bearing of the office of a στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστάτης τῆς πόλεως, which appears to be an Arsacid creation,[709] on Babylonian affairs resides in the binary nature of the officeholder's obligations, both as a governor (*pāḫāt*/ἐπιστάτης), whose authority was limited to the confines of the city (Babylon/Dura), and as a commander, whose military duties, although not explicitly reflected in his title in Babylonia, were nonetheless manifest from his activities under Arsacid supreme commanders, and found explicit expression in the title of στρατηγός at Dura. The fact that the Arsacids coined a new title by associating two Seleucid titles (στρατηγός and ἐπιστάτης) to designate the king's representatives at Dura (and in Mespotamia)[710] is not only testimony to the city's Hellenistic essence, but possibly evidence for the presence of the political and military body, over which the *stratēgos* at Dura—much like his counterpart in Babylon—presided, namely, the Macedonian πολῖται. Thus, the parallelism between the functions of the *pāḫāt Bābili* and the στρατηγὸς καὶ

throughout different reports and publications: some 134 of them (Greek, Latin, and Semitic) were published in Cumont, *Fouilles*, 339–454, which represent the records of investigations led by Franz Cumont at Dura during the falls of 1922 and 1923. The remaining inscriptions were included in the *Preliminary Reports* of *The Excavations of Dura-Europos*, which were subsequently undertaken by Cumont and Rostovtzeff for ten seasons, between 1928 and 1936/7, under the joint auspices of Yale University and *L'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, whereby the Greek inscriptions of the *Preliminary Reports* I–IV were included in *SEG* 2, nos. 754–824, and *SEG* 7, nos. 332–801. Some inscriptions found within a specific archaeological context—such as the Middle Persian inscriptions found at the Synagogue—were included in the *Final Reports*, whereas many inscriptions, which did not belong to a definite context, were published in Frye *et al.*, "Inscriptions," 127–213. As Fergus Millar has recently stated a *Final Report* on Dura's inscriptions remains a desideratum: "[n]or do I know if there are any plans for a *Final Report* on the inscriptions. It is the lack of serious, coherent study of the inscriptions, which include regular stone-cut ones (some of them on frescoes), and graffiti on walls and sherds . . . which is the greatest single weakness of the whole publication process"; see Millar, "Dura-Europos," 475.

707 For a survey of the inscriptions, see Frye *et al.*, "Inscriptions," 140–141; and Arnaud, "Doura-Europos," 147, n. 53.

708 For the masterful interpretation of the Dura material, see Bengston, *Strategie*, 297–307; see more recently Sommer, *Steppengrenze*, 294–300; somewhat vague and imprecise, compare Edwell, *Between Rome and Persia*, 112–115.

709 See also Arnaud, "Doura-Europos," 146.

710 See Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and Its Art*, 39; also Holleaux, "Inscription de Séleucie-de-Piérie," 27–29, and 28, n. 1: "[u]n fait important à relever est que, chez les Arsakides, la fonction d'épistate est, non toujours, mais ordinairement unie à celle du stratège." Also Arnaud, "Doura-Europos," 146.

ἐπιστάτης τῆς πόλεως suggests a parity between their offices;[711] if so, the στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστάτης τῆς πόλεως has to be viewed as a royal appointee, rather than a city magistrate, for his Babylonian counterpart, the *pāḫāt Bābili*, was clearly a royal official chosen from among the *puliṭē* as governor of Babylon, and his selection announced to the citizens by letters patent.

The use of the above title, outside of Dura-Europos, is also attested for Babylon[712] and Ninive.[713] Whereas the inscription of Ninive, which is most likely to be dated to the years 32/31 or 31/30 BCE, belongs to the Arsacid period, the one from Babylon was initially thought to pertain to the Seleucid period,[714] although later believed to appertain to the Arsacid reign.[715] Therein, a certain Demokratēs, son of Byttakēs, is called στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστάτης τῆς πόλεως τεταγμένος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκροφυλακίων "*stratēgos* and *epistatēs* of the city and the one appointed commander of the citadel troops." What is striking in Demokratēs' inscription, apart from the attestation of the title of στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστάτης τῆς πόλεως in Arsacid Babylon, which further substantiates its being the Greek equivalent of the *pāḫāt Bābili*, is the additional title of τεταγμένος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκροφυλακίων. Indeed, the latter ought to be equated with the Arsacid guard commander of Babylon, the *muḫḫi/rab maṣṣarti*, who is identical to the φρούραρχος "garrison commander," or ἀκροφύλαξ "citadel commander," known from the Seleucid and Arsacid periods. The ἀκροφύλακες were placed within numerous cities of Babylonia, Syria, Judaea, and Asia Minor, as royal appointees, and were responsible for maintaining the king's authority against possible rebellions.[716] Thus, it seems that not only the position of the Seleucid ἀκροφύλαξ had survived in Arsacid Babylonia, but that in time, possibly in the late first and second centuries CE, for which period the Dura inscriptions are reported, the function of the *muḫḫi maṣṣarti* was combined with that of the *pāḫāt Bābili* in Babylon; but for the time, which the *Diaries* cover, that is the second century BCE, these functions were clearly separate.

[711] See van der Spek, "Babylonian City," 63–64.

[712] *OGIS*, no. 254, vol. I, 414–415: ἡ πόλις | Δημοκράτην Βυττάκου | τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ἐπιστάκτην τῆς πόλεως τεταγμέ‖νον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρο|φυλακίων καλοκάγαθίας | ἕνεκεν.

[713] *SEG* 7, no. 37, ll. 5–6: ‖ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀπολλωνί[ου] | τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ | ἐπιστάτοῦ τῆς πόλεως.

[714] See Köhler, "Zwei Inschriften," 1107–1108.

[715] See Rostovtzeff and Welles, "Parchment Contract," 33, n. 50: "I regard the inscription of Democrates son of Byttaces as belonging to the Parthian, not to the Seleucid, period"; also 53; Bellinger and Welles, "Contract of Sale," 132, n. 46; Holleaux, "Inscription de Séleucie-de-Piérie," 29; Bengston, *Strategie*, 152, n. 1, and 300–301; Arnaud, "Doura-Europos," 146.

[716] On the ἀκροφύλακες, see Bikerman, *Institutions*, 53–55.

Table 8. *"Generals of the City" from Arsacid Dura-Europos*

Names	Titles	Dates
Seleukos, son of Lysias[a]	στρατηγὸς πόλεως γενεάρχης	33/2 BCE
Seleukos, son of Lysias, grandson of Seleukos[b]	στ[ρα]τηγοῦ κ[αὶ ἐπιστ](ά)του τῆς πόλεως	51/52 CE
= Seleukos[c]	στρατηγός	Summer 54 CE
= Seleukos[d]	στρατηγοῦ	61/62 CE
= Seleukos, son of Lysias[e]	σ(τρατη)γ(ὸς) καὶ ἐπιστάτης [τῆς πόλεως?]	61/62 CE
= Seleukos, son of Lysias[f]	[στρ]α[τηγοῦ καὶ] [ἐπισ-]τάτ[ου] τῆ(ς) (π)[όλεως]	61/62 CE
Seleukos[g]	στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστάτης τῆς πόλεως	129/130 CE
Lysias, son of Lysianas, grandson of Seleukos[h]	στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστάτης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν πρ(ώ)των καὶ πρ(οτιμωμένων) φί(λων) καὶ τῶν σω[μ]ατοφ(υλάκων) ἀνήγειρεν	135/136 CE

Notes:

[a] Cumont, *Fouilles*, 409–410, no. 52 = *SEG* 2, no. 818; Rostoutzeff, *Preliminary Report* V, 116; Rostoutzeff *et al.*, *Preliminary Report* VI, 411–412, no. 801; Frye *et al.*, "Inscriptions," 140–141, no. 6:1; Arnaud, "Doura-Europos," 147, n. 53, no. 1; Leriche and el-ʿAjji, "Nouvelle inscription," 1344.

[b] Baur and Rostoutzeff, *Preliminary Report* II, 91–93, no. H4; Johnson, "Dura Studies," 17; Frye *et al.*, "Inscriptions," 141, no. 6:2; Arnaud, "Doura-Europos," 147, n. 53, no. 2 (a); Leriche and el-ʿAjji, "Nouvelle inscription," 1345, no. 1.

[c] Rostoutzeff, *Preliminary Report* V, 113–116, no. 418, l. 14, pl. 26; Frye *et al.*, "Inscriptions," 141, no. 6:3; Arnaud, "Doura-Europos," 147, n. 53, no. 2 (b); Leriche and el-ʿAjji, "Nouvelle inscription," 1344.

[d] Cumont, *Fouilles*, 440–441, no. 116 = *SEG* 2, no. 809; Johnson, "Dura Studies," 18; Frye *et al.*, "Inscriptions," 141, no. 6:4; Arnaud, "Doura-Europos," 147, n. 53, no. 2 (c); Leriche and el-ʿAjji, "Nouvelle inscription," 1344.

[e] Cumont, *Fouilles*, 441, no. 118, reads: σ(τρατη)γ(οῦ) καὶ ἐπιστατήσ[αντος]; in spite of Cumont's statement that: "καὶ ἐπιστατήσ[αντος] a été proposé par Hondius," *SEG* 2, no. 811 seems to read: "στ(ρατη)γ)ὸς καὶ ἐπιστάτης"; Johnson, "Dura Studies," 18, restores σ(τρατη-)γ(οῦ) καὶ ἐπιστά(του); Frye *et al.*, "Inscriptions," 141, no. 6:4; Arnaud, "Doura-Europos," 147, n. 53, no. 2 (c); Leriche and el-ʿAjji, "Nouvelle inscription," 1345, no. 3 also read: καὶ ἐπιστατήσ(αντος).

[f] Cumont, *Fouilles*, 429–430, no. 91 = *SEG* 2, no. 784; Johnson, "Dura Studies," 18; Frye *et al.*, "Inscriptions," 141, no. 6:4; Arnaud, "Doura-Europos," 147, n. 53, no. 2 (c); Leriche and el-ʿAjji, "Nouvelle inscription," 1345, no. 2.

[g] Frye *et al.*, "Inscriptions," 139–141, no. 6:9, placing the inscription in the year 169/170 CE; see also Arnaud, "Doura-Europos," 147, n. 53, no. 3, and 148, for the author's argument in favor of placing the inscription in the year 129/130 CE, which we have adopted; Leriche and el-ʿAjji, "Nouvelle inscription," 1345, no. 5, who also date it to 169/170 CE.

[h] Cumont, *Fouilles*, 450–452, no. 134 = *SEG* 2, no. 815; for the date, see Johnson, "Dura Studies," 23; Frye *et al.*, "Inscriptions," 141, no. 6:5; Arnaud, "Doura-Europos," 147, n. 53, no. 4; Leriche and el-ʿAjji, "Nouvelle inscription," 1345, no. 4.

Table 8 (*cont.*)

Names	Titles	Dates
Lysias[i]	ἐπιστάτης	Dead in 159 CE
Lysianas[j]	ἐπιστάτης	159 CE

Notes (*cont.*)

[i] For this (and the following) graffiti, see Frye *et al.*, "Inscriptions," 141, no. 6:6, 6:7; and 147–148, nos. 16–17; Leriche and el-ʿAjji, "Nouvelle inscription," 1344.

[j] *Ibid.*

As to the office of the Arsacid supreme commander in Babylonia, once more evidence from Dura-Europos may prove valuable: from Arsacid Dura, we are informed of a *stratēgos*, whose Greek title, attested in a parchment dated to the year 120/121 CE, was στρατηγὸς Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Παραποταμίας καὶ Ἀραβάρχης, "the *stratēgos* of Mesopotamia and Parapotamia, and lord of the Arabs."[717]

The territorial expanse over which this *stratēgos*, a certain Manēsos,[718] son of Phraates, commanded, distinguishes him from other *stratēgoi* we have hitherto encountered. Indeed, Manēsos, who operated in the aftermath of Trajan's Parthian campaign, was not only in charge of Mesopotamia and its immediate western territory, namely, Parapotamia[719]—which ought to

[717] For the Dura parchment no. 10, see Rostovtzeff and Welles, "Contrat de prêt," 158–181; "Parchment Contract," 1–78. The passage of interest to us, wherein one of the contracting parties, the eunuch Phraates, an Arsacid garrison commander, as well as member of the staff of the *stratēgos* Manēsos, made a loan to a certain Barlaas, reads as follows: Φραάτης εὐνοῦχος ἀρκαπάτης τῶν παρὰ Μανήσου τοῦ Φραάτου τῶν Βατησα καὶ τ[ῶν] / [ἐλευθε]ρων παρ[αλή](πτου) καὶ στρατηγοῦ Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Παραποταμίας καὶ ἀραβάρχου. . . . "Phraates, the eunuch, the Argbed, who belongs to the staff of Manēsos, son of Phraates, one of the *bidaxš* and the free men, the collector of customs, *stratēgos* of Mesopotamia and Parapotamia, and lord of the Arabs"; see Rostovtzeff and Welles, "Parchment Contract," ll. 4–5, 6.

[718] On Manēsos' name, see Huyse, "Namengut," no. 3.1.4, 22; also Schmitt, "Namenüberlieferung," 190, no. H23.

[719] Parapotamia probably designated the lands in the immediate surroundings of the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris; with its core being the region to the west of Euphrates, as well as the one to the east of Tigris. See Cumont, *Fouilles*, xxv, nn. 1–3 with reference to classical authors; Rostovtzeff and Welles, "Parchment Contract," 44–45, n. 65, and 47–48; also Bengston, *Strategie*, 285, n. 3, and 183, n. 1. Polyainos (5.69.5) reports that Parapotamia, by which he probably meant the para-Euphratine territories, was ruled by a certain Dioklēs, whom Antiochos III had appointed στρατηγὸν τῆς Παραποταμίας; in another passage, Polyainos (5.48.13–16) mentions, in the context of Molon's rebellion, that the latter having occupied Babylonia and the region near the Erythrean sea, set out from Seleucia to continue his operations, and to conquer Parapotamia up to the city of Europos (on the Euphrates), and Mesopotamia up to the city of Dura (on the Tigris): ὥρμησε πρὸς τὰς ἑξῆς πράξεις καὶ τὴν μὲν Παραποταμίαν μέχρι πόλεως Εὐρώπου κατέσχε τὴν δὲ Μεσοποταμίαν ἕως Δούρων.

have comprised both river banks of the Euphrates, for Dura, albeit located on the right bank of the river, was reportedly in Parapotamia[720]—but was also ruling over the Arabs.[721] Intriguingly, he is also reported to be of the rank "of the Batēsas" (*τῶν βατησα*) in which term Rostovtzeff[722] had justly seen the Iranian title *bidaxš* (< **duitiya-xšāya-?*) "viceroy."[723]

Thus, the Arsacid *bidaxš* and *stratēgos* of Mesopotamia and Parapotamia could at first glance continue, in the most western rim of the Arsacid realm, the position of former Seleucid viceroys of Asia Minor,[724] such as Zeuxis, who reportedly was *stratēgos*,[725] but also *ἀπολελειμμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιτάδε τοῦ Ταύρου πραγμάτων* "the one left by king Antiochos [III] in charge of affairs on this side of the Taurus."[726] In the same vein as the military and administrative powers of the viceroys of Asia Minor, who often were governors of Lydia,[727] encompassed numerous territories (this side of the Taurus), the *stratēgia* of the *bidaxš* Manēsos consisted also of territories known to have formed

720 In two other documents from Dura-Europos, the city is mentioned as located in Parapotamia; see Welles, Fink, and Gilliam, *Parchments and Papyri*, no. 18, l. 14: (*ἐν*) [*Εὐρωπῶι τ*]*ῆι ἐν Πα*)[*ρ*](*α-*)*ποτ*(*αμιάι*); and no. 19, ll. 1–2: [*ἐν Εὐρωπῶι*] *τῆι ἐν Παραποταμιάι*.

721 The term *Ἀραβάρχης* may indicate that the Arsacids, who during the two centuries in which the *Diaries* recount their activities in Babylonia, were constantly threatened by violent Arab incursions into their imperial space, were finally able to contain the Arab raids. Already the *Diaries*' reports convey the impression that the Arabs were not politically organized, which seems to be confirmed, some two centuries later, in the use of the vague title *Ἀραβάρχης* for Manēsos. Sommer, *Steppengrenze*, 299, has recently posited that the different titles of Manēsos reflected the polyvalence of *a single* office for different audiences within a polymorphous state structure that characterized the periphery of the Arsacid state: "*Stratēgos* war Manēsos für die griechisch-makedonischen bzw. entsprechend akkulturierten Bewohner der Stadt Dura-Europos. Er war damit zugleich regionaler Repräsentant des Arsakidenreiches und städischer Magistrat. *Arabarchēs* war derselbe Manēsos für die tribal organisierte Bevölkerung der Region . . . *Batēsa* . . . schließlich war er in seiner Funktion als imperialer Amtsträger, als parthischer Statthalter an der Außengrenze des Reiches." However, it is clear that these titles are not just aspects of the selfsame office to different constituencies, but the (extraordinary) cumulation of different commands, mostly known from Seleucid times, in the hands of supreme commanders, so that they may guard the perilous Arsacid western front.

722 See Rostovtzeff and Welles, "Parchment Contract," 51–52.

723 On the title of *bidaxš* and its proposed etymologies, see Sunderman, "Bidaxš"; also Frye, "Sasanian Titles," 353–354.

724 On the *Sonderstellung* of the viceroys of Asia Minor, see Bengston, *Strategie*, 90–115, among them: Alexandros (brother of Laodike I), the *καταλελειμμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως*; Antiochos Hierax (brother of Seleukos II); and Achaios (under Seleukos III).

725 Zeuxis is called by Josephos (*AJ* 12.147) *ὁ Αντιόχου στρατηγός*; Zeuxis' title, in the Decree of the Prienians, may be restored as: *πρὸς Ζεῦξιν τὸν τοῦ βασιλέ*[*ως στρατηγόν*]; see Ma, *Antiochus III*, 348–349, no. 33, l. 17, and 349, n. 17; also Bengston, *Strategie*, 112.

726 On (the position of) Zeuxis and his Predecessors, see Bengston, *Strategie*, 109; Ma, *Antiochus III*, 125, n. 68, and "Dans les pas d'Antiochos III," 247.

727 Bengston, *Strategie*, 103: "[a]ls Ergebnis is festzustellen, daß der bei Abwesenheit des Königs von Kleinasien ernannte Vertreter in Sardes residierte, den Titel *στρατηγός* führte . . . und jeweils mit dem Statthalter der lydischen Satrapie identisch gewesen ist."

independent satrapies in Seleucid times (Mesopotamia, Parapotamia). In both cases we deal with military and administrative leaders,[728] whose commands were superordinate to other governors and supraregional in extent,[729] much like the Achaemenid *karanoi*, whence their function may have ultimately derived.[730] It is worthy of mention that these extensive powers, such as those bestowed upon Zeuxis (and his predecessors) in Asia Minor, and on Manēsos in Mesopotamia and Parapotamia, were granted in periods of emergency: on Zeuxis after Achaios' rebellion; upon Manēsos following Trajan's Parthian campaign.[731]

All this suggests that the Arsacid supreme commanders of Babylonia, who operated during ongoing periods of turmoil, presided over satraps, generals, and garrison commanders in Babylonia, and fulfilled administrative duties—judging from the presence of royal judges in their entourage[732]—were the equivalents of the Arsacid *bidaxš* of Mesopotamia and Parapotamia, and the Seleucid viceroys of Asia Minor.

Indeed, in one instance, the *Diaries* expressly describe the supreme commander Antiochos as the king's representative or viceroy: *ša ana kūm Aršakâ šarri* "who in representation of king Arsaces,"[733] a formula that is not without recalling to mind Zeuxis' title of *ἀπολελειμμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως*.

As to the possibility of the supreme commander being identical with the

[728] Manēsos' administrative duties are, in our opinion, reflected in his function as a *παραλήπτης* "collector of customs." Although orginally Rostovtzeff and Welles, "Parchment Contract," l. 5, 6–7, and 51, had read *παρ[αλή](πτου)* for the word immediately preceding *καὶ στρατηγοῦ Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Παραποταμίας καὶ ἀραβάρχου*, later, however, Rostovtzeff, "Parthians," 114, n. 5, adopted the reading *παραπάτης* following the suggestion by Mlaker *apud* Enßlin, review of *Yale Classical Studies* 2, 269. Indeed, *παραπάτης* could derive from *pāhr(ag)bed* "chief of the watchpost" and is well attested in Iranian Manichaean texts, albeit in a theological context, as it refers to the *rex honoris*, the second son of the Living Spirit; see de Blois, "Pahr(ag)bed," 37–40. However, some time ago, Wolski, "Parthian Titles," 288, identified the *pāhr(ag)bed* with the function of the "satrap of the Great Gates" in Babylon, described by Philostratos (*VA* 1.27): *ἀφικομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ὁ σατράπης ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλων πυλῶν* . . . "upon his [Apollonios'] arriving at Babylon, the satrap, the one (in charge) of the Great Gates . . ." Thus, it is possible that the Dura parchment entailed the title *παραπάτης*, which may have derived from Iranian *pāhrbed*, and referred to as *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλων πυλῶν*, although it should be noted that Manēsos was reportedly the *stratēgos* of Mesopotamia and Parapotamia, and did not operate in Babylonia.

[729] It stands to reason that the *στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστάτης τῆς πόλεως* of Dura-Europos was subordinate to the *bidaxš* and *stratēgos* of Mesopotamia and Parapotamia, since Dura was deemed to be located in Parapotamia. See similarly Sommer, *Steppengrenze*, 299.

[730] On the *karanos*, see above, 170–177.

[731] On Trajan's Parthian campaign, see Lightfoot, "Trajan's Parthian War," 115–126. In connection with Dura still indispensable, Rostovtzeff, "Trajan und Dura," 285–292.

[732] On royal judges, see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –82 B ′rev.′ 6′ (= 480–481). See also Del Monte, *Testi*, 56–57.

[733] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –140 C obv. 37 (= 146–147). See Del Monte, *Testi*, 56.

high commander of the Upper Satrapies, *ὁ ἐπί τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν*, there are at first glance several objections to it.[734] The supreme commanders' operations were centered in Babylonia, and only occasionally do we encounter them in action on the eastern bank of the Tigris. The high command of the Upper Satrapies[735]—which often was given to members of the royal house in early Seleucid times, and was institutionally different from the office of the vice-kings of Asia minor[736]—was centered in Media, although it could extend to encompass Mesopotamia, as the examples of Antiochos under Seleukos I[737] and Timarchos[738] under Antiochos IV bear testimony.[739] This constellation strikingly reflects the position of Bagayaša, king Frahād II's brother, who as the latter's representative (*amtu ša šarri*) supervised events in Babylonia, while governing Media. In the office of Bagayaša, one may indeed recognize the continuation of the Seleucid high command of the Upper Satrapies, which might have been called **šahrabān šahrab* "satrap of satraps" by taking into account the later position of Gōdarz I under Mihrdād II as the *Generalstatthalter* of the East.

In conclusion, we may say that the supreme commander of Babylonia in the early Arsacid period, that is, the "general who is above the four generals," and later the "chief of troops," was, similar to the Seleucid viceroys of Asia Minor and ultimately the Achaemenid *karanoi*, in charge of all military and administrative functions in Babylonia, which appears to have encompassed the whole of Mesopotamia. The four "generals" over whom the supreme commander had authority do not seem to have been the *stratēgoi* of the four major Babylonian cities, as has been suggested in recent scholarship, but rather the *only* four officials with military functions whose activities are well reported in the *Diaries*, namely, the *stratēgos* of Babylonia,

734 Compare Mitsuma, "Offices of Generals," 26–27; "General of Four *stratēgia*," note 9.

735 On the high command of the Upper Satrapies, still unsurpassed, Bengston, *Strategie*, 78–89.

736 Bengston, *Strategie*, 79–80: "[u]nter den ersten Seleukiden ist dieser hochbedeutende Posten im allgemeinen durch ein Mitglied der königlichen Familie, und zwar den Kronprinzen, besetzt worden, der in dieser Stellung den Königstitel geführt hat und Mitregent gewesen ist. Die Stellung dieser 'Könige des Ostens' unterscheidet sich deshalb natürlich staatsrechtlich ganz wesentlich von derjenigen der gelegentlich in diesem Kommando nachzuweisenden Strategen, die man als 'Vizekönige'–ähnlich wie die Statthalter von Sardes–ansprechen darf."

737 See Bengston, *Strategie*, 80–81.

738 *Ibid.*, 86–87. Timarchos, who as high commander of the Upper Satrapies exercised close control of Babylonia, was for this reason called satrap of Media by Diodoros (*σατράπης Μηδίας*; D.S. 31.27a) and "king of Medes" by Trogus (*Medorum rex*; Just. Prol. 34), but also satrap of Babylonia by Appian (*Συριάς καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ἐθῶν ἐγκρατῶς ἦρχε σατράπην μὲν ἔχων ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Τίμαρχον*; App. *Syr.* 45).

739 Bengston, *Strategie*, 87–88: "Das Richtige hat m. E. schon Bevan . . . getroffen, der in Timarchos den Generalstatthalter der Ostprovinzen gesehen hat, deren Kern Medien bildete und zu denen wie zu Seleukos' I. Zeit auch Babylonien, d. h. wohl nicht allein dieses, sondern das gesamte Zweistromland, gehörte."

Table 9. *Command structure in Arsacid Babylonia and Dura-Europos*

Command structure in Babylonia	Command structure in Dura
^{lú}GAL ERÍN^{meš} KUR URI^{ki} *ša ana muḫḫi* 4 ^{lú}GAL ERÍN^{meš} / ^{lú}GAL.GAL *uqān*	*Bidaxš* and στρατηγός Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Παραποταμίας καὶ Ἀραβάρχης
rab uqān māt Akkad	στρατηγός
muma"ir māt Akkad	σατράπης / *šāhrab*
pāḫāt Bābili	στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστάτης τῆς πόλεως
muḫḫi/rab maṣṣarti	ἀκροφύλαξ / *(h)argbed*

the satrap of Babylonia, the governor of Babylon, and the guard commander of Babylon. Overseeing the activities of the supreme commanders of Babylonia was the governor of Media, who, for the period we have dealt with, was Frahād II's brother, prince (*rubû*) Bagayaša, in whom we would like to see the continuation of the Seleucid ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν "the one (in charge) of the Upper Satrapies." This office, we further posit, became in Arsacid times that of the σατράπης τῶν σατραπῶν "satrap of satraps," which may have been in Parthian **šahrabān šahrab*. What is more, a comparison of the Babylonian evidence with the material of Dura-Europos (table 9) may suggest that the Arsacid power structure we have discerned in Babylonia—despite local specificities in defining the titles—may not have been limited to Babylonia, but was more widely distributed at least within the western rim of the Arsacid empire; with larger (western) territories being governed by high commanders with the administrative title of viceroy (*bidaxš*) or general (στρατηγός); satrapies by the σατράπης or *šahrab*; cities and Greek citizens by the στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστάτης τῆς πόλεως; and city garrisons by the ἀκροφύλαξ or the *(h)argbed*.[740]

Once more Μιθράτης

Returning to the remaining Arsacid dignitaries on the Bisitun relief, following the name of Μιθράτης there is a large lacuna caused by the carving of an eighteenth-century Modern Persian inscription over the Arsacid relief and its Greek inscription. The lacuna, which according to

[740] On the varied interpretations of the function of the *(h)argbed*, either as a military officer, that is, a "fortress commander," or a financial officer, see Shayegan, "Hazārbed," 94. For a diverging view of the office of the *(h)argbed* as a financial officer, compare Gnoli, *Interplay*, 95–113, especially 111; also compare the intriguing pages by Schwartz, "Note on *xarāj*," 26–27; "More on *harkā* and **harkapati-*," 143–45; most recently, in comparison with the long neglected Rabbinic sources, see Herman, "Persia," 63–75, who seems to favor a military function.

Herzfeld's calculation contained some seventeen to eighteen letters,[741] conceals the name of the third dignitary. The lacuna is preceded, as Herzfeld's photographs readily permit us to verify, by the letters π(ε) [π²—].[742] Since no Parthian name consisting of so many letters is attested to my knowledge,[743] it is sound to assume with Herzfeld that the lacuna must have comprised a name *and* a title. We furthermore may assume with Herzfeld that π(ε)[π²—] possibly represented a title belonging to the generalissimo *Μιθράτης* himself, followed by the name of the third dignitary.

Josef Marquart's suggestion that the title could have been the middle perfect participle of the verb *πιστεύειν* "trust, rely (on)," namely, *πεπιστευμένος*, is still valid[744]; the title could mean "trustworthy, faithful," but also, in view of the middle voice, "he who was entrusted with command/authority?" as the traditional occurrence of the terms *ἀρχή* and *ἡγεμονία* with *πιστεύειν* in the middle voice would suggest.

In this context, a note by Josephos concerning the actions of queen Helena of Adiabene after the death of her consort, king Monobazos, a vavasour of the Arsacids, in the first decade of the Common Era, is worthy of mention, for the Adiabenian *comparandum* may reflect Arsacid practices.[745] Helena reportedly summoned the grandees and high officials of the realm, with a view to securing the throne for her son Izatēs, in this following the wishes of her deceased husband:

[J. *AJ* 20.26]

ἡ βασιλὶς Ἑλένη μεταπέμπεται πάντας τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας καὶ τῆς βασιλείας σατράπας καὶ τοὺς τὰς δυνάμεις πεπιστευμένους.

"Queen Helena summoned all the grandees, the satraps of the kingdom, and all **those entrusted with military forces.**"

Noteworthy is the use of *πεπιστευμένος* as the designation of the foremost military leaders of Adiabene,[746] that is, the *stratēgoi* of a kingdom

[741] See Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 36.

[742] *Ibid.*, pls. 21–23.

[743] One of the longest proper names recorded in the Nisa document is that of a certain *Warhrayn-Sāsān* who also happened to be a satrap, much like Kōfzād, from around 78 BCE; see Livshits, "Parthian Documents," 175, n. 39; MacKenzie, "Names from Nisa," 215; for the occurrence of the name *Warhrayn-Sāsān* also on bullae from Nisa belonging to the second half of the first century BCE to the first century CE, see Nikitin, "Parthian Bullae," 73–74, and Schmitt, "Namenüberlieferung," 188, no. G7; also Schmitt, "Parthische Personennamen," 127.

[744] See Marquart *apud* Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 39. Marquart translates the title as "zuverlässig, treu; Aufseher, Verwalter."

[745] On this episode, see Sellwood, "Adiabene"; and Rajak, "Parthians in Josephus," 317–322.

[746] See also J. *AJ* 12.393, where Bakchidēs is called *τὴν Μεσοποταμιάν ἅπασαν πεπιστευμένος*; see also Bengston, *Strategie*, 182, n. 3.

Table 10. *Arsacid supreme and subordinate commanders in Babylonia*

Supreme commanders	Titles	Subaltern commanders	Dates of commands
Antiochos *Son of King Aryabōžan*	• General of Babylonia who is above the Four Generals (lúGAL ERÍNmeš KUR URIki *ša ana m]uḫḫi* 4 lúGAL ERÍNmeš)	• *Nikanor,* General of Babylonia (*Nikanūru* [lúGAL ERÍN]meš KUR URIki) • Governor of Babylon (lú*pa-ḫat* Eki)	1/2.vii.141 *to* 2/3.i.–31.i./1.ii.140 (= 22.iii.171– x.171 SE)
Philinos	• General of Babylonia who is above the Four Generals (lúGAL ERÍNmeš *šá ana* UGU 4 rlúGALˀ [ERÍNmeš]) (lúGAL ERÍN-*ni* KUR URIki *šá ana muḫḫi* 4 lúGAL ERÍN-*nî*)	• General of Babylonia (lúGAL ERÍNmeš KUR URIki) • Satrap of Babylonia (lú*mu-ma-ʾi–ir* KUR URIki) • Guard Commander (lú*muḫḫi* EN.NUN)	1/2.xi.–1/2.xii.138 *to* 31.x./1.xi.133 (= viii.174–24.vii.179 SE)
Theodosios	• Theodosios who is above the Four Generals of Babylonia (*Teʾudisiʾsuˀ ana muḫḫi* 4 lúGAL ERÍNmeš *ša* KUR URIki) (lúGAL ERÍNmeš KUR URIki *šá* É 4 lúGAL ERÍNmeš)	• General of Babylonia (lúGAL ERÍNmeš KUR URIki) (lúGAL ERÍN-*ni* KUR URIki) • Satrap of Babylonia (lú*mu-ma-ʾi-ir* KUR URIki) • Governor of Babylon (lú*pa-ḫat* Eki) • *Timarchos,* Guard Commander (lú*muḫḫi* EN.NUN)	31.x./1.xi.133 *to* 19/20.iv.120 (= 24.vii.179–i.192 SE)

Table 10 (*cont.*)

Supreme commanders	Titles	Subaltern commanders	Dates of commands
Son of Bagayaša	• General who is above the Four Generals ([. . .]-*nâ māru ša Bagayaša* ʿ*ša anaʾ muḫḫi* 4 ^{lú}GAL ERÍN-*ni*^{meš}) (^{lú}GAL ERÍN^{meš} *šá* [*ana*] UGU 4 ^{lú}GAL ERÍN^{meš})	• Urraḫšu, the General (^{lú}GAL *ú-qa*) (^{lú}GAL *ú-qu-tú*)? • Governor of Babylon (^{lú}*pa-ḫat* E^{ki})	19/20.iv.120 *to* 3/4.x.119 (= i.192–vii.193 SE)
Mitradātâ	• Chief of Troops ^{lú}GAL.GAL *uqanu*	• General of Babylonia (^{lú}GAL ERÍN^{meš} KUR URI^{ki}) • Satrap of Babylonia (^{lú}*mu-ma-*ʾ*i–ir* KUR URI^{ki}) • General = General of Babylonia? (^{lú}GAL ERÍN-*ní*)	25/26.iv.112 *to* 26/27.iii.–23/24.iv.96 (5.i.200–i.216 SE.)
Mitrāṭu	• Chief of Troops ^{lú}GAL.GAL *uqān*	• *Aspastanu*, General (of Babylonia?) (^{lú}GAL *ú-qa*) ([^{lú}GALʾ] ʿERÍN-*ni*ʾ KUR URI^{ki}) • Satrap of Babylonia (^{lú}GAL UKKIN KUR U[RI^{ki}]) • Raznumitra, Governor of Babylon (^{lú}*pi-ḫat* E^{ki})	22/23.x.–21/22.xi.91 *to* 19/20.ii.–20/21.iii.82 (= viii.221–xii.229 SE)

under nominal Arsacid control. If the Adiabenian command structure and terminology were following Arsacid models,[747] then Josephos' note could suggest how we should read *πεπιστευμένος* in our inscription, namely, as the "one entrusted with military forces (*δυνάμεις*)," which well suits the exalted position that Mitrāṭu occupied during the reign of Gōdarz I as the chief of troops in Babylonia.

Gōdarz I: Son and successor of Mihrdād II

Before we can turn our attention to the identity of the third dignitary, let us consider the fourth one, that is, *Γωτάρζης*, who carries the imposing title of *σατράπης τῶν σατρα[πῶν]* "satrap of satraps" and who, undoubtedly, is identical with the *Gutarza* of the Babylonian *Diaries*. Above, I have exposed some of the reasons that make us believe that Gōdarz I, far from being a mighty usurper, was in reality the rightful heir to his father Mihrdād II, whom he succeeded in fall/winter 91 at the latest; in the following I shall substantiate this claim. A Babylonian diary dated to 22/23.xi.–20/21.xii.91 BCE (= ix.221 SE), in which Mitrāṭu is mentioned for the first time, reports that following the pacification of Babylonia—undoubtedly raided by the Arabs—"the people of the towns who before had entered Babylon for fear [returned?] to their towns [. . .]."[748] Shortly thereafter, the diary reports that "king Arsaces" sent a letter to the governor and citizens of Babylon to inform them of an incident:

[. . .] **king Arsaces** [. . .] a leather document to the governor of Babylon and the citizens who are in Babylon / [. . .] which **from the day when my father Arsaces, king of kings, had turned to fate (i.e. died?), until the day when** I [became king? . . .][749]

The striking incident that is being proclaimed by the (new) "king Arsaces" in the letter, is the passing away of his father, the "king of kings."[750] In the *Diaries*, however, the title of "king of kings" almost exclusively refers to Mihrdād II, although it ephemerally reappears under Urūd I and Frahād III, before becoming the king's regular titulature under Frahād IV.[751] In fall/winter 91 BCE, however, this title must have denoted Mihrdād II. Hence, this "king Arsaces," as whose generalissimo the diary for the first time mentions Mitrāṭu, is undoubtedly king Gōdarz I himself,

747 See Rajak, "Parthians in Josephus," 320.

748 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, no. –90 'obv. 17' (= 434–435).

749 *Ibid.*, no. –90 'obv. 30'–31' (= 436–437).

750 The last mention of Mihrdād II alive is in diary no. –93 A rev.' 23, when he is reported to have returned to Media, where he presumably died: "[. . .] I heard that Arsaces, king of kings, departed to? the province of Media as before." See also Del Monte, *Testi*, 169–170.

751 See below, table 11.

under whom Mitrāṭu is repeatedly attested to have served as chief of troops. Thus, the conclusion is inevitable that Gōdarz I not only was the son of Mihrdād II, but was also the legitimate heir of his father, whom he succeeded as the head of the empire.

Urūd: Son and successor of Gōdarz I

Let us return to the Bisitun relief and the identity of the third dignitary. As mentioned before, the restoration of *πεπιστευμένος* leaves room only for another five or six letters. Recalling that Mihrdād II probably passed away in fall/winter 91, the possible year of Mitrāṭu's appointment by Gōdarz I, the relief of Bisitun depicting Mihrdād II and four dignitaries, among them Mitrāṭu/*Μιθράτης* in an eminent position, could not have been the work of Mihrdād II. It is, indeed, likely that the relief was generated in the early years of Gōdarz I's reign himself, maybe as an attempt to emphasize the legitimacy of his rule by illustrating his and his helpers' exalted ranks under Mihrdād II's reign. The title of *σατράπης τῶν σατραπῶν*, coined after Mihrdād II's own titulature of "king of kings"—and which I have shown above continued the Seleucid office of the one in charge of the Upper Satrapies—was probably meant to underscore that Gōdarz I was already chosen during his father's lifetime as the *secundum gradum imperii* and hence the legitimate heir to the Arsacid throne. In this context the name of the third dignitary, immediately preceding Gōdarz I in the relief, becomes conceivable, namely, Gōdarz I's own successor Urūd, a name that in its grecized form consists of only six letters: *Ορώδης*.[752] By including his son among the distinguished dignitaries of his rule, Gōdarz I was fulfilling for Urūd in his own lifetime what he was prompted to accomplish for himself following Mihrdād II's death: documenting on the rock Urūd's right of succession.

The rulers of the Arsacid empire

Having determined the identity of Mihrdād II's successors Gōdarz I and Urūd I, we now have to match these rulers with the different sequences of tetradrachms established by Mørkholm. As mentioned above, Gōdarz I is most probably identical with the Arsacid ruler whose issues Mørkholm immediately places after those of Mihrdād II, that is, *Arsakes Autokrator Philopator*.[753] Not only the four issues of tetradrachms fit the duration of Gōdarz I's reign, but the attribute of *philopator* seems appropriate for a ruler who succeeded his father in a legitimate fashion. Urūd I's short

[752] See also Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 39.

[753] See Mørkholm, "Parthian Coinage of Seleucia," 37–38; 40. See also Dobbins, "Successors," 41–42.

reign can be tentatively correlated with that of *Arsakes Euergetes I*, of whom only one single issue of tetradrachm is attested, the obverse portrait of which incidentally reveals a striking stylistic similarity with some of the dies of *Arsakes Autokrator Philopator*, so that the same die-cutter is suspected to have been at work in both cases.[754] The next sequence of tetradrachms comprises some eleven issues that belong to a certain *Arsakes Theopator Euergetes*, who was equated with Sinatruces by Mørkholm.[755] However, there are some difficulties with this equation. Although the internal numismatic evidence should be given priority in determining the sequences of coins, their attribution to diverse rulers cannot ignore other extraneous sources. The reign of Sinatruces, judging from the Babylonian *Diaries*, extended merely over a period of five or six years, during which the eleven issues of tetradrachms could not have been generated,[756] since the production of eleven issues, according to Mørkholm, would have at least required some eleven, if not fifteen to seventeen, years.[757] The only sovereign to have ruled for such an extended period during the "Dark Age" is Sinatruces' son and successor Frahād III, who is reported to have ruled for ten or eleven years.[758] The attribution of *Arsakes Theopator Euergetes'* eleven issues of tetradrachms to Frahād III not only takes into account the duration of Frahād's rule, but also accounts for the evolution of the royal portraits: from (1) "a youthful portrait with a very short beard following the contour of jaw and chin in a narrow line, elegantly trimmed," at the beginning, to (2) a style where "the beards grow somewhat longer and the hair becomes more and more stylized, ending with a formal pattern, in which the locks below the diadem are drawn in wavy lines," further to (3) a style where the "portrait is characterized by further stylization, now also extending to the beard, a goatee which is often arranged in a curious herringborne pattern," and finally to (4) a style where the "portrait shows a new, more curly appearance of hair and beard, with the hair above the diadem drawn in double parallel lines and the locks below the diadem arranged in four rows of knobby curls."[759] Indeed, it is unlikely that

[754] See Mørkholm, "Parthian Coinage of Seleucia," 36; 40; 45.

[755] *Ibid.*, 36–37; 40; 43–45.

[756] A duration that is also confirmed by Lucian (*Macr.* 15), who attributes merely seven years of rule to Sinatruces.

[757] See Mørkholm, "Parthian Coinage of Seleucia," 36: "[t]he impression from the numbers, that the type must have been struck over a considerable period, probably more than eleven years, is reinforced . . ."; and on 43: "[t]he next reign was the extensive one of Theopator, which can be estimated from the coinage to have lasted for about fifteen to seventeen years."

[758] See table 5.

[759] See Mørkholm, "Parthian Coinage of Seleucia," 36–37.

Sinatruces, who according to Lucian,[760] was 80 when he came to power, would have been depicted in such an "evolutionary style," that is, in a style unfolding the different stages of the sovereign from his youth to a mature ruler; hence, we must conclude that he cannot be identical with *Theopator Euergetes*. Identifying Frahād III with *Theopator Euergetes* means that we cannot ascribe any tetradrachms to Sinatruces. Instead, we can assign drachms of *Arsakes Theopator Nikator*[761] to Sinatruces, whose epithet *theopator* the young Frahād III then apparently preserved.[762] The remaining six issues of tetradrachms, featuring a certain *Arsakes Philopator II*, as well as, an *Arsakes (Theos) Euergetes II*, commonly identified with Frahād III, display sufficient stylistic similarities with the dies of *Theopator Euergetes* to be cautiously considered as the continuation of the latter's issues.[763]

The attribution by Mørkholm of the remaining issues of tetradrachms and drachms to Mihrdād III and Urūd II,[764] to which I fully subscribe, is apparent from Table 11.

(3) Conclusions on the evolution of the title "king of kings"

Assuming that the title "king of kings" was first adopted under Mihrdād II, the only other Arsacid sovereigns to have made use of it on their coinage, before it became part of the Arsacid titulature under Frahād IV, were Mihrdād III and Urūd II. On cuneiform tablets, the imperial title is clearly attested for the Arsacid kings[765] Mihrdād II and Frahād III, while the evidence for Gōdarz I remains insufficient, and for Urūd I inconclusive.[766] Among the non-Arsacid rulers reported to have claimed the imperial title were Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontos[767] and Tigranes

760 Lucian, *Macr.* 15. See also Debevoise, *History*, 52–53.

761 See Mørkholm, "Parthian Coinage of Seleucia," 39–40; also Sellwood, *Introduction*, 87.

762 Similarly Dilmaghani, "Parthian Coins," 218; and Loginov and Nikitin, "Coins from Margiana," 41. On the use of the title *theopator* among Seleucids and Arsacids, see Gariboldi, "Royal Ideological Patterns," 368–377.

763 For a description of these similarities, see Mørkholm, "Parthian Coinage of Seleucia," 37–38.

764 *Ibid.*, 38; 40; 43–45.

765 See above, table 11.

766 See above, table 11.

767 The legend widely represented on Mithridates VI Eupator's coinage—staters; tetradrachms; drachms—is βασιλέως Μιθραδάτου Εὐπάτορος; the imperial title, in contrast, is not attested. For a recent inventory and discussion of Mithridates' principal coinage, see recently de Callataÿ, *Guerres mithridatiques*, 4-52; pls. 1-13. Only the discovery (in 1976) and recent publication (in 1982) by Russian scholars of a Greek inscription at Nymphaeum dedicated to Mithridates VI Eupator by his Bosporan subjects, in which the title of "king of kings" appears, has led some scholars to believe that Mithridates following his initial success in Asia Minor and Greece usurped the imperial title—his example was later followed by Tigranes of Armenia—that hitherto had been exclusively the prerogative of Arsacid kings; see notably Виноградов, Молев, and Толстиков, "Новые эпиграфические источники," 594–600; and 725–727; for the reconstruction

Table 11. *Rulers of the Arsacid empire*

King's name	Royal titulature on tablets	Royal title(s) on coinage (T): Tetradrachms—(D): Drachms
Mihrdād I (ca. 171–138/137)	king[a] *Arsaces king* • Arsaces king[b]	great king ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ (T): S. 13.1–5 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (ΘΕΟΥ / ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ) ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ (ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡ)[c] (D): S. 10.1–17/11.1–4/12–1–3

Notes:

[a] On astronomical *Diaries* referring to Mihrdād I as *(Aršakâ) šarru*, see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –140 A obv.′ 1 (= 130–131); no. –140 A ′rev. 7′–8′; 10′ (= 134–137); no. –140 A upper edge 2–3 (138–139); no. –140 C obv. 34; 37 (= 146–147); no. –140 C ′rev. 41′ (= 152–153); no. –137 A ′rev.′ 9′–11′ (= 160–161); no. –137 B ′rev.′ 20′ (= 164–165); no. –137 D ′obv. 10′ (= 168–169). On other astronomical texts relevant to Mihrdād I's reign, such as: (1) LBAT 1038 (= Sp 1 173+221; *Aršakâ šarru*; 172 SE = 108 AE = 140/139 BCE), see Sachs, *Astronomical Texts*, xxii, 157, no. 1038; Kugler, *Sternkunde*, vol. II (2:b), 446 (1), 533–534; and Ergänzungsband 3, 374, pls. 13–14; Kugler, *Von Moses bis Paulus* 343; and Del Monte, *Testi*, 245; (2) AD 5 82 (= LBAT 1409; 171–172 SE = 107–108 AE = 141/140–140/139 BCE), see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. V, no. 82, iii 16′, 22′ (= 352–353); (3) LBAT 1273 (= Sp 2 373; *šarru*; 174 SE = 110 AE = 138/137 BCE), see Sachs, *Astronomical Texts*, xxvi, 195, no. 1273; and Kugler, *Sternkunde*, vol. II (2:b), 446 (2).

[b] As economic and judicial documents relevant to Mihrdād I's rule and denoting his royal titulature are concerned, for (1) VS 15 37 *(Arišakâ šarru*; 7.vii.171 SE = 107 AE = 12.x.141 BCE), see Schroeder, *Kontrakte*, viii, 49, no. 37; Oelsner, "Königstitulaturen," 270; "Randbemerkungen," 29; and Del Monte, *Testi*, 244; for (2) BRM II 52 *(Arišaka šarru*; 173 SE = 109 AE = 139/138 BCE), see Clay, ed., *Documents from Erech*, 12–13 and pls. 47–48, n. 52; also, Oelsner, "Königstitulaturen," 270; *Materialien*, 147; 411–412, n. 578; and Del Monte, *Testi*, 244–245. On the Gilgameš fragment (3) CT 46 30 and its possible pertinence to the rule of Mihrdād I, see Wiseman, "Gilgamesh Fragments," 134; Oelsner, "Königstitulaturen," 262–264; 272–274; and 264, n. 8, where Oelsner suggests a datation of the tablet ranging between 171–199 SE = 141/140–113/112 BCE, although he ends up favoring a date around 185 SE = 127/126 BCE (273), based upon the identity (and genealogy) of the tablet's scribe *Bēl-aḫḫē-uṣur*, whom he deems identical with the astrologer/scribe of the same name in the tablet BOR 4 132 (13.iii.185 SE = 19.vi.127 BCE), which belongs to the reign of Hyspaosines of Characene. Thus, assuming Oelsner's equation were correct, the document CT 46 30, if indeed Arsacid, would have belonged more probably to the reigns of Frahād II or Ardawān I, rather than that of Mihrdād I. On CT 46 30, see also Oelsner, *Materialien*, 206, 448, n. 759; and Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 148, ll. 5–7 (= 58). On BOR 4 132, see most recently McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 17–18; van der Spek, "Babylonian Temple," 548–550; 548, n. 36; and Del Monte, *Testi*, 114–116; with older literature cited on 114, n. 211.

[c] For variations of the royal titulature on drachms see Sellwood, "*Introduction*," 27–39.

Table 11 (*cont.*)

King's name	Royal titulature on tablets	Royal title(s) on coinage (T): Tetradrachms—(D): Drachms
Frahād II (ca. 138/137–128)	**king**[d] *Arsaces king (and X his mother/wife, kings)* • Arsaces king[e] • Arsaces and *Ri*-[. . .]-*nu*[?], his mother, kings[f] • *Arsaces and* Ubulna-[?] [his wife/mother, kings[?]][g] **king of the lands** *Arsaces king of the lands* • Arsaces king of the lands[h]	**great King** ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ (ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ) **(T): S. 15.1/17.1–3** ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ (ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ) **(D): S. 15.2–3/16. 1–24**

Notes (cont.)

[d] On astronomical *Diaries* pertinent to Frahād II's rule, see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –137 D lower edge 1 (= 176–177); no. –137 E obv.′ 1 (= 176–177); no. –137 E 'rev. 9′ (= 178–179); no. –137 E upper edge 1 / left edge 1 (= 178–179); no. –136 A lower edge 1 (= 180–181); no. –136 B left edge 3 (= 184–185); no. –136 C 'obv.' 3′ (= 184–185); no. –134 A upper edge 1 (= 190–191); no. –134 B obv.′ 1 (= 192–193); no. –134 B obv.′ 15–16 (= 194–195); no. –134 B upper edge 5 / left edge 1 (= 198–199); no. –132 B obv. 1 (= 210–211); no. –132 B rev. 22–24 (= 216–217); no. –132 D_1 'rev.' 29′–30′ (= 234–235); no. –132 D upper edge 3 (= 234–235); no. –132 A left edge 1 (= 236–237); no. –129 A_1 'obv.' 6′–12′ (= 244–245); no. –129 A_2 'obv.' 17′–21′ (= 248–249). On other astronomical documents, referring to Frahād II as "king Arsaces," in chronological order: (1) **LBAT 1285** (= **Sp (1) 130**; 176 SE = [112] AE = 136/135 BCE), see Sachs, *Astronomical Texts*, xxvi, 198, no. 1285; Kugler, *Sternkunde*, vol. I, 24; and vol. II (2:b), 539, n. 4 (b), and 540, 543; Del Monte, *Testi*, 246, n. 465; (2) **LBAT 1135** (= **Rm 4 429**; *Aršakâ šarru*; 1.i.179 SE = 115 AE = 14.iv.133 BCE), see Sachs, *Astronomical Texts*, xxiii; 171, no. 1135; Kugler, *Sternkunde*, vol. II (2:b), 446 (7); (3) **21–7–88 9** (*Aršakan šarru*; 8.ii.179 SE = 115 AE = 20.v.133 BCE.), see Epping and Strassmaier, "Babylonische Planeten III," 221 (d), l. 17; Kugler, *Sternkunde*, vol. II (2:b), 446 (8); (4) **LBAT 1272** (= **Sp 2 564**; [181] SE = 117 AE = 131/130 BCE), see Sachs, *Astronomical Texts*, xxvi, 195, no. 1272; Kugler, *Sternkunde*, vol. II (2:b), 546; Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 91, n. 196; Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 31 (2); Del Monte, *Testi*, 246, n. 465; (5) **AD 5 21** (= LBAT 1441; *Aršakâ šarru*; 13.viii.183 SE = 119 AE = 5.xi.129 BCE), see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. V, no. 21 obv. 1–2 (= 64–65); Sachs, *Astronomical Texts*, xxxiii, 227, no. 1441; Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 32 (2). To the preceding shall be added three further documents first cited by Strassmaier without any indication of their source of origin; these are in chronological order: (6) ? (*Aršakâ šarru*; 175? SE = 111 AE = 137/136 BCE), see Strassmaier, "Chronologie der Seleuciden," 111, ll. 10–12; Kugler, *Sternkunde*, vol. II (2:b), 449, ll. 25–26; Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 30, n. 14; (7) ? (*Aršakâ šarru*; 176 SE = 112 AE = 136/135 BCE), see Strassmaier, "Chronologie der Seleuciden," 111, ll. 12–15; (8) ? (*Aršakâ šarru*; 181 SE = 117 AE = 131/130 BCE), see Strassmaier, "Chronologie der Seleuciden," 111, l. 21; Kugler, *Sternkunde*, vol. II (2:b), 448 2 b (3); Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 31 (3).

[e] Non-astronomical texts referring to Frahād II as *Aršakâ šarru*: on the administrative document **BibMes 24 44** (= **Chicago A3690**; 4.iii.[179] SE = 115 AE = 15.vi.133 BCE), see Weisberg, *late Babylonian Texts*, 16, pls. 108–109, n. 44, rev. 13′; Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 30, n. 14; and Del Monte, *Testi*, 245, n. 461; 246, n. 465. On literary documents, such as: (1) **Sp (1) 131** (*Aršakâ šarru*; 175 SE = 27.ii.111 AE = 23.v.137 BCE), see Epping and Strassmaier, "Babylonische Planeten III," 241–244; Kugler, *Sternkunde*, vol. II (2:b), 449, l. 12; Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 137, ll. 4–7; Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 30, n. 14; *Materialien*, 227; 463, nn. 840, 841; McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 188; and Neugebauer, *Babylonian Ephemerides*, vol. I, 5, n. 6; (2) **SBH 5** (175 SE = [111] AE = 137/136 BCE), see Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*, vii, 6, no. 5; Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 44; Del Monte, *Testi*, 246, n. 465; (3) **SBH 35** ([178] SE = 114 AE = 134/133 BCE), see Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*, viii, 65, no. 35; Del Monte, *Testi*, 246, no 465 (4) **SBH 60** ([181] SE = 30.?.117 AE = 131/130 BCE), see Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*, ix, 114–115, no. 60; Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 91, n. 196; Oelsner, "Königstitulaturen," 31–32 (3); 45; *Materialien*, 175, n. 5; Del Monte, *Testi*, 246, no. 465.

[f] On the administrative text **BRM 2 53** (v.180 SE = [116 AE] = viii.132 BCE), see Clay, ed., *Documents from Erech*, 13 and pl. 48, n. 53; see also Minns, "Parchments," 34 (d); on the date of **BRM 2 53**, see Oelsner, "Königstitulaturen," 270, n. 28; "Randbemerkungen," 30–31, n. 14; *Materialien*, 147; 275, n. 5; 408, n. 570; 411–412, n. 578; and Del Monte, *Testi*, 245–246. Also compare Krückmann, *Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden*, 23, n. 2 with the erroneous date of [. . . 10]9 AE.

[g] On the economic document **BibMes 24 43** (= **Chicago A3689**; i.184 SE = 120 AE = 18.iv.–17.v.128 BCE), see Weisberg, *Late Babylonian Texts*, 16; pls. 106–107, no. 43; Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 32, n. 22; and *Materialien*, 276, n. u; and Del Monte, *Testi*, 245, nn. 461, 462; 248.

[h] On the unpublished colophon of **SH 81–7–6 122** (*Aršakâ šar mātāti*; 5.ix.179 SE = 115 AE = 10.xii.133 BCE), see Strassmaier, "Chronologie det seleuciden," 111, ll. 17–20; Kugler, *Sternkunde*, vol. II (2:b), 446 (8); 448, 2b(2); Minns, "Parchments," 34 (e); Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 31, n. 15; and *Materialien*, 275, n. 5; and Del Monte, *Testi*, 245, nn. 461, 462; 245, n. 463.

Table 11 (*cont.*)

King's name	Royal titulature on tablets	Royal title(s) on coinage (T): Tetradrachms—(D): Drachms
Ardawān I (ca. 128/127–124/123)	king[i] *Arsaces king* • Arsaces king[j]	**great king** ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ (T): S. 18.1–2/S. 21. 1–4 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ (ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ / ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ)[k] (D): S. 19.1–2/S. 20.1–7/22.1–4
Mihrdād II (ca. 125/124–91/90)	king[l] *Arsaces king* • Arsaces king[m]	**great king** ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ) (T): S. 23.1–2/24.1–8/32.1 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ) ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ (ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ / ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ) (D): S. 23.3/24.9–31/25.1/26.1–24
	king of kings *Arsaces king of kings* • Arsaces king of kings[n]	**king of kings** ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ [o] (D): S. 27.1–5/28.1–7/29.1–3
Gōdarz I (ca. 91/90–81/80)	king *Arsaces (king) who is called Gutarza (king) (and Asi'abaṭar[2], his wife, queen)* • Arsaces king who is called [Gut]arza, and Asi'abaṭar [. . .], his wife, queen[p]	**great king** ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ (T): S. 31.1–4

Notes (*cont.*)

[i] On astronomical *Diaries* pertinent to the rule of Ardawān I and testifying to the title of (*Aršakâ*) *šarru*, see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –126 A 'obv. 7' (= 254–255); no. -126 B obv.' 1 (= 256–257); no. –124 A 'obv. 6'–7'; 23' (= 264–267). On other astronomical texts, in chronological order, such as:

(1) 81–7–6 22 (*Aršakâ šarru*; 10.xii².186 SE = 122 AE = 26.iii.125 BCE), see Kugler, *Sternkunde*, vol. II (2:b), 446 (10); Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 92, n. 202;

(2) LBAT 1279 (186 SE = 122 AE = 126/125 BCE), see Sachs, *Astronomical Texts*, xxvi, 196, no. 1279; Del Monte, *Testi*, 249, n. 471. On an unidentified document

(3) ? (= LBAT 1279?; 186 SE = 122 AE = 126/125 BCE), see Strassmaier, "Chronologie der seleuciden," 111, ll. 21–22.

[j] On the economic document **CT 49 143** (*Aršakâ šarru*; 10.xii².186 SE = 122 AE = 26.iii.125 BCE), see Kennedy, *Cuneiform Texts*, 49, pl. 33, no. 142; McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 152; van der Spek, "Raḥiemesu," 210–211, no. 1; 211, n. 13; Del Monte, *Testi*, 249, n. 471.

[k] On other variations of Ardawān I's titulature see Sellwood, *Introduction*, 62.

[l] Diaries referring to Mihrdād II as *šarru* or *Aršakâ šarru* are: vol. III, no. –124 B 'obv.' 19'–20' (= 274–275); no. –124 B 'rev.' 13'–18' (= 278–279); no. –119 A^1 1 (= 306–307); no. –119 A^2 19' (= 310–311); no. –119 D upper edge 3 (= 316–317); no. –118 rev.' A18'–20' (= 326–327); no. –111 A obv.' 1 (= 336–337); no. –111 A obv.' 1 (= 336–337).

[m] (3) LBAT 1280–1281 (187 SE = 123 AE = 125/124 BCE), see Sachs, *Astronomical Texts*, xxvi, 197, nos. 1280–1281; Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 92, n. 205; Del Monte, *Testi*, 249, n. 471; (4) LBAT 1051 (= Sp (1) 175+2 777; 188 SE = 124 AE = 124/123 BCE), see Sachs, *Astronomica Texts*, xxii, 160, no. 1051; Kugler, *Sternkunde*, vol. II (2:b), 532, 533; Ergänzungsband 3, 371–373; Del Monte, *Testi*, 249, n. 471.

[n] On the titulature, see Strassmaier, "Chronologie des seleuciden," 111–112; Minns, "Parchments," 34; Oelsner, "Königstitulaturen," 271–72; "Randbemerkungen," 35–37; *Materialien*, 276; and see Del Monte, *Testi*, 250–251. The collated text **SBH 49** mentioned by Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 36, 44–45, represents some difficulties. The name of the month is missing (rev. 21'), and only the Seleucid year, which possibly indicates 221 SE = 91/90 BCE, can be deduced (rev. 22'). The title of the Arsaces in question is LUGAL LUGAL^{mei}, which makes the tablet's attribution to Mihrdād II very likely. However, in the absence of a concrete month designation, the tablet could equally be ascribed to Gōdarz' reign. The fact, however, that the title "king of kings" is not otherwise attested for Gōdarz does not render this assumption probable, a view that is supported by Oelsner, as illustrated by his table of Arsacid titulature on cuneiform tablets (37); compare also Del Monte, *Testi*, 252, who apparently ascribes the tablet **SBH 49** to Gōdarz. *Diaries*, in which Mihrdād II is reported as "king of kings," are: vol. III, no. –110 'rev.' 1 (= 346–347); no. –108 B upper edge 1 (= 360–361); no. –107 B upper edge (= 366–367); –107 C obv.' 1 (= 366–367), C upper edge (= 370–371); no. –105 C upper edge 1 (= 396–397); no. –96 A left edge 1 (= 410–411); no. –95 A 9' (= 416–417); no. –93 A rev.' 23 (= 430–431). For administrative documents, including the Raḥiemesu Archive now conveniently pulled together by van der Spek, in which Mihrdād II is referred to as "king of kings," see van der Spek, "Raḥiemesu," 210–245, nos. 1–35; also Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," 218–223, nos. 8–16 (8 = Spek 12; 9 = Spek 19; 10 = Spek 25; 11 = Spek 20; 12 = Spek 32; 13 = Spek 33; 14 = Spek 34; 15 = Spek 35; 16 = Spek 17); also McEwan, "Arsacid Temple Records," 132–143, AB 244 (= Spek 23); AB 245 (= Spek 26); AB 246 (= Spek 28); AB 247; AB 248 (= Spek 6); see also Kohler and Ungnad, *Hundert Rechtsurkunden*, 63–65, nos. 94–100 (94 = Spek 21; 96 = Spek 5;

97 = Spek 14; 98 = Spek 27; 99 = Spek 29; 100 = Spek 30); and Strassmaier, "Arsaciden Inschriften," 130–135 and 143–147, nos. 1, 3–8 (1 = Spek 21; 3 = Spek 3; 4 = Spek 7; 5 = Spek 14; 6 = Spek 27; 7 = Spek 29; 8 = Spek 30).

[o] On other variations of Mihrdād II's titulature see Sellwood, *Introduction*, 84.

[p] See Minns, "Parchments," 34 (h); Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 144, ll. 6–7, C; Oelsner, "Königstitulaturen," 271–272, nn. 32, 34; "Randbemerkungen," 36, 40–41, nn. 47–48, 42–43, 45; *Materialien*, 276–277, n. w, and 449–450, n. 770; Del Monte, *Testi*, 251; and Stolper, "Iranica," 246, 248.

Table 11 (*cont.*)

King's name	Royal titulature on tablets	Royal title(s) on coinage (T): Tetradrachms—(D): Drachms
	• Arsaces [who is call]ed Gutarza, king [. . .][q]	
	• [Arsaces king?] who is calle[d Gutarza, king?][r]	
	• [Arsaces who] is ca]lled Gutarza, king and [. . .][s]	
	• Arsaces who [is called] Gutarza, king, and Asiabaṭ[ar], his wife, queen[t]	
	• Arsaces who is called Gutarza, king, and Asiabaṭar?, his wife, queen[u]	
	• Arsaces [king, and . . .] his wife, queen[v]	
	• Arsaces king and [. . .][w]	
	• Arsaces king whose name is Gutarza [. . .][x]	
	• Gutaris king who [is called?] [. . .][y]	
	king *Arsaces king* • Arsaces king[z]	
	king of kings *Arsaces king of kings and* [. . .] • Arsaces king of kings and [his wife? . . .][aa]	
Urūd I (*ca.* 80/79/78?–76/75)	**king** *Arsaces (king) (who is called Uruda, king) (and Ispubarza, his sister, queen)* • Arsaces king and Ispu-barza, his sister, queen[bb] • Arsaces king and Ispu-bar[za . . .][cc]	**great king** ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ (T): S. 34.1

Notes (cont.)

[q] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –90 lower edge 1 (= 442–443); Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 36, n. 36; *Materialien*, 454–455, n. 801; Del Monte, *Testi*, 252; and Stolper, "Iranica," 248.

[r] See Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," no. 17, obv. 1–3, 223–224; Stolper, "Iranica," 248.

[s] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –88 A upper edge 1–2 (= 444–445); Epping and Strassmaier, "Babylonische Planeten III," Rm 710, Rand, 226, 235; Del Monte, *Testi*, 252; and Stolper, "Iranica," 248.

[t] See Epping and Strassmaier, "Babylonische Planeten III," Rm 844, obv. 3–5; 226, 230; Strassmaier, "Chronologie des seleuciden," 112, ll. 12–14; Kluger, *Sternkunde*, vol. II (2:b), 447, no. 23; Minns, "Parchments," 35 (i); Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 70; Oelsner, review of *Late Babylonian Economic Texts*, 165; *Randbemerkungen*, 40 (b); *Materialien*, 195–196, c, 276–277, n. w; Doty, "Tell 'Umar," 94; Del Monte, *Testi*, 253; van der Spek, "Šatammus," 441–442, 3–5; Boiy, *Babylon*, 182; Stolper, "Iranica," 246, 248.

[u] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. VI, no. 82 colophon 1–4 (= 330–331); Epping and Strassmaier, "Babylonische Planeten III," 222, ll. 14–21; Kluger, *Sternkunde*, vol. II (2:b), 447, no. 24; Minns, "Parchments," 35 (j); Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 40 (c), n. 43, and 41, n. 48; *Materialien*, 276–277, n. w; Sachs, "Observational Astronomy," 49–50, pl. 10, fig. 16; Del Monte, *Testi*, 254, n. 480; Boiy, *Babylon*, 182; Stolper, "Iranica," 248.

[v] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –87 C 'rev. 52'–53' (= 456–457); Del Monte, *Testi*, 253.

[w] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –88 A rev.' 1 (= 442–443).

[x] *Ibid.*, no. –87 C 'rev. 31' (= 454–455); Epping and Strassmaier, "Babylonische Planeten III," 226, ll. 26–27; Minns, "Parchments," 35 (k); Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 40 (d:2), n. 44; *Materialien*, 276–277, n. w; van der Spek, "Šatammus," 442, comments 3; Stolper, "Iranica," 248.

[y] On the astronomical text Rm 845, see Epping and Strassmaier, "Babylonische Planeten III," 226 and 232, lower edge; Sachs, "Classification," 275 and 285, no. 7; Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 40 (d), and 40–41, n. 44; *Materialien*, 217; 455, n. 803; Del Monte, *Testi*, 254, n. 481.

[z] On (additional) attestations of Gōdarz with the simplex title "king" (*Aršakâ šarru* or *Aršakam šarru*), see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –87 C upper edge 1 (= 456–457); no. –82 A obv.' 1 (= 474–475); no. –82 A upper edge 1 (= 476–477); *ibid.*, vol. V, no. 24, obv.' 1–2 (= 70); pl. 8, no. 24; *ibid.*, vol. VI, no. 85 'obv.' 9' (= 334–335); and no. 86 obv. 12 (= 338–339). For further bibliography, see appendix.

[aa] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. VI, no. 92 colophon 12' (= 358–359): *Aršakam šar šarrāni u* [?][. . .].

[bb] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –75 'rev.' 9' ([. . . *I*]*spubarzâ aḫās*[*su šarratu*]), and upper edge ([. . . *A*]*ršakam šarru u Ispubarzâ aḫāssu* [*šarratu*]) (= 506–507); also Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 36; Stolper, "Iranica," 249. For LBAT 1162–1163 ([*Aršakâ šarru u I*]*spubarzâ aḫā*[*s*]*su* "*šarratu*"), LBAT 1174 (*Aršakam šarru u Ispubarzâ aḫāssu šarratu*), and other examples of this formula, see appendix. Another formula only indicated by Strassmaier, "Chronologie der seleuciden," 112, ll. 16–20: "Vom Jahre 236 SA haben wir das Datum: . . . *šanat 172-tu ša ši-i šanat 236-tu Aršakâ šarru u aššat Is-bu-bar-za-a ahati-šu šarratu*" seems to read: *Aršakâ šarru u aššatu/alti Ispubarzâ aḫāssu šarratu?* "Arsaces king and (his) wife Ispubarza, his sister, queen."

[cc] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. -75 obv.' 1 (= 506–507).

Table 11 (*cont.*)

King's name	Royal titulature on tablets	Royal title(s) on coinage (T): Tetradrachms—(D): Drachms
	• Arsaces king and [Ispu-barza, his sister, queen?][dd] • [Arsa]ces who is called [Ur]ūd, king, and Isp[ubarza, his sister], queen[ee] • Arsaces who is calle[d . . .][ff] • Arsaces king[gg] **king of kings** *Arsaces king of kings who is called Uruda* • Arsaces king of kings who is called Uruda[hh]	
Sinatruces (ca. 75/74–70/69)	**king** *Arsaces king* • Arsaces king[ii]	**great king** ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟ-Σ/Υ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (D): S. 33.1–7
Frahād III (ca. 69/68–58/57)	**king** *Arsaces king (and Piriustana, Ṭeleuniqê, his wife, queen)* • Arsac[es king?][jj] • [Ar]saces king and Piriustanâ [(his) wife, que]en[kk] • Arsaces king and Pirwaštanâ (his) wife, queen[ll] • [Arsaces king?] and Ṭeleuniqê [his wife?, queen?][mm]	**great king** ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ (T): S. 30.1–11 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ (T): S. 37.1/36.1–3 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ (ΘΕΟΥ) ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ (T): S. 38.1/39.1

Notes (cont.)

[dd] *Ibid.*, no. –77 A left edge (= 498–499) (*Aršakâ šarru u I[spubarzâ aḫāssu šarratu?]*).

[ee] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, no. 26 obv. 1–4 (= 74–75); Kugler, *Von Moses bis Paulus*, 339; Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 36, n. 37, 41 (f), nn. 45, 47–48; Del Monte, *Testi*, 255; and Stolper, "Iranica," 249, 252.

[ff] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –79 'rev.' 10', 12' (= 484–485); for further bibliography, see appendix.

[gg] *Ibid.*, no. –77 B obv. 11' (= 498–499); for further bibliography, see appendix. There is one extant example of Urūd I being referred to as *šarru*: no. –77 A 'obv. 31' (= 490–491).

[hh] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, no. 25 obv. 1–3 (= 72–73); pl. 9, no. 25 obv; the title "king of kings" had been already read correctly by Strassmaier, "Arsaciden Inschriften," 135, 147–148, no. 9, ll. 2–3; "Chronologie der seleuciden," 112, ll. 15–16; as well as Epping, "Aus einem Briefe," 78 (with an erroneous interpretation of *iṭṭarridu* "[who] is called"): "Jahr . . . 232 des Arsaces des Königs der Könige. *Beobachtungsbericht* von Urudaa." See also Boiy, *Babylon*, 185; and Stolper, "Iranica," 252. Compare Minns, "Parchments," 35 (m); Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 40–41 (e), 41, n. 47; *Materialien*, 195, 277, n. x; and Del Monte, *Testi*, 254, who all read here the simplex title. Doubtful is the reliability of the document referred to (without identifying its origin) by Minns, "Parchments," 36 (n): *Aršakâ šar šarrāni u Ispubarzâ aḫāssu šarratu?*" "Arsaces, king of kings, and Ispubarza, his sister, queen," for the year 236 SE (= 76/75 BCE), that combines the title "king of kings" *šar šarrāni* with the name of Urūd I's wife, a combination which is not otherwise attested for his reign.

[ii] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries* vol. III, no. –73 4' (= 506–507) to be attributed to Sinatruces? For other attestations of Sinatruces on cuneiform documents, see Strassmaier, "Chronologie des Seleuciden," 112, ll. 25–30: "In SII, 137 findet sich ein klar und deutlich geschriebenes Datum: . . . doch scheint dies ein wirklicher Schreibfehler zu sein für *šanat 242 Aršakâ šarru*, da ein König *Ar-ka-a* im Jahre 70 v.Chr. wohl nicht zu finden ist"; Minns, "Parchments," 35 (o); Oelsner "Randbemerkungen," 37, attributed a tablet containing the title "Arsaces king and Pir(i)ustana, his wife, queen" to Sinatruces based on the common opinion at the time of publication; later, however, in *Materialien*, 207, 278, he correctly ascribed it to Frahād III.

[jj] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. V, no. 31 'obv. 1' (= 78–79); pl. 10, no. 31 (*ʿAršaʾ⌝k[a']*).

[kk] See Neugebauer, *Babylonian Ephemerides*, vol. I, 7, 23, no. 194a; vol. 2, 182b; Oelsner, "Königstitulaturen," 272, n. 34; "Randbemerkungen," 36–37; and Stolper, "Iranica," 251.

[ll] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. V, no. –27 obv. 1–4 (= 74–75), pl. 9, no. 27; and no. 28 1'–3' (= 76–77), pl. 9, no. 28; Strassmaier, "Chronologie des seleuciden," 112, ll. 21–25; Minns, "Parchments," 36 (p); Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 36–37; Del Monte, *Testi*, 256; and Stolper, "Iranica," 251; for further examples, such as LBAT 1177 and 81-7-6 262, see discussion in the appendix.

[mm] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –62 obv.' 1 (= 512–513).

Table 11 (*cont.*)

King's name	Royal titulature on tablets	Royal title(s) on coinage (T): Tetradrachms—(D): Drachms
	king of kings *Arsaces king of kings (and ... his mother, queen)* • Arsaces king of kings[nn] • Arsaces king of kings and [. . .] *-ištar,* his mother, queen[oo] • Purusta[nâ . . . Arsace]s king of kings[pp]	
Mihrdād III (ca. 58/57–55)	—	**great king** ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ (T): S. 41.1
	—	**king of kings** ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΥΣ (ΚΑΙ) ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ[qq] (D): S. 41.1–17 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΤΙΣΤΟΥ (T): S. 44.1?
Urūd II (ca. 58/57–39/38)	**king** *Arsaces king* • Arsaces king[rr]	**king of kings** ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ (D): S. 42.1–3/43.1–12[ss] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΤΙΣΤΟΥ (T): S. 44.1?

Frahād IV (ca. 39/38–3/2)	**[no title]** *Arsaces* • [Ar]saces[rr]	
	king of kings *Arsaces king of kings* • Arsaces king of kings[uu]	**king of kings** ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ (T): S. 50.1–14/51. 1–43/52.1–9/53. 1–2/54. 1–6

Notes (cont.)

[nn] *Ibid.*, no. –62 upper edge 1 (= 514–515). For other attestations of the title "king of kings" for Frahād III on astronomical texts, such as LBAT 1183 (*Aršakam šar šarrāni*) and LBAT 1184 (*Aršakam šar šarrāni*), see Sachs, *Astronomical Texts*, xxiv, 117, nos. 1183, rev. 14, and 1184, 6′; Kugler, *Sternkunde*, vol. II (2:b), 447 (31); vol. I, 211; Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 38; and Del Monte, *Testi*, 257. On the economic document 81–6–25 507 ([*Aršaka/-â ša*]*r šarrāni*), see Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," no. 20, obv. 1–2.

[oo] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. V, no. 30 1–3 (= 78–79), pl. 10, no. 30.

[pp] On this unusual title (*Purusta*[*nâ . . . Aršak*]*â šar šarrāni*), attested in 81–6–25 507, see Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," no. 20, obv. 6–7; and van der Spek, "Šatammus," 440 (8); n. 11. For further discussion, see appendix.

[qq] For other variations of the legend on Mihrdād III's drachms see Sellwood, *Introduction*, 128.

[rr] See Neugebauer, *Babylonian Ephemerides*, vol. I, 7, 23–24, no. 18; Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 179, l. 3; Oelsner, "Königstitulaturen," 263; and "Randbemerkungen," 38.

[ss] For other variations of the legend on Urūd II's drachms see de Callataÿ, *Tétradrachmes d'Orodès*, 64–67; also Sellwood, *Introduction*, 135.

[tt] See Sachs, *Astronomical Texts*, xxiv, 178, nos. 1188–1189, rev. 14′; Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 37–38, table 1, n. 7; and Del Monte, *Testi*, 257. For other **untitled (and unnamed) documents pertaining to Frahād IV's reign, such as LBAT 1190, and LBAT 1191–92, see** Kugler, *Sternkunde*, vol. I, 104–108, pl. 9, vol. II (2:b), 505, Ergänzungsband 3, pls. 8–9; and Sachs, "Latest Tablets," 379. On **LBAT 1196**, see Schnabel, "Jüngster Keilschrifttext," 36, 66–70; Wattenberg, "Große Konjunktion," 29, pl. 1; **Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 38; *Materialien*, 218.**

[uu] For **81–7–6 159**, see Epping and Strassmaier, "Chronologische Daten," 204; and Strassmaier, "Chronologie der Seleuciden," 112, ll. 3–5; Kugler, *Sternkunde*, vol. II (2:b), 447 (32); Minns, "Parchments," 36 (q); Unger, *Babylon*, 322, n. 74; Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 38, n. 40. For LBAT 1193 and LBAT 1195, see Oelsner, "Randbemerkungen," 38, n. 40; Del Monte, *Testi*, 257; and appendix.

Table 12. *The Coinage of Tigranes II*

Mint	Tetradrachms	Drachms	Bronze Issues
Antioch	Y(ear/s) 83–70 King Tigranes		
Damascus	Y. 72–70 King Tigranes		Y. 72–70 King Tigranes
Syria	Y. 83–70 King Tigranes		
Artaxata	Y. 83–70 King Tigranes	Y. 70–50 King Tigranes	
	Y. 62; 59–58 King of Kings Tigranes [nos. 56; 77–79; 81]	Y. 66; 63–57 King of Kings Tigranes [nos. 53–55; 57–76; 79A–80; 82–84]	Y. 57 King of Kings Tigranes [nos. 85–88]
Tigranokerta	Y. 70–55 King Tigranes		Y. 69?–55 King Tigranes
			King of Kings Tigranes [nos. 43–48]
Armenia			Y. 70–66 King Tigranes
			King of Kings Tigranes [nos. 24–27]
Nisibis		Y. 80–63 King	Y. 80; 64–63 Great King Tigranes Philhellenos
		King Tigranes	[nos. 92-95]

Note:
Nos. refer to the cataloging number in the edition of Moucheghian and Depeyrot, *Armenian Coinage*.

Footnote 767 (*cont.*)
and discussion of the short Greek inscription see Яйленко, "Новые эпиграфические данные," 617–626; and 727–728; for an alternate reading compare Виноградов, Молев, and Толстиков, "Новые эпиграфические источники," 595. The inscription as interpreted by Яйленко (618) reads as follows:

> [βα]σιλέα [. . .] βασιλ(έ)[ων μέγαν Μιθραδάτην Εὐπά]-
> τορα Διόνυσον, τὸν (N)[υμφαίτῶν(?) σωτῆρα καὶ εὐ]-
> εργέτην, χρατήσα(ν) {τα Σκυθῶν(?), ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ}
> πραγμάτων καὶ (ὑπ){ὲρ εὐνοίας πρὸς Νυμφαίτας(?)}

See also the important contribution of Карышковский, "О тутуле Митрадата," 572–589; and 724–725; see also Ballesteros Pastor, "Notas," 111–117.

of Armenia.[768] With the exception of Mihrdād III and Urūd II, the use of the title "king of kings" by these sovereigns seems to have arisen from the expansion of their respective dominion, either as the result of conquest (that is, the conquest of Mesopotamia), or of nominal subjection.

(1) Mihrdād II's attested use of the imperial title "king of kings" is somewhat bewildering. Although he was firmly in control of Babylonia—which Ardawān I's general Timarchos had helped re-conquer prior to Mihrdād II's accession[769]—yet from mid 125 to 112/111 BCE (= 200 SE), he did not carry the imperial title despite numerous occasions for adopting it: in January 124, he not only vanquished the Elamite king Pittit, but also accepted the nominal submission of Hypaosines of Characene.[770] The Babylonian diarists, however, do not attribute this title to Mihrdād II until the year 112/111,[771] and the only event datable to this year was the submission of Armenia, as a report by Justin reveals:

[768] On the use and distribution of the imperial title "king of kings" by Tigranes (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ), compare Bedoukian, *Coinage*, 12–25; *Hoard*, 6–13; also Foss, "Coinage," 19–66, especially, 33–38; pls. 5–7. According to Bedoukian, *Coinage*, 13, and Foss, "Coinage," 35–38, the title "king of kings" was used after 85 BCE overwhelmingly in Armenia proper and the territories wrested from the Arsacids, whereas the simple title of "king" (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ) was struck on coins—predominantly tetradrachms—issued in conquered Seleucid territories, such as Antioch and Damascus. Foss, "Coinage," 37, sums up the aforesaid as follows: "[i]t thus appears that Tigranes appropriated a title revived not long before his time, probably after he had conquered much of Media and Mesopotamia from the Parthians, and that most of their contemporary rulers recognized the supremacy so manifested." However, it is somewhat perplexing how the year 85 BCE; could have been taken as the year, in which the imperial title was for the first time used, since even Foss concedes that the beginning of the Armenian silver coinage is to be placed after the Syrian invasion of 83 BCE; see Foss, "Coinage," 26 and 34–35. Based upon the recent classification of Tigranes' coins by Mousheghian and Depeyrot, *Armenian Coinage*, 34–44, 134–159, the table has been arranged, which represents the dates and usuage of the imperial title under Tigranes. Intrigingly, all the silver coinage—both Tetradrachms and drachms—wherein the title "king of kings" occurs, were issued at Armenian mints, such as Artaxata and Tigranokerta, and do belong to the latter years of Tigranes' rule, following his re-establishment by Pompeius. See also Hoover, "Overstruck Coins," 212. What is more, in emulation of the Pontic coinage, these coins are dated by Tigranes' regnal year, with the inclusion for the most part of the respective months, and may, therefore, be accurately ascribed to the years 66–57 BCE. Thus, the earliest attestation the title of "king of kings" on Tigranes' silver coinage belongs to the year 66 BCE, albeit there is no report on the month for that year. Similarly, the bronze coins with the imperial title, all issued at Armenian mints, which the authors have catalogued together with coins struck *post* 70 BCE, are nonetheless described by them as belonging to the period after 66 BCE; see Mousheghian and Depeyrot, *Armenian Coinage*, 40–44. Consequently, the earliest attestation of the title "king of kings" under Tigranes is to be dated to the year 66 BCE, and its introduction on Armenian coinage ought not to be linked with the postulated Armenian conquest of the Sophene or Arsacid territories before 83 BCE, but ought instead be explained in conjunction with Pompeius' policy towards Armenia and Parthia after 66 BCE. See de Callataÿ, *Guerres mithridatiques*, 231–232.

[769] See above, 151.

[770] See above, 112–114.

[771] See above, 43–44, n. 22 and appendix, 394.

[Just. 42.2.4–6]
[m]ulta igitur bella cum finitimis magna virtute gessit multosque populos Parthico regno addidit. Sed et cum Scythis prospere aliquotiens dimicavit ultorque iniuriae parentum fuit. Ad postremum Artoadisti, Armeniorum regi, bellum intulit.

"thereupon he [Mithridates] waged numerous wars with his neighbors with great virtue, and added many nations to the Parthian empire. He also successfully fought with the Scythians at different times and avenged the injury to his ancestors. At last, he made war on Artoadistes, the king of Armenia."

Although the exact date of Mihrdād II's Armenian campaign is unknown, there are several clues that might help us in establishing a relative chronology. For Justin, the king's Armenian campaign is the last (*ad postremum*) of his (great) deeds; more precisely, it follows the battles against the Scythians, in which Mihrdād II avenged his ancestors. Incidentally, the *Diaries* report of a written document sent by Mihrdād II, and read on 17/18.x.119 BCE (= 15.vii.193 SE), to the governor of Babylon "(*pāḫāt Bābili*)" and the Greek citizens "(*puliṭē*)", on the occasion of his victory against the Gutians, who had killed his brother Ardawān I, and although the idea of revenge is not explicitly mentioned, the mere fact that Mihrdād II evokes his fallen brother in conjunction with his triumph adequately characterizes the Gutian campaign in revenge for Ardawān I's death:

[t]hat [month], the 15th, a leather document of king Arsaces / [which] was written to the governor of Babylon and the citizens who were in Babylon, was read in the house of observation; accordingly many troops assembled and went to fight against the son of the king and his troops, of the cities [. . .] / [. . . of the G]utians who killed my brother Artabana, and I set up (troops) opposite them, and fought with them; a great killing I performed among them;[772] except 2 men [. . .] / [. . .] were not killed; and the king's son and his troops fled from the fight and withdrew to the difficult mountains[773]

772 Often the *Diaries* report royal proclamations sent by Arsacid kings to their Babylonian governors and subjects in diverse circumstances, notably on the occasion of successful campaigns, ascensions to the throne, and nominations of commanders and governors. Some of these reported proclamations contain formulae and expressions that have close parallels with royal Achaemenid and Sasanian inscriptions, and hence will provide, in the absence of scarce Arsacid epigraphic sources, a welcome addition to investigate the evolution of formulaic expressions. A formula from the above cited passage with a widely attested counterpart in the Achaemenid inscriptions is the following:

[AD1, no. –118 'rev. A 20']
"and I set up (troops) opposite them, and fought with them; a great killing I performed among them."

[DB II.39–41]
"a fortress by the name of Tigra in Armenia, there they fought a battle; Ahuramazda brought me aid, by the favor of Ahuramazda my army struck that rebellious army much."

773 Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –118 A 'rev. A18'– A21' (= 326–327).

Although, *prima facie*, we may think that the victorious battle against the Gutians had taken place prior to mid October 118, in order for its report to reach Babylonia at that time, we are unexpectedly informed of the continuation of the campaign after Mihrdād II's victory announcement. The Gutian foe, identified as the crown prince "(*mār šarri*)", having withdrawn his troops into a challenging mountainous region, Mihrdād II seems to have sought a decisive outcome in Gutium itself, for we are told that he had penetrated into Gutium to deliver battle:

> That month, king Arsaces [went] to the remote cities of the Gutian country in order to fight.[774]

Later, in 2/3.xi.–1/2.xxii.119 BCE (= viii.193 SE), we are informed, albeit fragmentarily, that yet another (royal) pronouncement was made to the *puliṭē* in Babylonia, presumably to proclaim the final victory of the king over the Gutians.[775]

Thus, the *terminus post quem* for the *first* Armenian campaign is November 118, whereas its *terminus ante quem* is the attested Arsacid restoration—during the *second* Armenian campaign—to the throne of Armenia of prince Tigranes, who was kept in Babylonian exile as an Arsacid state host before his return in 26/27.iii.–23/24.iv.96 BCE (= i.216 SE).[776]

[774] *Ibid.*, no. –118 A 'rev. A22' (= 326–327).

[775] *Ibid.*, no. –118 B upper edge 3–5 (= 328–329): "[. . .] . . . was read to the citizens; accordingly many troops [. . .] / [. . .] . . . opposite them [. . .] . . . / [. . .] . . . to the troops of [. . .] . . . "

[776] *Ibid.*, no. –95 C 'obv.' 5'–7' (= 418–419); no. –95 C 'rev.' 12' (= 420–421); and again no. –95 D 'obv.' 10'–11' (= 422–423). On the basis of circumstantial evidence, Wolski had already dated, on the whole correctly, the two campaigns of Mihrdād II against Armenia to the years 105–100 and 90 respectively, although he attributed the above cited passage of Justin (42.2.4–6) to the second Armenian campaign; see Wolski, "L'Arménie," 259: "la deuxième [campagne] devait, probablement, avoir lieu à la fin du règne de Mithridate II et c'est à celle-ci que se rapporte la phrase de Justin XLII 2,6: Ad postremum Artoasdi . . . bellum intulit. La première intervention est encore plus difficile à dater, mais rien ne s'oppose à la dater environ dix ou quinze ans avant la deuxième. Alors, si nous plaçons celle-là en 90 av. n. ère environ, avec, bien entendu, un écart de quelques années, celle-ci pourrait avoir lieu env. 100 ou 105 av. n. ère avant cette date." Chaumont, "Interventions," 23 and 26–27, however, based upon an elaborate analysis of our scarce classical accounts, inferred the correct chronology for the two campaigns (respectively 111/110 and 96/95), which the evidence of the cuneiform tablets now fully confirms: "[e]n tout état de cause, dans le contexte chronologique de l'*Epitome* de Justin, l'expression *ad postremum*, appliquée à la guerre dirigée contre l'Arménie, signifie que cette campagne fut entreprise à la suite de toutes les autres expéditions victorieuses de l'Arsacide. Elle aurait eu son point de départ aux environs de l'année 110 av. J.C., un peu avant ou un peu après; au deumeurant, elle aura été certainement d'assez courte durée"; and: "Wolski affirmant que la deuxième intervention parthe en Arménie a eu lieu en 90, nous pouvons opposer un point de repère qui nous autorise à dater, avec une relative précision, l'avènement de Tigrane Ier le Grand"; further: ". . . il nous est permis de faire remonter l'avènement de Tigrane en 95 av. J. C. sans exclure l'année 96 ni l'année 94."

Thus, although the *Diaries* do not give an explicit account of Mihrdād II's *second* Armenian campaign in March/April 96, conducted with the purpose of reinstating Tigranes, the latter's presence in Babylon as an Arsacid hostage strongly supports the historicity of this campaign, as well as its successful outcome for the Arsacids.

As to the *first* campaign, which, in the present context, is of interest to us, only a diary, dated to 7/8.viii–8/9.x.III BCE (= v.–vi.201 SE), wherein Mihrdād II is attested with the title of "king of kings," entails a brief allusion to a (concluded?) campaign against the "land of Ḫabigalbat" (*māt Ḫabigalbatu*),[777] which most probably referred to Armenia. Indeed, the toponym is known to us from a prior diary, dating back to October 164 BCE, recounting the campaign of king Antiochos IV to the very same Ḫabigalbat, this time, however, in connection with the region called [*x*-] *armil*?, which, as we have already opined, may have designated Armenia.[778] Were this assumption to prove valid, the campaign of Mihrdād II against "the land of Ḫabigalbat" would have been in reality directed against Armenia, in anticipation of a successful outcome, or in conclusion of which, Babylonian scholars may have introduced the title "king of kings," as a means to project Arsacid hegemony. The campaign, although first reported in our extant *Diaries* in late summer and early fall 110 BCE, could have been launched already in the spring of 111 BCE (that is, possibly in xii.200 SE), which would account for the use of the title "king of kings" in the Goal Year text of the year 112/111 BCE (= 200 SE).

There is no evidence, however, for positing an "Achaemenid revival" as the motivation of Mihrdād II's territorial expansion in Mesopotamia. It merely appears that the title was re-introduced by Babylonian scholars after a series of conquests, the last of which was that of Armenia.

(2) Mithridates VI Eupator probably assumed this title in late 88 BCE while at the apogee of his power, having conquered much of Asia Minor and Greece.[779] He is the first Iranian prince who, before any explicit evidence of an Arsacid "Achaemenid revival" was attested (such as Tacitus' account of Ardawān II),[780] *consciously* emulated the Achaemenids—parallel to his *imitatio Alexandri*—either as part of a political program, or a mere

[777] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, Vol. III, no. –110 'rev.' 14' (= 346–347): "[. . .] . . . with him towards the land of the Ḫabigalbat because of . . . I heard [. . .]."

[778] See above, 161–168.

[779] For a chronicle of the first Mithridatic war, see McGing, *Foreign Policy*, 108–131; also Magie, *Roman Rule*, 199–231; and more recently, Hind, "Mithridates," 144–164; and de Callataÿ, *Guerres mithridatiques*, 281–324. For chronological questions pertaining to the first Mithridatic war, still Badian, "Rome, Athens and Mithridates," 108–111.

[780] See above, 39–40.

propagandistic tool destined to secure the allegiance of his Iranian subjects to his cause.[781] There is no indication, however, that Mithridates VI's expansionist policy was motivated by the desire to recover former Achaemenid territory; on the contrary, his conquests seem to have prompted him to claim the imperial Achaemenid title as a token for his supremacy in the East, thereby following in the footsteps of Mihrdād II.

(3) Tigranes of Armenia, the second, but not last non-Arsacid, ruler to have assumed the imperial title,[782] did so after his conquest of northern Mesopotamia, Adiabene, and Gordyene,[783] which he probably wrested from Frahād III's predecessor Sinatruces, shortly prior to Lucullus' invasion of Armenia in the summer of 69 BCE, and to which he held on until Frahād III was able partially to recover them in late 65 BCE. However, as we shall discover, the embrace by Tigranes—to whom we can hardly attribute any Achaemenid affinities, let alone an "Achaemenid program"—of the imperial title has, at that juncture, less to do with his hegemonic ambitions in the East, which would derive from this ephemeral conquest, but everything to do with Roman politics. Indeed, as the Armenian mints dated to Tigranes' second rule (66–55 BCE) clearly show the imperial title of "king of kings" was first introduced on Armenian silver coinage—exclusively from Armenian mints—in 66 BCE,[784] that is, following Tigranes' crushing defeat by Roman forces, the loss of Armenian independence, and the reinstatement of Tigranes as a Roman subject by Pompeius. Thus the adoption of the imperial title, at a time when Tigranes had reached the nadir of his power, ought to be linked with Pompeius' design to dispute Arsacid hegemony in the East, by usurping the title of "king of kings," and bestowing it upon the new vassal king of Armenia, who was beholden to Rome. Thus through the intermediary of Tigranes, the imperial title became a tool in the hegemonic duel between Parthia and Rome.

[781] See below, 309–311.

[782] Among Armenian rulers who, after the demise of Tigranes II, assumed the imperial title, were: Tigranes' own son and successor Artavasdes II (56–34), who called himself "king of kings," although Armenia had no claim to supremacy in Orient during his reign; and the later Tigranes V (ca. 6); see Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads*, 25–28 and 38–40. Other non-Arsacid rulers, who also used the imperial title after Tigranes' death, were Artovasdes of Atropatene and Pharnakes, the patricidal son of Mithradates VI Eupator, ruler of the Bosporan kingdom; see Foss, "Coinage," 37, n. 59; and Sullivan, "Papyri," 916–918; on Phranaces, see still Reinach, *Mithradates Eupator*, 405–410.

[783] See App. *Syr.* 48: *καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀρμενίας Τιγράνης ὁ Τιγράνους ἔθνη πολλὰ τῶν περιοίκων ἰδίοις δυνάσταις χρώμενα ἑλών βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦδε βασιλέων ἡγεῖτο εἶναι καὶ τοῖς Σελευκίδαις ἐπεστράτευεν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ὑπακούειν.* See Wolski, *L'empire*, 123; Schippmann, *Parthische Geschichte*, 33.

[784] See above, n. 763; and see also Hoover, "Overstruck Coins," 212.

(4) For Frahād III the title "king of kings" is first reported in a diary dated to 28.xii.66 BCE (= 14.ix.246 SE),[785] which coincided with the period of territorial conflicts opposing Frahād III to Tigranes of Armenia and Pompeius. As we shall explore in ampler detail below,[786] the *amicitia* of the year 64 BCE, concluded between Frahād III and Pompeius, required the former to campaign against Tigranes, while Pompeius waged war on Tigranes' ally Mithridates VI Eupator in Pontos, in return for recovering the territories lost by the Arsacids to Tigranes. Possibly in late 65, Frahād III, having fulfilled his obligations, occupied Adiabene and Gordyene (but not Mesopotamia). It was either at this juncture, or later, following the ephemeral occupation of Mesopotamia—in breach of the clauses of the *foedus*—by Pompeius' legate Afranius, and his subsequent withdrawal in winter 65, that Frahād III assumed the title "king of kings." Thus, the attribution, in the *Diaries*, of the imperial title to Frahād III in late December 65 BCE, possibly for the first time after Mihrdād II, may be related to the recovery of northern Mesopotamia and Adiabene, and, with it, the re-establishment of Arsacid hegemony in the east, with Pontos and Armenia having been severely diminished.[787]

(5) Finally, the reason for the brothers Mihrdād III and Urūd II, who were engaged in a fierce power struggle for the Arsacid throne,[788] to assume the imperial title was twofold. It was a means for each of them to express his precedence over the other. Thus, the imperial title, from being a mark of political hegemony over other nations, became the *insignium* of authority and legitimacy for contestants in a single house. But, it also indicated that the Arsacids were again asserting their hegemony after the downfall of the Pontic kingdom and the decline of Armenia.[789]

To recapitulate: the title "king of kings" was re-introduced by Babylonian scribes under Mihrdād II, who subsequently adopted it as the means to express his ascendancy in the east. Comparable motives led Mithridates Eupator to assume the imperial title, while at the zenith of his power, or Pompeius to bestow it on Tigranes, while Rome was in a position of strength in the east, before Mihrdād II's successors were able to reassert their rule, partially regain lost territories, and reclaim the title as

[785] See table 11.

[786] See below, 319–322.

[787] Pompeius' alleged refusal to concede the title of "king of kings" to Frahād III, as reported by Dio, certainly underscores the ideological dimension attached to its use both in Roman and Parthian minds. See Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, 222–223.

[788] See table 11.

[789] See below, 292–293.

their own. Mithridates Eupator's conscious referral to the Achaemenids as the crucial element of his political propaganda against Rome later became a model for Urūd II and his successors in the elaboration of their political ideology, as the Arsacids replaced Pontos as the most formidable bulwark against Roman expansion.

(4) Babylonian scholars and Iranian dynasts

In the preceding chapters, we have explored whether the "revival" of the old Achaemenid title "king of kings," almost a decade after the conquest of Mesopotamia, may have been brought about by Babylonian scribes, who, owing to the continuity of their literary traditions, could have resuscitated the imperial title "king of kings" in Arsacid Iran; or whether the introduction of the imperial title on coinage and Babylonian documents emanated from the will of the Arsacid state to affirm its political supremacy and subscription to the Achaemenid idea.

Despite the absence of the title "king of kings" from Babylonian documents of the Achaemenid period—neither the economic documents nor the *Diaries* of the Achaemenid period bear witness to its use—that is, without being able to exhibit a direct *Vorlage* upon which Babylonian scribes could have drawn, in order to recover the imperial title, we nonetheless were able to uncover sufficient circumstantial evidence hinting at the conscious association of the Arsacids with the Achaemenids through Babylonian agency in a period of increasing hostility against Seleucid rule. It is thus possible to assume that the Achaemenid title "king of kings" was consciously re-introduced by Babylonian scribes to mark the emergence of a new Iranian dynasty.

However, even conceding to the independent re-introduction of the title of "king of kings" by Babylonian scribes, we would have to presume that the latter enjoyed a certain measure of (literary) autonomy within the Arsacid realm and could operate without strict directives from the central authority in their appellation of Arsacid rulers. Thus, in the following, we shall briefly explore whether a precedent for the surmised (literary) autonomy of Babylonian scribes under the Arsacids may be identified by investigating the case of the Achaemenid empire.

On the formation of royal titles in Achaemenid Iran

While considering the Achaemenid titulatures, as reflected within the Old Persian epigraphic corpus,[790] one may observe the relative constancy and

[790] See table 13.

immutability of its pattern(s) beginning with Dareios the Great until the end of Ochos' rule.[791]

Dareios' titulatures exhibit the most variety, and it was only under his successor Xerxes that the titulature, with minor inflections, became canonical. In general, the following pattern may be observed under Dareios:

I, name of the king | great king | king of kings | (king in Persis) | king of the lands | king of this earth | son of X, grandson of X | an Achaemenid | (Persian, of Persian descent, Aryan, of Aryan seed).[792]

Under Xerxes, bar a single exception, the title is reduced to its core seven elements, which were already prominent under Dareios:

I, name of the king | great king | king of kings | king of the lands | king of this earth | son of X | an Achaemenid | (Persian, of Persian descent, Aryan, of Aryan seed).[793]

Of these seven core elements, one designates the king's name, one his geneaology (son of X, grandson of X), and another is the dynastic appellation (Achaemenid), which means that the proper components of the title are in reality four in number, namely:

great king | king of kings | king of the lands | king of this earth.

In contrast, the evidence of Babylonian legal and economic documents[794] as regards the title of the Achaemenid kings presents the following picture: from Cyrus to Dareios, the title was *(šar Bābili,) šar mātāti* "king of Babylon, king of the lands"[795]; under Xerxes the title changed considerably

791 For a general overview, see Colditz, "Herrschertitulatur," 61–78.

792 See table 13.

793 See table 13.

794 In view of the many publications on late Babylonian business documents of the Achaemenid period, one may consult for older publications of cuneiform collections and documents, Weber and Wiesehöfer, *Reich der Achaimeniden*; and for an inventory of more recent publications, see Briant, *Bulletin I (BHAch I)*, 38–40; *Bulletin II (BHAch II)*, 65–68. See also, Briant's online project (*textes Babyloniens*) in collaboration with Joannès, Jursa, Van der Spek, and Wunsch at achemenet.com. For the bibliography of relevant cuneiform documents for the years 2000–2001, which could be only partially captured by the *BHAch II*, see the "Register Assyriologie," 462–505; and for the years 2000–2006, see Neumann, "Keilschriftbibliographie" nos. 58–66. A most helpful tool is the recent publication of Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Documents*, 60–152; and bibliography, 156–168, which provides a comprehensive survey of neo-Babylonian archival documents.

795 Several recently published Babylonian documents (BM 62644 and BM 83526) belonging to the first year, more precisely, to the first two months, of Cyrus' rule in Babylonia, indicate the king's title as *šar mātāti* "king of the lands," without the additional title *šar Bābili* "king of Babylon"; see Zawadski, "Cyrus's Name," note 58. The evidence of BM 62644, dated to the first month (Arahsamnu = x.539) of Cyrus' reign in Babylonia (2/3.x.539) could possibly suggest that the co-regency of Cyrus and Cambyses, whereby the title of *šar mātāti* was used for Cyrus, and that of *šar Bābili* for the heir apparent, Cambyses, could have taken place already during the first month(s)

Table 13. *Structure of the Achaemenid royal titulatures*[a]

(a) The titulatures of Dareios the Great

Source	*Elements of Dareios' titulature in order of appearance in the inscriptions*[b]						
	Great King	King of Kings + King in Persis	King of the Lands (of many races / all races)	King on this (great) earth (far and wide)	Son of Vištāspa (, grandson of Arsames)	Achaemenid	Persian, son of a Persian, Iranian, of Iranian seed
DB I.1–3 = DBa 1–8	*xšāyaθiya vazṛka*	*xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām* + *xšāyaθiya Pārsaiy*	*xšāyaθiya dahṛyūnām*	—	*Vištāspahṛyā puça Aršāmahṛyā napā*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—
DE II–19	*xšāyaθiya vazṛka*	*xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*	*xšāyaθiya dahṛyūnām paruzanānām*	*xšāyaθiya ahṛyāya būmiyā*	*Vištāspahṛyā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—
DNa 8–15	*xšāyaθiya vazṛka*	*xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*	*xšāyaθiya dahṛyūnām vispazanānām*	*xšāyaθiya ahṛyāyā būmiyā vazṛkāyā dūraiy apiy*	*Vištāspahṛyā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	*Pārsa Pārsahṛyā puça Ariya Ariya ciça*
= DSe 7–14	*XŠ vazṛka*	*XŠ XŠyānām*	*[XŠ] dahṛyū[nām] [vis]pazanānām*	*xšāyaθiya ahṛyā[yā] [būmi]yā vazṛkāyā [d]ūrai[y] [apiy]*	*Vištāspahṛyā puça*	*Ha[xāmaniš-] i[ya]*	*Pārsa Pārsahṛyā p[uça] Ariya Ariya ciça*

Notes:

[a] The examples provided in the tables below have no claim to being exhaustive; for the most part, only more complex titles were considered for inclusion. The texts and designations of the inscriptions follow the more recent edition by Schmitt, *Bisitun Inscriptions: Inscriptions of Naqsh-i Rustam and Persepolis*, and *Altpersische Inschriften*.

[b] The inscriptions are listed in alphabetical order, thus DB prededing DE: In cases where several inscriptions show comparable formulae they have been grouped together and hence have been listed outside the alphabetical order. All but the first listed inscription will have their sigla preceded by "=", e g., DNa 8–15, = Dse 7–14. = DZc 4–7

Table 13 (*cont.*)

(a) The titulatures of Dareios the Great (*cont.*)

Source	*Elements of Dareios' titulature in order of appearance in the inscriptions*						
	Great King	King of Kings + King in Persis	King of the Lands (of many races / all races)	King on this (great) earth (far and wide)	Son of Vištāspa (, grandson of Arsames)	Achaemenid	Persian, son of a Persian, Iranian, of Iranian seed
= DZc 4–7	*XŠ vazṛka*	*XŠ XŠyānām*	*XŠ dahayūnām vispazanānām*	*[XŠ] ahayāyā būmiyā vazṛkāyā dūraiy apiy*	*Vištāspahayā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—
DPa 1–5 = DG?	*xšāyaθiya vazṛka*	*xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*	*xšāyaθiya dahạ-yūnām*	—	*Vištāspahayā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—
= DPh 1–3 = DH 1–2	*XŠ vazṛka*	*XŠ XŠyānām*	*XŠ dahạyūnām* *XŠ dahạyūvnām*	—	*Vištāspahayā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—
= DSa 1–3			*XŠ DHnām*				
DPb 1–2	*XŠ vazṛka*	—	—	—	*Vi[št]āspahayā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—
= DPj 1–4 = DWa 1–8	*xšāyaθiya [v]azṛka*				*Vištās[p]ahayā puça*		
DPe 1–5	*xšāyaθiya vazṛka*	*xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*	*xšāyaθiya dahạ-yūnām tayaišām parūnām*	—	*Vištāspahayā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—

DSab 3–4 = DZb	*xšāyaθiya vazaṛka*	*xšāyaθiya xšāyaθi[yānām]*	*x(šāyaθi)[ya] [dahaẏūnām]*	*xšāyaθiya ahaẏāyā būmiyā vazaṛkāyā*	*Vištāspahaẏā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—
	XŠ vazaṛka	*XŠ [XŠyā]nām*		*[XŠ ahaẏ]āyā bū[miyā vazaṛk]āyā*	*Vi[štāspahaẏā] pu[ça]*	*Hax[āmaniši]ya*	
DSb 1–11	*xšāyaθiya vazaṛka*	*xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*	*xšāyaθiya dahaẏūnām*	*xšāyaθiya haruvahaẏāya būmiyā*	*Vištāspahaẏā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—
= DWc 1–10 = DWd 2–10				*xšāyaθiya ahaẏāya būmiyā*			
DSc 1	*XŠ vazaṛka*	*XŠ XŠyānām*	—	—	*Vištāspahaẏā puça*	—	—
DSd 1–2	*[XŠ vazaṛka]*	*XŠ XŠyānām*	*XŠ DH[nām]*	*[XŠ ahaẏāyā BUyā]*	*[Vištās]pahaẏā puça*	*haxāmaniš[iya]*	—
= DSy	*XŠ vazaṛka*		*XŠ DHyūnām*	*XŠ ahaẏāyā BUyā*	*Vištāspahaẏā p[uça]*	*[ha]xāmanišiya*	
DSf 5–8 = DSg 1–3 = DSi 1–3 = DSj 1–2	*XŠ vazaṛka*	*XŠ XŠyānām*	*XŠ DHnām*	*XŠ ahaẏāyā BUyā*	*Vištāspahaẏā puça*	*haxāmanišiya*	—
DSk	*XŠ vazaṛka*	*XŠ XŠyānām*	*XŠ DHnām*	—	*Vištāspahaẏā puça*	*haxāmanišiya*	—

Table 13 (*cont.*)

(b) The titulatures of Xerxes

Source	*Elements of Xerxes' titulature in order of appearance in the inscriptions*						
	Great King	King of Kings	King of the Lands (of many races)	King on this (great) earth (far and wide)	son of King Dareios	Achaemenid	Persian, son of a Persian, Iranian, of Iranian seed
XE 12–20 = XPa 6–10 = XPb 11–21 = XPf 8–15 = XV 10–16	*xšāyaθiya vazṛka*	*xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*	*xšāyaθiya dahaγūnām paruvzanānām / paruv zanānām*	*xšāyaθiya ahaγāyā būmiyā vazṛkāyā dūraiy apiy*	*Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahaγā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—
XPd[a] 8–14	*[xš]āyaθiya vazṛka*	*xšāyaθi(ya) [xšāya]θiyānām*	*xšāyaθiya dahaγ[ūnā]m paruvzanānām*	*xšāyaθiya [ah]iyāyā būmiyā vazṛkāyā [d]ūraiy apiy*	*Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahaγā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	
XPc[a] 6–9 = XPcb 10–15	*XŠ vazṛka*	*XŠ XŠānām*	*XŠ dahaγūnām paruv zanānām*	*XŠahaγāyā būmiyā vazṛkāyā dūraiy apiy*	*Dārayavahauš XŠhaγā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—

XSc	*xšāyaθiya vazaṛka*	*xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*	*xšāyaθiya dahaṛyūnām*	—	*Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahaṛyā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—
XPe 1–4 = XPp 1–2 = XPq 1–2 = XPr 1	*xšāyaθiya vazaṛka*	*xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*	—	—	*Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahaṛyā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—
XPh 7–13	*xšāyaθiya vazaṛka*	*xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*	*xšāyaθiya dahaṛyūnām paruv zanānām*	*xšāyaθiya ahaṛyāyā būmiyā vazaṛkāyā dūraiy apiy*	*Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahaṛyā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	*Pārsa Pārsahaṛyā puça Ariya Ariyaciça*
XPj 1	*XŠ vazaṛka*	*XŠ XŠānām*	*XŠ DHyūnām*	*XŠahaṛyāyā būmi[y]ā*	*Dārayavahauš XŠyahaṛyā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—

Table 13 *(cont.)*

(c) The titulatures of Artaxerxes I and Dareios II

Source	*Elements of the titulatures of Artaxerxes I and Dareios II in order of appearance in the inscriptions*						
	Great King	King of Kings	King of the Lands (of many races)	King on this (great) earth (far and wide)	Son of King Xerxes / Grandson of King Dareios / Son of King Artaxerxes / Grandson of King Xerxes / Great-grandson of King Dareios / Son of King Artaxerxes	Achaemenid	Persian, son of a Persian, Iranian, of Iranian seed
A^{1}I^{c} / VA1e^{ad}	*XŠ vazṛka*	*XŠ XŠānām*	*XŠ DHyūnām*	—	*Xšayaṛršāhyā XŠhyā puça Dārayavahauš xšāyaϑiyahya yā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—
D^{2}Ha 8–17	*XŠ vazṛka*	*XŠ XŠānām*	*XŠ dahyūnām paruvzanānām*	*XŠ aha yāyā būmiyā vazṛkāyā dūraiy apiy*	*Ṛtaxšaçā XŠhyā puça Ṛtaxšaçāhyā Xšayaṛšāhyā XŠhyā puça Xšayaṛšāhyā Dārayavaušahyā XŠhyā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—
D^{2}Sb 1–2	*[XŠ vazṛka]*	*[XŠ XŠānām]*	*[XŠ dahy-] ūnām paruvzanānām*	*XŠ a[hyāyā būmiyā]*	*[Ṛtaxšaçā XŠhyā puça]*	*[Haxāma-] nišiya*	—

Notes:

[c] Siglum and text according to Kent, *Old Persian*, 112, 153.

[d] New siglum for A 1 proposed by Schmitt, *Altpersische Inschriften*, 30–31

(d) The titulatures of Artaxerxes II

Source	*Elements of Artaxerxes I's titulature in order of appearance in the inscriptions*						
	Great King	King of Kings	King of the Lands	King on this earth	Son of King Dareios II Son of King Dareios II / Grandson of King Artaxerxes / Descendant of King Xerxes, King Dareios, and Hystaspes	Achaemenid	Persian . . .
A^2Hc 7–15 = A^2Ha 1–5 = A^2Sa 1–3	*XŠ vazṛka*	*XŠ XŠyānām*	*XŠ DHyūnām*	*XŠ ahṛyāyā BUyā*	*Dārayavaušahṛyā XŠhṛyā puça* *Dārayavaušahṛyā Ṛtaxšaçāhṛyā XŠhṛyā puça* *Ṛtaxšaçahṛyā Xšayāršāhṛyā XŠhṛyā puça* *Xšayāršahṛyā Dārayavaušahṛyā XŠhṛyā puça* *Dārayavaušahṛyā Vištāspahṛyā nāma puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—
A^2Sb 1	*XŠ vazṛka*	*XŠ XŠyānā<m>*	—	—	*XŠ Dārayavaušahṛyā XŠhṛyā puça*	—	—
A^2Sc 1–4	*xšāyaθiya va[zṛka]*	*[xšāyaθiya] [x]šāyaθiyānām*	*xšāya[θiya] [DHyūn]ām*	*xšāyaθiya ahṛyāyā [BUyā]*	—	—	—
A^2Sd 1–2	*XŠ vazṛka*	*XŠ XŠyānām*	*XŠ DHyūnām*	*XŠ ahṛyāyā BUyā*	*Dārayavauš XŠāhṛyā puça*	*Haxāmanišiya*	—

Table 13 (*cont.*)

(e) The titulatures of Artaxerxes III Ochos

Source	*Elements of Artaxerxes III's titulature in order of appearance in the inscriptions*						
	Great King	King of Kings	King of the Lands	King on earth	Son of King Artaxerxes II / Grandson of King Dareios II / Descendant of King Artaxerxes, King Xerxes, King Dareios, Hystaspes, and Arsames	Achaemenid	Persian . . .
A^3Pa 8–22	*xšâyaθiya vazṛka*	*xšâyaθiya xšâyaθiyânâm*	*xšâyaθiya DHyūnâm*	*XŠaḥayāyā BUyā*	*Artaxšaçā xšâyaθiya puça* *Artaxšaçā Dârayavauš xšâyaθiya puça* *Dârayavauš Artaxšaçā xšâyaθiya puça* *Artaxšaçā Xšayârša xšâyaθiya puça* *Xšayâršâ Dârayavauš xšâyaθiya puça* *Dārayavauš Vištāspahaya nâma puça* *Vištāspahayā Aršāma nāma puça*	*Haxâmanišiya*	—

and became in its extended form tripartite, whereby multiple variations, be it through combination, or omission of several elements, could occur:[796]

šar (māt) Parsu (u) (māt) (Mādaya) | (šar) Bābili / (šar) mātāti
"king of (the land of) Persis (and) (the land of) (Media) | (king) of Babylon | (king) of the lands."

Under Artaxerxes I the title of *šar mātāti,* which had risen to prominence already under Xerxes, became the norm.[797]

The testimony of the *Diaries* is less straightforward:[798] the king was either called with his bare given name,[799] or with his throne name alone (that is, without any title accompanying either name).[800] When his given name differed from the adopted throne name, the given name could be followed by the formula: *šá* [throne name] LUGAL/LUGAL KUR.KUR MU-*šú* SA_4-*ú*/[*na-bu-ú?*]; the full formula therefore was: [given name] *ša* [throne name] *šarru/šar mātāti šumšu nabû* "([given name], who is called [throne name], king/king of the lands," e.g., *Umakuš ša Artakšatsu šarru šumšu nabû* "Ochos, who is called king Artaxerxes [III],"[801] and [*Ar*]*šu ša Artakšatsu šar mātāti šumšu nabû* "[Ar]ses who is called Artaxerxes [II], king of the lands."[802] The same naming formula is also known from the

of Cyrus' first regnal year. On documents pertinent to Cyrus' and Cambyses' co-regency, see Zawadski "Co-regency," 171–183; especially, 172, wherein, the author decisively places the beginning of the co-regency in the first months of Cyrus' first year.

796 See below, table 15.

797 See also, Boiy, "Royal Titulature," 245, nn. 19–20, who, while referring to Stolper, reports of late Achaemenid documents, notably, within the Murašû archive, which "show a new regularity in royal titulature: whereas the royal title in the date formula at the bottom of the texts remains 'LUGAL KUR.KUR,' the occasional royal title in the main body of the tablet . . . mostly is simply 'LUGAL,'" and further: "[i]n a few exceptional cases even the date formulas of the Achaemenid legal tablets have only 'LUGAL' as royal title."

798 Still valuable for a topology of the royal names and titles in the *Diaries,* see Sachs, "Achaemenid Royal Names," 129–149.

799 See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries,* vol. I, no. –372 A upper edge 1, E lower edge 1 (= 114–115, 116–117).

800 For some evidence, see *ibid.*, no. –453 obv.' col. i 1 (= 56–57); no. –418 A obv.' 1, A 'rev. 15' (62–63, 64–65).

801 For examples, see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries,* vol. I, no. –418 B obv.' 1 (= 66–67); no. –391 obv.' 1 (= 68–69); no. –381 A obv.' 1 (= 76–77); no. –378 left edge 1 (= 92–93); no. –372 A col. i 1, B 'rev. 3', B upper edge 1 (= 108–109, 110–111); no. –366 col. iv 23', A upper edge 1, A left edge 1, B lower edge (= 136–137); no. –361 obv.' 1, 'rev. 1' (= 138–139); no. –346 obv. 1, lower edge 1, rev. 35, upper edge 1, left edge 1 (= 142–143, 146–147, 152–153); no. –342 A obv.' 1, left edge 1 (= 156–157, 158–159); no. –338 'rev. 4', upper edge 1–2 (= 164–165); no. –332 A obv.' 1, A rev.' 8'–9', A left edge 1, B lower edge 2 (= 168–169, 172–173, 174–175).

802 See Hunger and van der Spek, "Artaxerxes II," no. –362 obv. 1, rev. 9' (= 3–7). This particular diary, recently dated by the authors to 29.xi.–28.xii.363 BCE (= month ix of year 42 of Arses), and attributed to the reign of Artaxerxes II, was not originally included by Hunger in the edition of the *Astronomical Diaries,* for want of a date; the date was recently computed and the text of the diary, provided with translation and commentary, published in conjunction with van der Spek.

chronicle on Dareios III and Alexander, wherein the name of Bessos and his royal title appear to have been evoked: *Bī[su ša Artakšatšu] šumšu nabû* "Be[ssos] who by his name is called Artaxerxes."[803]

Furthermore, in the *Diaries* the king could also simply be called by his given,[804] or throne,[805] name in conjunction with the title *šarru* "king."

The introduction of the title *šar māt Pārsu u māt Mādaya* under Xerxes, in conjunction with the *perceived* contemporaneous discontinuation of the Babylonian title *šar Bābili*, was traditionally deemed to indicate the veracity of the Herodotean *logos* on the destruction (and neglect) of Babylon by the king; however, subsequent studies throroughly changed our perspective on the subject matter.[806] Although Xerxes' alleged devastation of Babylonia, which reposed upon sundry premises, such as the discontinuation of archival activities in Babylonia,[807] the abduction of the Marduk statue,[808] the usurpations of two contenders in Babylonia, and

[803] See van der Spek, "Darius III," no. 3, obv. 3′–4′, 303–304; Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 29, obv. 3′–4′, 240–241; *Chroniques*, no. 29, 207–209.

[804] In several occurrences, Artaxerxes II is called *Aršu šarru* "king Arses," thus called with his given name and the title *šarru;* see Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. I, no. –384 lower edge 1 (70–71); no. –382 right edge 1–2 (76–77); no. –381 A upper edge 1 (80–81); in one instance Ochos is also called *Umakuš šarru* "king Ochos," *ibid.*, no. –342 B left edge 1 (= 160–161).

[805] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. I, no. –418 B 'rev. 5′ (= 66–67).

[806] On the change of titulature in Babylonia in response to the alleged devastation of the city by Persian authorities, see Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, "Xerxes' Destruction," 69–78; Rollinger, *Herodots babylonischer Logos*, 53–66; also 218–226; "Überlegungen," 339–373; "Xerxes und Babylon," note 8; and "Von Kyros bis Xerxes," *forthcoming* (I am indebted to Josef Wiesehöfer for making a copy of Robert Rollinger's forthcoming study available to me).

[807] On the fallacy of archival discontinuity as indicative of political and institutional decay, see Joannès, "L'extinction," 139–147; also, van Driel, "Continuity or Decay," 159–181.

[808] For a very nuanced argument, based upon the onomastic evidence, positing a sudden and drastic change in cultic/religious policy, setting in during the early years of Xerxes' reign in Uruk and Babylon, driven by economic interests, and manifesting itself in Uruk in the promotion of the cult of God Anu to the detriment of Eanna and northern Babylonian divinities Bēl/Marduk, with the intent of reducing the economic power of local elites, forming the *kiništu* of temples associated with the Esagila, see Kessler, "Urukäische Familien," 250–251: "[d]a die kultische Umorientierung von Bēl/Marduk zu Anu und die Reduziereung der bisherigen Kulte von Eanna eine wirtschaftliche Neuordnung des gesamten Kultbetriebs notwendig machte, muss dieser Wechsel in erster linie von der königlichen Verwaltung ausgegangen sein," and: "[d]ie weitgehende Übertragung von Pfründenberufen auf die neue Kultstelle von Anu und die damit verbundene Degradierung Eannas durch die Entfernung der nordbabylonischen Götter als Hauptgottheiten in Uruk, war anscheinend mit einer fast völligen Unterbrechung der kultischen Beziehungen zwischen Uruk und dem Esagila-Tempel in Babylon verknüpft." The author further posits that the cultic measures in Uruk reflected even more drastic cultic, social, and economic changes in Babylon, which Xerxes, while acting within the legal framework of his predecessors, had implemented: "[wir] können dann wie in Uruk auch in Babylon von Veränderungen ausgehen, die eventuell sogar noch drastischer als in Uruk ausfielen. Hypothetisch ließe sich auch annehmen, dass ein großer Teil der *kiništu* des Esagila-Tempels und möglicherweise auch des Ezida in Borsippa und anderer Tempel, die mit Babylon in enger Kultgemeinschaft standen, seine Ämter und Privilegien verlor" (*ibid.*, 252). See also Rollinger, "Von Kyros bis Xerxes," *forthcoming*.

the change of Xerxes' titulature in his fourth regnal year (in 482 BCE), was vigorously contested,[809] more recently, however, a revisionist movement, on the strength of new archival material, has rehabilitated some of these elements in a nuanced way.[810] It now seems likely that at least part of the archival discontinuities in Babylonia, which occurred in the second year of Xerxes' rule,[811] was indeed related to the king's suppression of the two usurpations within his second regnal year. Furthermore, it appears that the discontinuity of archives was neither indiscriminate, nor paramount: it targeted specific groups, and was geographically delimited.[812] As recently shown by Caroline Waerzeggers, the discontinued archives belonged to the northern Babylonian aristocracy, which was associated as prebendaries with the administration of major northern Babylonian temples, or was related through family or business connections with the provincial governors of Babylon, the *šākin-ṭēmi*.[813] Northern Babylonian archives, which belonged to the so-called *novi homines*, entrepreneurs in the service of the Persian authority or nobility acting as local care-takers of crown land, or nobiliary estates, in Babylonia, were apparently not affected by the cessation of archives in the second year of Xerxes' rule.[814] Since south Babylonia also remained untouched by archival discontinuities, although these (archives) belonged to the same social *stratum*—that is the old Babylonian prebendary aristocracy—as the one whose archives were discontinued in the north,[815] Waerzeggers infers that these northern elites ought to have been invoved in the rebellions of Bēl-šimmâni and Šamaš-ērība. As the

[809] See especially, Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, "Xerxes' Destruction," 69–76; Rollinger, "Überlegungen," 349–367.

[810] See already the critical remarks by Tulpin, "Achaemenid Arithmetic," 395–403; more recently, Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Documents*, 1; 54; Waerzeggers, "End of Archives," 150–173; "Dispersal History," 343–363; Kessler, "Urukäische Familien," 237–262; "Zu ökonomischen Verhältnissen," 269–287; and van der Spek, "Size and Significance," 261–307.

[811] On arguments pertaining to the usurpations of Bēl-šimmâni and Šamaš-ērība falling into the second year of Xerxes' rule, respectively on the fifth and sixth months, and the summer, of his regnal year, see Waerzeggers, "End of Archives," 151–156.

[812] *Ibid.*, 156–158: "[o]n the one hand, the synchronized ending of archives is unmistakable, on the other hand, the phenomenon is unmistakably limited: archives in the south of Babylonia are not affected, while archives in the north are affected only in part . . . In addition to chronology and geography, a third factor has to be taken into consideration for the coherence to show. This factor is the background of the people who left the archives."

[813] *Ibid.*, 158: "[t]he archives [ending in Xer 02] pertain either to the administration of northern Babylonian temples (Ebabbar and the *iškaru* file from Ezida) or to the affairs of persons who belonged to the cultic and administrative personnel of these temples." And, 159: "all archives ending in Xer 02 belong to the traditional Babylonian 'aristocracy' who participated in the cult as prebendaries, held temple offices and were related by blood, marriage, or business interests, to the *šakin-ṭēmis* of the region."

[814] *Ibid.*, 159–160.

[815] *Ibid.*, 160.

result of their implication, they were deprived of their former politically and economically dominant positions and possibly replaced by pro-Persian newcomers.[816]

Furthermore, Waerzeggers' results concur with the findings of more recent studies asserting that the title *šar Bābili* was not abandoned by Xerxes during the fifth year of his reign—nor for that reason was it indicative of the king's intended chastisement of Babylonia, or his willingness to surrender the city to widespread decline—for *šar Bābili* is attested throughout Xerxes' reign,[817] up to the twentieth year of his rule,[818] and continued to be used by his successor Artaxerxes I[2] until, at least, the twenty-fourth year of his rule.[819]

By the same token, the introduction of the title *šar māt Pārsu u māt Mādaya* under Xerxes may not simply be gauged as a means of strengthening the Iranian element to the detriment of Babylon, as we shall see. Indeed, the title *šar mat Pārsu u mat Madaya* "king of the land of Persia and of the land of Media" has no precedent in the Old Persian corpus. Thus, it is worth investigating, whence it may have derived, or what other possible precedents it may have had.

Among the possible venues are the titles of Elamite and Persian kings of Susa and Anšan, to which we now turn our attention.

Elamite precedents: Royal titulature in Elam

The titles of Elamite rulers, which are attested both on Mesopotamian documents and on epigraphic and administrative documents from Elam, are uninterruptedly documented from the third millennium to the sixth century BCE. In table 14, an attempt is made to tabulate the major attestations

816 *Ibid.*, 160–163.

817 For an inventory of documents denoting the title *šar Bābili* under Xerxes, beginning with his fifth regal year, see, Rollinger, "Xerxes und Babylon," note 8; for the fifth, seventh[2], tenth, twelfth, and fourteenth years of Xerxes' rule, see Graziani, *Testi di Serse*, nos. 67, 31, 69, 71[2] and 72, as well as 75; for the sixth and ninth years, see von Weiher, *Uruk*, 299–300; for documents ascribed to Xerxes' seventh (Graziani, no. 31; and BM 62955), and tenth (BM 64164; and possibly 2NT–327 = IM 57943) years of rule, see Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, 9, n. 25; "Estate of Mardonius," 212–214; 217–220; and 220–221; for the fourteenth and sixteenth regal years, see Stolper, "Property in Bīt Pāniya," 52–54; and 61–62; for the fifteenth year (YBC 11611), see Rollinger, "Xerxes und Babylon," note 8.

818 See Rollinger, "Xerxes und Babylon," note 8 (YBC 11568).

819 On Babylonian documents with the title *šar Bābili* ascribed to king Artaxerxes I[2], see, for the twenty-fourth year of the king's reign, Kessler, "Duplikate und Urkunden II," 262, and 268, no. 4; for the undated document and the one pertaining to the fourth year of Artaxerxes I[2]'s rule, see McEwan, *Late Babylonian Texts*, nos. 229 and 191. See also, Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, "Xerxes' Destruction," 73; Rollinger, *Herodots babylonischer Logos*, 58–59, n. 172; "Überlegungen", 339–373; "Xerxes und Babylon," note 8.

Table 14. *Royal titulature in Elam*

Rulers	Titles
	Awanite Rulers
Ḫisibrasini	**king of Elam**[a] *ḫi-si-ib-ra-si-ni* LUGAL ELAM[b] "*Ḫisibrasini, king of Elam*"
Luḫišan	**king of Elam**[c] *lu-uḫ-iš-an* DUMU *ḫi-si-ib-ra-si-ni* LUGAL ELAM[kid] "Luḫišan, son of *Ḫisibrasini, king of Elam*"
[Sanam-Simut]	**[ENSÍ of Elam]** *Sa-nam-si-mu-ut* ENSÍ ELAM[kie] "Sanam-Simut, ENSÍ of Elam" **[GÌR.NÌTA of Elam]** *Sa-nam-si-m[u-ut]* GÌR.NÍT[A] ELAM[kif] "Sanam-Sim[ut] GÌR.NÍTA of Elam"
Emaḫsini	**king of Elam**[g] *e-maḫ²-si-n[i]* LUGAL ELAM[kih] "Emaḫsini[i], king of Elam"

Notes:

[a] See Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 88, 102, table 4.5.

[b] See Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, Sargon C13, Beischrift (j), 189; and Kienast and Sommerfeld, *Glossar*, 38.

[c] See Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 88, 102, table 4.5.

[d] See Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, Sargon C7, Beischrift (e); Sargon C13, Beischrift (g); 180, 188; also 317, nos. 8 and 9, where a certain *luḫišan* (*lu-uḫ-ḫi-iš-ša-an*) and *ḫišepratep* (*ḫ i-še-ep-ra-te-ep*) are mentioned as belonging to the twelve *šarrāni ša Awan* (LUGAL.MEŠ *šà A-wa-a*nki) "kings of Awan"; whereas Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, 318, refute the idea that *luḫišan* and *ḫišepratep*, the kings of Awan, are to be equated with the homonymous kings of Elam, known from Sargon of Agade's inscriptions, Stève *et al.*, "Suse," 423, argue for their equation.

[e] See Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, Sargon C7, Beischrift (d), 180; see also Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 102; Stève *et al.*, "Suse," 423. Among other magnates of Iranian polities subjected by Sargon of Agade are governors and members of the royal house of Maraḫšu(m), namely, a certain "Dagu, brother of the king of Maraḫšum" (*da-gu* ŠEŠ LUG[AL] *ba-ra-ah-šum*[ki]); a certain "Ulul, GÌR.NÍTA of Maraḫšum" (*ul-u*[*l*] GÌR.N[ÍTA] *ba-ra-aḫ-šum*[ki]); and "Sidga'u, GÌR.NÍTA of Maraḫšum" (*si-id-ga-*[ù] GÌR.NÍTA *ba-ra-aḫ-šum*[ki]). See Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, Sargon C7, Beischriften (i) and (h), 180; and Sargon C13, Beischrift (e), 188. Sidga'u ought to be identical with the homonymous governor known from the inscriptions of the Akkadian king Rīmuš, who was reportedly made prisoner together with "Abalgamaš, king of Maraḫšum" (*a-ba-al-ga-maš* LUGAL *ba-ra-aḫ-šum*); see Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, Rīmuš C6, ll. 5-7 (Abalgamaš), ll. 34–36 (Sidga'u); Rīmuš C8, ll. 5–7, ll. 1–12; Rīmuš C10, ll. 5–7, ll. 19–20; 206–207, 213–214, 217–218.

[f] Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, Sargon C13, Beischrift (f), 188.

[g] See Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 103–106, table 4.6.

[h] Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, Rīmuš C6, ll. 25–26, 206; and Kienast and Sommerfeld, *Glossar*, 36.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Awanite Rulers
[Ešpum]	[ENSÍ of Elam] *eš$_4$-pum* ENSÍ ELAM^{ki} "Ešpum, ENSÍ of Elam"
[Epirmupi]	[GÌR.NÍTA of the land of Elam] *e-pir$_6$-mu-pi$_5$* GÌR.NÍTA *ma-ti* ELAM^{kij} "Epirmupi, the GÌR.NÍTA of the land of Elam" [ENSÍ of Susa] *e-pir$_6$-mu-pi$_5$* ENSÍ *šu-šin*^{kik} "Epirmupi, ENSÍ of Susa"
[Ilī'išmānī]	[GÌR.NÍTA of the land of Elam] *i-lí-iš-ma-ni* DUB.SAR GÌR.NÍTA *ma-ti* ELAM^{kil} "Ilī'išmanī, the scribe, the GÍR.NÍTA of the land of Elam"
[Puzur-Inšušinak]	[ENSÍ of Susa] PUZUR$_4$-^{d}MÙŠ.EREN ENSÍ MÚŠ.EREN^{kim} [ENSÍ of Susa, GÌR.NÍTA of the land of Elam] PUZUR$_4$-^{d}MÚŠ.EREN ENSÍ MÙŠ.EREN^{ki} GÌR.NÍTA *ma-ti* ELAM^{kin} "Puzur-Inšušinak, ENSÍ of Susa, GÌR.NÍTA of the land of Elam" [king of Awan] PUZUR$_4$-^{d}MÙŠ.EREN *da-núm* LUGAL (*z*)*a-wa-an*^{kio} "Puzur-Inšusinak, the mighty king of Awan"

Notes (cont.)

[i] Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, S–4, 39. On Ešpum, the servant/subject of Maništūsu—son of Sargon of Agade—who is also attested in one of Maništūsu's inscriptions, see *ibid.*, Maništūsu B 2, 80, and 318. See also Edzard, "Altakkadische Rollsiegel," no. 17, 1, 15; Lambert, "Prince de Suse Ilish-Mani," 17. Also Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 106–107, table 4.7; and Stève *et al.*, "Suse," 424–425.

[j] *MDP* 14, no. 3, 6; Hirsch, "Inschriften der Könige von Agade," no. 4 *γ*, 32, n. 364, and 33; Edzard, "Altakkadische Rollsiegel," no. 18, 1, 15; Lambert, "Prince de Suse Ilish-Mani," 15; Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, 2 (c), 319.

[k] *MDP* 14, nos. 1 and 17, 5, 76–77; Hirsch, "Inschriften der Könige von Agade," no. 4 *δ* 33; Lambert, "Prince de Suse Ilish-Mani," 15; Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, 2 and 2 (c), 319.

[l] Lambert, "Prince de Suse Ilish-Mani," 12–14; Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, Elam 1, ll. 1–5, 320.

[m] Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, Elam 10, ll. 3–5; Elam 11, ll. 1–2; 334–335. On Puzur-Inšušinak and his different titulature, see Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 122–129, table 4.12; and Stève *et al.*, "Suse," 427–428.

[n] Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, Elam 2, ll. 1–6; Elam 3, ll. 4, 6–10; Elam 4, ll. 4–9; Elam 5, ll. 3–8; Elam 6, ll. 3–8; Elam 9, ll. 1–6; 321, 325, 328, 330, 331–332, 334.

[o] Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, Elam 7, ll. 4–6; Elam 8, ll. 2–5; 332–333; and 317–318, no. 12, where he belongs to the twelve *šarrāni ša Awan*. Also André and Salvani, "Réflexions," 65.

[p] The chronology of the Šimaškean rulers follows here the more recent syntheses by Stève *et al.*, "Suse," 430–440; and Steinkeller, "Šimaški and Its Rulers," 215–232. The recent and innovative

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Šimaškean Rulers[p]
Ebarat I	**king** *e-ba-ar-ti* . . . 12 LUGAL.ME[Š] *si-maš-ki/u-ú*[q] "Ebarat . . . (one of) the 12 kings of Šimaški" MU ÙS.SA *i-/e-a-ba-ra-at* LUGAL[r] MU ^{d}*i-a-ba-ra-at* LUGAL MU ÙS.SA[s] "year (after which) Ebarat became king(, year after which)" ^{d}[*e-ba-r*]*a-at* LUGAL[t] "Ebarat king (. . .)"
Imazu (son of Kindattu)	**king of Anšan**[u] *i-ma-zu* DUMU *ki-in-da-du* LUGAL *an-ša-an-na*^{ki}[v] Imazu, son of Kindattu, king of Anšan
Idadu I (son of Kindattu)	**[ENSÍ of Susa]** *i-*^{r}*da*$^{?}$*-*[*du-*]rdMÙŠ$^{?}$.[EREN] ENSÍ [MÙŠ].EREN[ki] ^{r}GÌR$^{?}$.[NÍTA *m*]*a-ti* [ELAM^{ki} DUMU *pí*]*-e-pí*[w] "Idadu-Inšušinak, ENSÍ of Susa, GÌR.NÍTA of the land of Elam, son of Pepi"

Notes (*cont.*)

work of de Graef, *De Simaški au Sukkalmaḫat*, 43–68 (with chronological tables on 63, 68), wherein a different sequence for the Šimaškean rulers has been suggested, in part by introducing a new text *MDP* 55, 20, which identifies Kindattu as the father of Atta-ḫušu (*a-ta-ḫu-šu-ù ma-ar ki-da-*^{r}*tum*$^{?}$ "Atta-ḫušu, son Ki<n>dattu" could not be followed in the present description. Indeed, with Atta-ḫušu being identified as a contemporary of the later Šimaškean kings Ebarat II and Šilhaha, Kindattu would have to be placed a generation before. This would be in direct contradiction with another piece of textual evidence recently introduced by Steinkeller, "Šimaški and Its Rulers," 221–222, where Kindattu is identified as the father of Idadu I, and the possible descendant of Ebarat I: ^{d}*i-da-du* DUMU.DUMU ^{d}*e-ba-ra-at* DUMU ^{d}*ki-in-da-du* "Idadu [I] grandson of Ebarat [I], son of Kindattu," thus agreeing with the sequence of the Šimaškean King List. Until these results have been negotiated, we shall thus keep the traditional chronological sequence.

[q] Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, 317, 319–320; also Steinkeller, "Šimaški and Its Rulers," 216, n. 5.

[r] *MDP* 23, nos. 291, l. 14; 295–302; 304, ll. 21–22; 305, l. 22; 162–166; also *MDP* 18, no. 199, re-edited by Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of Ur III*, no. 88, rev. 5′, 274–275, and most recently discussed by de Graef, "Ebarat I," 107, who reads: "MU ÚS.SA *e-ba*$^{?}$*-ra*$^{?}$-[*at* LUGAL]." See also Stève *et al.*, "Suse," 434.

[s] *MDP* 23, no. 292, 162; and de Graef, "Ebarat I," 107.

[t] See Stève, "Seaux-cylindres de Šimaški," 13–26; and Stève *et al.*, "Suse," 434, who attribute this seal inscription to Ebarat I. Similarly, Steinkeller, "Šimaški and Its Rulers," 229, n. 51. Compare Lambert, "Near Eastern Seals," no. 42, 15–17, pl. 5, no. 42; and "Seal of Ebarat," 85–86, who favors an attribution to Ebarat II; undecided, Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 151.

[u] Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 145–146, table 5.4.

[v] *MDP* 43, I, no. 1679, 217, 210–211; 43, II, pls. 34 (drawing) and 157 (photograph), no. 1679; Vallat, "Premiers *sukkalmah*," 138–139; de Graef, *De Šimaški au Sukkalmaḫat*, 61; Steinkeller, "Šimaški and Its Rulers," 224, n. 38.

[w] *MDP* 6, pl. 5, ll. 1–7, 16; also Thureau-Dangin, *Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad*, no. 2, ll. 1–7, 256–259; *Sumerische und akkadische Königsinschriften*, no. 2, ll. 1–7, 180–181; and Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions*, no. IVo1a, 256–257. See also Stève *et al.*, "Suse," 438.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Šimaškean Rulers
	king of Šimaški and Elam[x] *i-da-du* KI.ÁG ^{d}MÙŠ.EREN LUGAL *si-ma-aš-ki u* ELAM.MA *tan-*^{d}*ru-ḫu-ra-t*[*i-ir*] DUMU KI.[ÁG?. . .][y] "Idadu, beloved by Inšušinak, king of Šimaški and Elam; Tan-Ruhuratir, son . . ."
	king of Anšan, king of Šimaški and Elam ^{d}*i-da-du* DUMU.DUMU ^{d}*e-ba-ra-at* DUMU ^{d}*ki-in-da-du* . . . LUGAL *an-ša-an*^{ki} LUGAL *si-ma-aš-ki ù* ELAM.MA[z] "Idadu, grandson of Ebarat [I], son of Kindattu, king of Anšan, king of Šimaški and Elam"
[Tan-Ruhuratir]	[ENSÍ of Susa] *tan-*^{d}*ru-ḫu-ra-ti-ir* ENSÍ MÙŠ.EREN^{ki}[aa] [*tan-*^{d}]*ru-ḫu-*[*ra-ti-ir*] ENSÍ MÙŠ.EREN^{ki} [. . .] DUMU *i-da-*^{r}*du*^{ab} "Tan-Ruhuratir, ENSÍ of Susa ([. . .] son of Idadu [I])"
[Idadu II]	[ENSÍ of Susa] *i-da-du* ENSÍ MÙŠ.EREN^{ki} ÌR KI.ÁG ^{d}NIN MÙŠ.EREN DUMU *tan-*^{d}*ru-ḫu-ra-ti-ir* *i-da-du* ENSÍ MÙŠ.EREN^{ki} *wa-ar-du-um na-ra-am* ^{d}MÙŠ.EREN^{ki} DUMU *tan-*^{d}*ru-ḫu-ra-ti-ir*[ac] "Idadu, the ENSÍ of Susa, the beloved servant of Inšušinak, son of Tan-Ruhuratir"

Notes (*cont.*)

[x] Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 144–147, table 5.5.

[y] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 9, ll. 1–6, 29, Br. 323; also Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, 320; and Steinkeller, "Šimaški and Its Rulers," 229, n. 50.

[z] Steinkeller, "Šimaški and Its Rulers," 221–222, ll. 1–7. On Tan-Ruhuratir, see Stève *et al.*, "Suse," 437–438, who assume two homonymous figures by the name of Tan-Ruhuratir, in order to reconcile the conflicting information of the Šimaški King List, wherein Tan-Ruhuratir appears in eighth position after Kindattu (sixth) and Idadu (seventh), and the genealogy provided by Šilhak-Inšušinak (Konig, *Elamische Königsinschnften*, no. 48, ll. 16–21, 110), in which Tan-Ruhuratir is mentioned as the father of Kindattu (*Kindattu šak Tan-Ruhuratirri* "Kindattu son of Tan-Rhartir"); these are Tan-Ruhuratir [I], father of Kindattu who ruled prior to the fall of Ur, and Tan-Ruhuratir [II], father of Idadu: "[s]i on accorde quelque crédit à chacun des deux textes, cela implique que le Tan-Ruhuratir, père de Kindattu, n'est pas le même que le Tan-Ruhuratir fils d'Idadu. Il y aurait donc un Tan-Ruhuratir (I) antérieur à la chute d'Ur, personage qui n'apparaîtrait par sus la 'Liste Royale' parce qu'il n'aurait pas exercé le pouvoir suprême," and: "Tan-Ruhuratir (II), fils et successeur d'Idadu (I)"; *ibid.*, 437. For a diverging and persuasive discussion of the two-Tan-Ruhartir thesis, see de Graef, *De Šimaški au Sukkalmaḫat*, 44–55.

[aa] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 4, ll. 2′–4′, 24, Br. 24–25.

[ab] For text and drawing of the seal, see Amiet, "Glyptique du second millénaire," no. 4 135-136; and more recently (text), see de Graef, *De Šimaški au Sukkalmaḫat*, no. 77, seal ll. 1–4, 176–177, and 26; Steinkeller, "Šimaški and Its Rulers," 229, n. 50. For photograph, see *MDP* 43, II, pl. 34, no. 1675 (drawing); pl. 156, no. 1675 (photograph).

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Šimaškean Rulers
Ebarat II	**king** *e-bar-ra-at* LUGAL *ku-uk-*^{d}*tan-ra* DUMU *ku-uk-ša-rum* ÌR *ši-il-ḫa-ḫa*[ad] "king Ebarat, Kuk-Tanra, son of Kuk-šarrum, servant of Šilhaha"
	king of Anšan and Susa[ae] *e-ba-ra-at* LUGAL *an-ša-an ù* MÙŠ.EREN^{ki}[af] "Ebarat, king of Anšan and Susa"
	Sukkalmaḫate[ag]
[Ebarat II] and Šilhaha	**sukkalmaḫ and AD.DA LUGAL of Anšan and Susa** *e-ba-ra-at* LUGAL *an-ša-an ù* MÙŠ.EREN^{ki} *ši-il-ḫa-ḫa* SUKKAL.MAH ADDA LUGAL *an-*ʿ*ša*ʾ*-an ù* MÙŠ.EREN^{ki}[ah] "Ebarat, king of Anšan and Susa, and Šilhaha, *sukkalmaḫ*, ADDA LUGAL of Anšan and Susa"

Notes (*cont.*)

[ae] On the aformentioned texts and other variants, see Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 6–7, ll. 4–9, Br. 34, 40, 56, 68, 209, 213, 216–217; no. 8, ll. 1–6, Br. 223; 26–29. Also *MDP* 43, I, no. 1677, ll. I:1–5, 216–217; and 43, II, pl. 156, no. 1677. See also Lambert, "Investiture," 219; and most recently, de Graef, *De Šimaški au Sukkalmaḫat*, 47, nn. 112–113.

[ad] MDP 43, I, no. 1685, ll. 1–4, 218; 43, II, pl. 157, no. 1685; see also de Graef, *De Šimaški au Sukkalmaḫat*, 55.

[ae] See Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 146–147, table 5.5; 146, table 6.1.

[af] MDP 28, no. 4, ll. 1–2, 8. See also Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions*, no. IV06a, 260: "Epart étant roi d'Anšan et de Suse (et) roi-père d'Anšan et de Suse."

[ag] For an exhaustive table sequencing the rulers of the *sukkalmaḫate*, as well as their respective titles, see Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 164–165, table 6.1; and Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, 50–51. For a more recent description of the history of the *sukkalmaḫate*, see de Miroschedji, "Susa and Highlands," 26–31.

[ah] *MDP* 28, no. 4, ll. 1–6, 7–8. On the title ADDA LUGAL, see Vallat, "L'expression ADDA LUGAL," no. 101, 75–76, who intriguingly suggests conceiving of the title ADDA LUGAL as designating the founder of the *sukkalmaḫate*, who, at least in the eyes of Atta-ḫušu, ought to have been Šilhaha: "[l]'expression ADDA LUGAL devrait être comprise . . . comme 'fondateur (de la dynastie des) roi(s) d'Anšan et de Suse.'" Vallat's assumption seems to be validated by the use of the expression "son of Šilhaha's sister" as a gauge of legitimacy by many successors of Šilhaha during the *sukkalmaḫate*: "[l]e titre 'fils de la sœur de Silḫaḫa' (qu'il faut comprendre 'fils que le roi Silhaha a eu avec sa propre sœur') a été porté comme signe de légitimité par des successeurs fort lointains de ce roi comme Kuk-Našur II ou III, Tan-Uli ou Temti-halki." Of interest is also the observation that the titles of *sukkalmaḫ* given to Ebarat II and Šilhaha occurred only much later, under the rule of Atta-ḫušu, and therefore no contemporaneous documents attesting its use for these rulers are available; see Vallat, "L'époque des *sukkalmaḫ*," 121; and de Graef, *De Šimaški au Sukkalmaḫat*, 57 (and 60): "Ebarat II ni Šilḫaḫa ne s'appellent eux-mêmes *Sukkalmaḫ*. Ce n'est que dans le cylindroïde 'd'Atta-ḫušu' qu'Atta-ḫušu attribute à Šilḫaḫa le titre de *Sukkalmaḫ*."

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Sukkalmaḫate
	king *ši-il-ḫa-ḫa* LUGAL[ai] "Šilhaha king"
[Kuk-Kirmaš]	**[sukkalmaḫ and sukkal of Elam, Šimaški, and Susa]** *ku-uk-kir-wa-aš* SUKKAL.MAḪ SUKKAL ELAM.MA *si-maš-ki ù* MÙŠ.EREN[kiaj] "Kuk-Kirmaš, *sukkalmaḫ, sukkal* of Elam, Šimaški, and Susa"
[Kuk-Našir I (= Kuk-Našur I)]	**[sukkalmaḫ]** *ku-uk-*^{d}*na-šír* SUKKAL.MAḪ[ak] "Kuk-Našur, *sukkalmaḫ*"
[Atta-hušu]	**[sukkal and ibbir]** *ad-da-ḫu-šu* SUKKAL *ù ib-bi-ir šá* MÙŠ.EREN[kial] "Atta-hušu *sukkal* and *ibbir* of Susa"
	[shepherd (rēʾû) of the people of Susa] *ad-da-ḫu-šu* SIPA *(šà)* ERÍN MÙŠ.EREN[am] "Atta-hušu, shepherd of the people (in arms) of Susa"
	[shepherd (rēʾû) of Inšušinak] *ad-da-ḫu-šu* SIPA ^{d}MÙŠ.EREN[an] "Atta-hušu, shepherd of Inšušinak"
[Siwe-palar-huppak]	**[sukkal of Susa]** *ši-we-pa-la-ar-ḫu-up-pa-*^{r}*ak*$^{\neg}$ SUKKAL *šu-ší-*[*im*][ao] "Siwe-palar-huppak, *sukkal* of Susa"

Notes (*cont.*)

[ai] *MDP* 28, no. 455, obv. 2, 96. Šilhaha is also mentioned on another business document, recently published by de Graef, *De Šimaški au Sukkalmaḫat*, no. 26, rev. 18–19, 56, 111–112, without the mention of a title, hence, the only contemporaneous title used for Šilhaha remains that of "king."

[aj] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 18, ll. 3–7, Br. 320, 426, 429, 473; 40–42; also Thureau-Dangin, *Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad*, no. 5, ll. 3–7, 260–261; *Sumerische und akkadische Königsinschriften*, no. 5, 183; Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions*, no. IV11a, 264. See also Vallat, "*Premiers sukkalmah*," 136–138; and most recently, de Graef, *De Šimaški au Sukkalmaḫat*, 58.

[ak] *MDP* 28, no. 430, l. 12, 77; Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 164–165, table 6.1, attributes the inscription in *MDP* 28, no. 8, 11, to Kuk-Našir (= Kuk Našur I), which is, however, criticized by de Graef, *De Šimaški au Sukkalmaḫat*, 60, who, by offering a new reading (and inferring a different filiation for Šilhaha) seems to exclude this possibility. On other inscriptions mentioning Kuk-Našir, see *MDP* 24, no. 329, ll. 34–36, 3–4; and no. 330, ll. 44–46, 5–6: "in the name of Kuk-Nahunte and Kuk-Našir, they swore." On the spelling of Kuk-Našir's name as *ku-uk-na-šír*, see Vallat, "L'époque paléo-babylonienne," 301, n. 33.

[al] *MDP* 28, no. 4, ll. 7–8.

[am] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, nos. 10, ll.1–2, Br. 238, 253; 13, ll. 1–2, Br. 263; 30–31, 33. See also *MDP* 28, no. 5, ll. 3–4, 8–9, which reads: *ad-da-ḫu-šu* SIPA *šà* ^{r}ERÍN$^{\neg}$ [MÙŠ].EREN.

[an] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, nos. 11, ll. 1–2, Br. 257; 12, ll. 1–2, Br. 261; 31–33.

[ao] *MDP* 28, no. 396, ll. 1–3, 39.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Sukkalmaḫate
	[magnifier of the realm, governor of Elam] *ù ši-we-pa-la-ar-hu-[uh-pa-ak] li-ga-we ri-ša-[ak-ki] me-ni-ik ha-da-am-[ti-ik]*[ap] "I am Siwe-palar-[huppak], the magni[fier] of the realm, the governor of Ela[m]"
[Siwe-palar-huppak and Kudu-zuluš I]	**[king of Anšan]—[king of Susa]** *[še-ep-la-ar-pa-ak]* LUGAL *an-š[a-an*^{ki}*] . . . ku-du-šu-lu-u[š*$_2$*]* LUGAL *šu-ši-im*^{kiaq} "[Siwe-palar-huppak], king of Anš[an] . . . Kudu-zulu[š] [I], king of Susa"
[Tata]	**[sukkal]** *ta-a-ta* SUKKAL *ù te-im-ti-a-gu-un*[ar] "Tata, *sukkal*, and Temti-Agun"
[Temti-Agun]	**[sukkal of Susa]** *te-im-ti-a-gu-un* SUKKAL *šu-ši-im*[as] *[te-im-ti]-a-gu-un* [SUKKAL *š*]*u-ši-im*[at] "Temti-Agun, *sukkal* of Susa"
	[sukkalmaḫ and sukkal of Elam, Šimaški, and Susa] *[te-im-ti-a-gu]-un* SUKKAL.MAḪ SUK[KAL ELAM.MA$^{?}$ *si-maš-ki*$^{?}$ *ù*$^{?}$ *šu]-ši-im*[au] "Temti-Agun, *sukkalmaḫ, suk[kal* of Elam, Šimaški, and Su]sa"
[Kutir-Silhaha]	**[sukkal]** *ku-*^{r}*te-ir si-il*$^{\lceil}$*-ḫa-ḫa* SUKKAL[av] "Kutir-Silhaha, *sukkal*"

Notes (*cont.*)

[ap] König, *Elamische Königsinschriften*, no. 3, ll. 3–5, 34.

[aq] ARM 25, no. 6 (A. 4684), ll. 2'–3', 7'–8'; for a new edition of the document, see Durand, "Fragments rejoints," 119, n. 26; see also Vallat. "L'époque des *Sukkalmah*," 120. This Kudu-zuluš, with whom Siwe-palar-huppak is associated, is known to us from several other documents, notably, *MDP* 28, no. 14, ll. 6–9, 14–15, where he follows upon Siruk-tuh and Siwe-palar-huppak; and MDP 28, no. 397, ll. 14–17, 39–40 ([*i*]*na awat Siru*[*k-tuḫ î*]*na awat Šiwe-pala-ḫuppak u ina awa<at> Kudu-zuluš liši*, "that he may go at the command of Siruk-tuḫ, Kudu-zuluš, and Kudu-zuluš") where he is again referred to in the company of the aforesaid persons. He is also attested both as the *sukkal* of Susa (*ku-*^{r}*du*$^{\lceil}$*-zu-lu-[uš]* SUKKAL *šu-ši-[im]* "Kudu-zuluš, *sukkal* of Susa"; *MDP* 28, no. 397, ll. 1–2), as well as the *sukkalmaḫ* (*ku-du-zu-lu-uš* SUKKAL.MAḪ "Kudu-zuluš, the *sukkalmaḫ*"; *MDP* 23, no. 179, l. 18, 23). See Stève *et al.*, "Suse," 447–448; and more recently de Graef, *De Šimaški au Sukkalmaḫat*, 57.

[ar] *MDP* 24, no. 391, rev. 19, 89–90; for other attestations of Tata (without title) and Temti-Agun, see MDP 23, nos. 321–322, l. 29, 184–188; *MDP* 24, no. 383, rev. 12–13, 81–82; *MDP* 28, no. 429, l. 14, 76. See also Grillot and Glassner, "Problèmes de succession," 95; and Stève *et al.*, "Suse," 449.

[as] Malbran-Labat, Inscriptions de Suse, no. 14, l. 1, Br. 273, 34–35.

[at] *MDP* 28, no. 398, obv. 1–2, 41.

[au] Stève, *Nouveaux mélanges*, no. 1, ll. 1–2, pl. 1, 7–10.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Sukkalmaḫate
	[sukkalmaḫ] *ku-si-ir-si-ʳil-ḫa-ḫaʾ* SUKKAL.MAḪ˹ˀ[aw] "Kutir-Silhaha, *sukklamaḫ*"
	[great sukkal] *ku-si-ir-si-ḫa-ḫa* SUKKAL ˹GAL˺[ax] "Kutir-Silhaha, great *sukkal*"
[Kutir-Silhaha and Temti-raptaš]	**[sukkalmaḫ]—[king of Susa]** *ku-si-<g>ir-si-il-ḫa-ḫa* SUKKAL.[MAḪ] *ù te-im-ti-ra-ap-ta-aš* LUGAL *šu-ʳšiʾ-[im]* "Kutir-Silhaha, *sukkal*[*maḫ*], and Temti-raptaš, king of Susa"
[Kuk-Našur II]	**[sukkal of Susa]** *ku-uk-*[d]*na-šu-úr* SUKKAL *šu-ší-im*[ay] "Kuk-Našur [II], *sukkal* of Susa"
[Kuk-Našur II and Kudu-[Kuk-zuluš II]	**[sukkal of Elam]—[king of Susa]** *ʳkuʾ-uk-na-šu-úr* SUKKAL ELAM.MA-*ʳtimʾ ù ku-du-zu-lu-uš* LUGʳALʾ *šu-ʳšiʾ-im*[az] "Kuk-Našur [II] *sukkal* of Elam, and Kudu-zuluš [II], king of Susa"
[Tan-Uli]	**[sukkal]** *ta(n)-(an)-nu-li* SUKKAL[ba] "Tan-Uli *sukkal*"
	[sukkalmaḫ] *ʳtanʾ-an-nu-ʳliʾ* SUKʳKAL.MAḪ˹ˀ[bb] "Tan-Uli *sukkalmaḫ*"
	[sukkalmaḫ, sukkal of Elam, Šimaški, and Susa] *tan-ú-*[*li*] SUKKAL.[MAḪ] SUKKAL EL[AM.MA *ù*] *si-maš-ki*[bc] "Tan-U[li], *sukkal*[*maḫ*], *sukkal* of El[am and] Šimaški"

Notes (*cont.*)

[av] *MDP* 23, no. 212, l. 7, 63–64; for other attestations of Kutir-Silhaha, see Stève *et al.*, "Suse," 449.

[aw] *MDP* 22, no. 10, l. 5, 14.

[ax] *MDP* 23, no. 169, l. 55, 6–8.

[ay] *MDP* 23, no. 283, ll. 1–2, 150–151. See Stève *et al.*, "Suse," 449–450.

[az] *MDP* 22, no. 160, ll. 25–26, 167–168.

[ba] *MDP* 23, nos. 177, rev. 2; 186, l. 2; 196, rev. 5; 206, l. 29; 21, 31, 40–41, 54–55. *MDP* 24, no. 336, l. 8, 14–15.

[bb] *MDP* 24, no. 338, l. 6, 17. For other attestations of Tan-Uli as *sukklamaḫ*, see *MDP* 22, no. 7, l. 35, 9–10; *MDP* 23, no. 173, l. 17, 14–15; *MDP* 24, nos. 353, l. 41; 370, l. 27; 38–39, 60–61.

[bc] See Vallat, "Sukkalmah Tan-Uli," no. 117, 92, who emends the former reading of Pierre Amiet in *MDP* 43, I, no. 2330, 297; II, pl. 195, no. 2330.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Sukkalmaḫate
[Temti-Halki]	**[sukkalmaḫ, sukkal of Elam and Šimaški]** *te-im-ti-ḫal-ki* SUKKAL.MAḪ SUKKAL ELAM.MA-*tim* *si-maš-ki-im*[bd] "Temti-Halki *sukkalmaḫ sukkal* of Elam and Šimaški"
	[sukkalmaḫ, sukkal of Elam, Šimaški, and Susa] *te-im-ti-ḫal-ki* SUKKAL.MAḪ SUKKAL ELAM.MA *si-maš-ki ù* MÙŠ.EREN[kibe] "Temti-Halki *sukkalmaḫ, sukkal* of Elam, Šimaški, and Susa"
[Kuk-Našur III]	**[sukkal of Elam and Šimaški]** [*ku-uk*]-[d][*na-šu-úr*] [SUKKAL] ELAM-[*tim*] *ù si-maš-*[*kī*][bf] "[Kuk-Našur III] *sukkal* of Elam and Šimaški"
	[sukkalmaḫ and sukkal of Elam, Šimaški, and Susa] *ku-uk-na-šu-úr* SUKKAL.MAḪ SUKKAL ELAM.MA *si-maš-ki ù* MÙŠ.EREN[kibg] "Kuk-Našur [III], *sukkalmaḫ, sukkal* of Elam, Šimaški, and Susa"
	Middle Elamite I[bh]
Kidinu	**king of Susa and Anzan** *ki-di-nu-ú* EŠŠANA *šu-ši ú an-za-an* DUMU [d]IM.SAR.GAL "Kidinu, king of Susa and Anzan, son of Adad-šarru-rabû"[bi]
Tan-Ruhuratir II	**king of Susa and Anzan** [I]*tan-*[d]*ru-ḫu-ra-te-ir* EŠŠANA *šu-ši ú an-za-an*[bj] "Tan-Ruhuratir, king of Susa and Anzan"
Tepti-ahar	**king** [I]*te-ep-ti-a-ḫa-ar* EŠŠANA[bk] "Tepti-ahar, king"

Notes (*cont.*)

[bd] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 16, ll. 3–5, Br. 282, 288, 308; 37–38. Also Thureau-Dangin, *Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad*, no. 7B, ll. 3–5, 262–263; *Sumerische und akkadische Königsinschriften*, no. 7B, ll. 3–5, 184–185; Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions*, no. IV09b, 263.

[be] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 15, ll. 1–4, Br. 298, 305; 36. Also Thureau-Dangin, *Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad*, no. 7A, ll. 1–4, 261–262; *Sumerische und akkadische Königsinschriften*, no. 7A, ll. 1–4, 184–185; Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions*, no. IV09a, 263.

[bf] *MDP* 23, no. 282, ll. 1–2, 147.

[bg] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 17, ll. 3–7; Br. 316, 39–40; also Thureau-Dangin, *Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad*, no. 8, ll. 2–3, 262–263; *Sumerische und akkadische Königsinschriften*, no. 8, ll. 2–3, 184–185; and Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions*, no. IV10a–b, 263–264,

[bh] On the short chronology, and that of the Kidinuids, see Vallat, "L'Elam du II[e] millénaire," 12–15.

[bi] Amiet, "Glyptique du second millénaire," no. 11, ll. 1–3, 8; also Stève, Gashe, and De Meyer, "Susiane," 92.

[bj] Porada, "Aspects," 32, fig. 6; Amiet, "Glyptique élamite," 21, pl. 13, Z; Stève, Gashe, and De Meyer, "Susiane," 84, 95–96; pl. IV.2; Amiet, "Glyptique du second millénaire," 140.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Middle Elamite I
	king of Susa ^{l}*te-ep-ti-a-ḫa-ar* EŠŠANA *šu-ši*[bl] "Tepti-ahar, king of Susa"
	king of Susa and Anzan *te-ep-ti-a*[*-ḫa-ar*] EŠŠANA *šu-ši ú an-za-*[*an*][bm] "Tepti-a[har], king of Susa and Anzan"
Inšušinak-šar-ilani (Inšušinak-sunkir-nappipir)	**king of Susa** [^{d}]MÙŠ.ERIN.EŠŠANA.DINGIR.M[EŠ EŠŠANA] *šu-ši*[bn] ^{d}MÙŠ.ERIN.EŠŠANA.DINGIR.MEŠ EŠŠANA *šu-ši*[bo] "*Inšušinak-šar-ilani*, king of Susa"
	Middle Elamite II
Igi-haliki	**King of Susa and Anzan** ^{l}*i-g*[*i ḫa-li-k*]*i* ^{d}*ma-an-za-at iš-tar*$_5$ *iš-me-šu-ma* EŠŠANA-*ut šu-š*[*i*] *ù an-za-an id-di-iš-šu-ma*[bp] "Ig[i-halik]i, Manzat-Ištar having answered him, granted him the kingship of Susa and Anzan."
Humban-numena	**king** EŠŠANA *hu-ba-nu-me-na*[bq] "king Humban-Numena"
	king of Susa and Anzan ^{d}*hu-ba-nu-me-na* DUMU ^{l}*at-tar-ki-tah* EŠŠANA *šu-ši u an-za-an*[br] "Humban-numena, son of Attar-Kittah, king of Susa and Anzan"

Notes (*cont.*)

[bk] Reiner, "Royal Tomb," 89, l. 27; Glassner, "Textes de Haft Tépé," 110; Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 192.

[bl] Reiner, "Royal Tomb," 95, l. 1; and Herrero, "Tablettes," no. 6 (H.T. 38) empreinte, ll. 5–6, 102–103, fig. 19b; Glassner, "Textes de Haft Tépé," 110; Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 204, table 7.3; and Cole and de Meyer, "Tepti-aḫar, and Kadašman-^{d}KUR.GAL," 44–45, who identify the enemy (Kadašman-^{d}KUR.GAL), whom Tepti-ahar reportedly repulsed, with the Kassite king Kadašman-Ḫarbe, rather than Kadašman-Enlil, as hitherto suggested, notably, by Brinkman, *Materials*, 144–145, no. J.5.8.

[bm] Herrero, "Tablettes," no. 7 (H.T. 445, 60, 20, s.2) empreinte, ll. 1–2, 104–105, figs. 20a–e; Stève, Gashe, and De Meyer, "Susiane," 94–97; Glassner, "Textes de Haft Tépé," 110–111.

[bn] Herrero and Glassner, "Haft Tépé I," no. 2, ll. 2–3, 6; Glassner, "Textes de Haft Tépé," 111–112; Amiet, "Sceaux de Haft Tépé," 140.

[bo] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 19, l. 1, Br. 571; 56; also Glassner, "Textes de Haft Tépé," 112, n. 30.

[bp] Stève, *Nouveaux mélanges*, no. 2, ll. 1–1, 11–13, fig. 3, pl. I, 3; Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 208, table 7.6.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Middle Elamite II
	[^{d}*hu-um-ban-nu-me-na* DUMU ^{1}*at-tar-ki-tah . . .*] EŠŠANA *šu-ši* [*ù an-za-an . . .*][bs] "[Humban-numena, son of Attar-Kittah,] king of Susa [and Anzan]"
	ù ^{1}*hu-ban-nu-me-na ša-ak* ^{1}*at-tar-ki-tah-ki-ik li-ku-me ri-ša-ak*$_4$ *me-ir-ri-ik ha-tam*$_5$*-ti-ik ka*$_4$*-at-ri ha-tam*$_5$*-ti-ik hal-me-ni-ik ha-tam*$_5$*-ti-ik su-un-ki-ik* ^{AŠ}*an-za-an* ^{AŠ}*šu-šu-un-ka*$_4$[bt] "I Humban-numena, son of Attar-Kittah, the magnifier of the realm, the 'governor' of Elam, the 'master' of Elam, the 'landlord' of Elam, king of Anzan and Susa"
Untaš-Napiriša	**king of Anzan and Susa** *ù* ^{1}*un-taš-*^{d}GAL *ša-ak* ^{1}*hu-ban-nu-me-na-ki/*$^{1.d}$*hu-um-ban-nu-me-na-ki su-un-ki-ik an-za-an šu-šu-un-ka*[bu] "I, Untaš-Napriša, son of Humban-Numena, king of Anzan and Susa"
	Middle Elamite III
Šutruk-Nahunte	**king?**[bv] [*ša* EŠŠANA ^{1}*šu-ut-ru-u*]*k-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te i-p*[*u-šu*][bw] "[that which king Šutru]k-Nahunte has ma[de]"
	king of Anzan and Susa *ù* ^{1}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te ša-ak* ^{1}*hal-lu-du-uš-*^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak-ki-ik (li-ba-ak ha-ni-ik* ^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak-ki-ik) su-un-ki-ik an-za-an šu-šu-un-ka*$_4$ (*li-ku-me riša-ak-ka*$_4$)[bx] "I, Šutruk-Nahunte, son of Hallutuš-Inšušinak, (the beloved servant of Inšušinak), king of Anzan and Susa, (the magnifier of the realm)"

Notes (*cont.*)

[bq] Stève, *Nouveaux mélanges*, no. 3, l. 1, 13, fig. 5, pl. II, 2 (a+b). On the Elamite–Kassite marriage pattern in the Middle Elamite period, see now Potts, "Elamites and Kassites," 117–119.

[br] Stève, *Nouveaux mélanges*, no. 4, ll. 1–3, 14, fig. 6, pl. II, 3 (a+b).

[bs] See Vallat, "*Inscription de Bouchir*," 258, l. 1.

[bt] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 21, ll. 1–3, Br. 611, 59–60.

[bu] On the epigraphic evidence on Untaš-Napiriša's titulature, see Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, nos. 22, ll. 1–2, Br. 619; 23, ll. 1–2, Br. 620, 638; 24, ll. 1–2, Br. 643–644, 657–658 (1+2); 25, ll. 1–2, Br. 708, 735 (1+2), 745; 26, ll. 1–2, Br. 789; 27, ll. 1–2, Br. 809 (1+2), Br. 838; 28, ll. 1–2, Br. 910, 1021 (1+2); 29, ll. 1–2, Br. 1034; 30, l. 1, Br. 1036, 1055 (1+2), 1142; 31, ll. 1–2, Br. 1160; 62–78. See also Vallat, "Briques de Deylam," 11; and "L'hommage d'Untash-Napirisha," 111–112. And Stève, *Nouveaux mélanges* nos. 5, ll. 1–2, figs. 7.5A, 8.5B, 9.5C, pl. II, 5 and 6; 6, ll. 1–2, fig. 11, pl. III, 3 (only the traces of . . . [*an-za-a*]*n šu-šu-u*[*n-ka*] . . . are visible); 15–19.

[bv] On the geneaology of Šutruk-Nahunte, see more recently Golberg, "Berlin Letter," 33–41.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Middle Elamite III
	ú ^{l}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te ša-ak* ^{l}*hal-lu-du-uš-*^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak-kí-ik li-ba-ak ha-ni-ik* ^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak-kí-ik su-un-ki-ik an-za-an šu-šu-un-ka*$_4$ *li-ku-me riša-ak-ka*$_4$ *ka*$_4$*-at-ru ha-tam*$_5$*-ti-ik hal-me-ni-ik ha-tam*$_5$*-ti-ik*[by] "I, Šutruk-Nahunte, son of Hallutuš-Inšušinak, the beloved servant of Inšušinak, king of Anzan and Susa, the magnifier of the realm, the 'master' of Elam, the 'landlord' of Elam"
Kutir-Nahunte	**[no title]** *ù* ^{l}*ku-tir-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te ša-ak* ^{l}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te-kí-ik li-ba-ak ha-ni-ik* ^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak-kí-ik*[bz] "I, Kutir-Nahunte, son of Šutruk-Nahunte, the beloved servant of **Inšušinak**"
	king of Anzan and Susa *ù* ^{l}*ku-tir-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te ša-ak* ^{l}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te-kí-ik li-ba-ak ha-ni-ik* ^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak-kí-ik su-un-ki-ik an-za-an šu-šu-un-ka*$_4$[ca] "I, Kutir-Nahunte, son of Šutruk-Nahunte, the beloved servant of **Inšušinak**, king of Anzan and Susa" *ù* ^{l}*ku-tir-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te ša-ak* ^{l}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te-kí-ik su-un-ki-ik an-za-an šu-šu-un-ka*$_4$[cb] "I, Kutir-Nahunte, son of Šutruk-Nahunte, king of Anzan and Susa"
Šilhak-Inšušinak	**[no title]** *ù* ^{l}*šil-*˹*ha*˺*-ak-*^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak ša-*˹*ak*˺ ^{l}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te-kí-ik li-ba-ak ha-ni-ik* ^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak-kí-ik*[cc] "I, Šilhak-Inšušinak, son of Šutruk-Nahunte, the beloved servant of **Inšušinak**" *ù* ^{l}*šil-ha-ak-*^{d}*in-su-uš-na-ak ša-ak* ^{l}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te-ik li-ka*$_4$*-me* ^{d}*in-su-uš-na-ak ir ha-ni-iš-ri*[cd] "I, Šilhak-Inšušinak, son of Šutruk-Nahunte, whose realm Inšušinak loves"

Notes (cont.)

[bw] Stève, *Nouveaux mélanges*, nos. 12–13, 29, figs. 24–25, pl. VI, 1–2. For inscriptions, where Šutruk-Nahunte is mentioned without royal titles, see König, *Elamische Königsinschriften*, nos. 21, l. 1; 27, l. 1 (with *likumi rišakka*); 75, 78.

[bx] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, nos. 33, ll. 1–2, Br. 1566 (1+2), 1583, 1194, 1491, 1583, 1624–25; 34, ll. 1–2, Br. 1628; 79–83. With the addition of *libak hanik Inšušinakkik* "the beloved servant of Inšušinak," see König, *Elamische Königsinschriften*, nos. 20, l. 1; 28A, l. 1; 73, 78–79. With the addition of *likume rišakka*, see no. 28, l. 4, 80.

[by] König, *Elamische Königsinschriften*, no. 22, l. 2; 23, l. 1; 24a, l. 1; 76–77.

[bz] *Ibid.*, no. 29, l. 2, 83.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Middle Elamite III
	[no title] (*likame rišakki*) *ù* ^{l}*šil-ha-ak-*^{d}*in-su-uš-na-ak ša-ak* ^{l}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te-ik li-ka*$_4$*-me ri-ša-ak-kí*[c] "I, Šilhak-Inšušinak, son of Šutruk-Nahunte, the magnifier of the realm"
	king of Anzan and Susa *ù* ^{l}*šil-ha-ak-*^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak ša-ak* ^{l}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te-kí-ik li-ba-ak ha-ni-ik* (^{d}*ki-ri-riša a-ak*) / ^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak-kí-ik su-un-ki-ik* ^{AŠ}*an-za-an* ^{AŠ}*šu-šu-un-ka*$_4$[cf] "I, Šilhak-Inšušinak, son of Šutruk-Nahunte, the beloved servant of (Kiriša and) Inšušinak, king of Anzan and Susa"
	ù ^{l}*šil-ha-ak-*^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak ša-ak* ^{l}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te-kí-ik su-un-ki-ik an-za-an šu-šu-un-ka*$_4$[cg] "I, Šilhak-Inšušinak, son of Šutruk-Nahunte, king of Anzan and Susa"
	ù ^{l}*šil-ha-ak-*^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak ša-ak* ^{l}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te-kí-ik li-ba-ak ha-ni-ik* ^{d}*in-šu-ši-na-ak-kí-ik su-un-ki-ik an-za-an šu-šu-un-ka*$_4$ *li-ku-me ri-ša-ak-ka*$_4$ *ka*$_4$*-at-ru ha-tam*$_5$*-ti-ik hal-me-ni-ik ha-tam*$_5$*-ti-ik*[ch] "I, Šilhak-Inšušinak, son of Šutruk-Nahunte, the beloved servant of Inšušinak, king of Anzan and Susa, the magnifier of the realm, the 'master' of Elam, the 'landlord' of Elam"
	"lord" of Elam and Susa (*menik Hatamtiki ak Šušenki*) *ù* ^{l}*šil-ha-ak-*^{d}*in-su-uš-na-ak ša-ak* ^{l}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te-ik li-ka*$_4$*-me ri-ša-ki me-ni-ik ha-tam*$_5$*-ti-ki a-ak šu-še-en-ki*[ci] "I, Šilhak-Inšušinak, son of Šutruk-Nahunte, the magnifier of the realm, the 'lord' of Elam and Susa"

Notes (*cont.*)

[ca] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 36, ll. 1–3, Br. 1697 (1–3), 86–87; also Stève, *Nouveaux mélanges*, no. 13, 30, fig. 26, pl. VI, 3.

[cb] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 37, ll. 1–2, Br. 1701, 86–87.

[cc] Gassan and Vallat, "Une brique élamite," 2–3, ll. 1–2; and Kōnig, *Elamische Kōnigsinschriften*, no. 32, l. 1.

[cd] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 48, ll. 10–14, Br. 2096 (1+2), 2100 (1+2); 109–111.

[ce] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, nos. 44, ll. 1–2, Br. 2056 (a+b); 47, ll. 4–8, Br. 2078; 49, ll. 12–15, Br. 2113 (1+2), Br. 2114 (1–3); 100–101, 107–108, 112–114; Kōnig, *Elamische Kōnigsinschriften*, nos. 33, l. 1; 38, l. 1; 38b, l. 1; 41, l. 2; 42A, l. 2; 44d, l. 1; 85, 88, 90, 92, 94, 97. Also, Grillot and Vallat, "Dédicace," 21–23, ll. 10–14, pls. 1–3.

[cf] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 38, ll. 1–3, Br. 1755, 1757, 1762 (1+2); no. 39, ll. 1–2, Br. 1811, 1832; no. 45, ll. 1–2, Br. 2057; 50A, ll. 1–4, Br. 2155; 88–89, 90–92, 101–102, 114–117.

[cg] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 41, ll. 1–2, Br. 1926, 1931; no. 42, ll. 1–2, Br. 1942–43; 94–96.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Middle Elamite III
Huteluduš-Inšušinak	[no title] (*likame rišakki*) ^{1}*hu-te-lu-du-uš-*^{d}*in-su-uš-na-ak ša-ak* ^{1}*ku-ti-ir-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te a-ak* ^{1}*šil-ha-ak-*^{d}*in-su-uš-na-ak-ki-ik li-ka*$_4$*-me ri-ša-ak-ki*^{cj} "Huteluduš-Inšušinak, son of Kutir-Nahunte and Šilhak-Inšušinak, the magnifier of the realm"
	"lord" of Elam and Susa (*menir Hatamtir ak Šušenri*) ^{1}*hu-te-lu-du-uš-*^{d}*in-su-uš-na-ak li-ka*$_4$*-me ri-ša-ri me-ni-ir ha-tam*$_5$*-ti-ir a-ak* ^{AŠ}*šu-še-en-ri*^{k} "Huteluduš-Inšušinak, the magnifier of the realm, the 'lord' of Elam and Susa"
	Neo-Elamite I-III^{d}
Šutruk-Nahunte II	king^{cm} *ša* EŠŠANA ^{1}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te i-pu-šu(-ma)*^{cn} "that which king Šutruk-Nahunte has made" *su-kir*$_{10}$ ^{1}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}*nah-hu-un-te*^{co} "king Šutruk-Nahunte"

Notes (*cont.*)

[ch] König, *Elamische Königsinschriften*, nos. 45, l. 2; 56, l. 1; 98, 136; also no. 49, l. 2, 115, with possibly a slightly different final element: [*li-ku-me*] *ri-ša-ak-ka*$_4$ *me-ni-ik* [*ha-da-am-ti-ik ka*$_4$*-at-ru ha*]-*da-am-ti-ik hal-me-*[*ni-ik ha-da-am-ti-ik*], "the [magnifier] of the realm, the 'lord' [of Elam, the 'master' of E]lam, the 'landl[ord' of Elam]."

[ci] König, *Elamische Königsinschriften*, nos. 44c, l. 2; 47, l. 2; 97, 106; for other variants containing the phrase *likame rišari menir hatamtir ak šušenri*, see nos. 44a–b, l. 2; 46, l. 2; 48b, l. 2; 54, l. 2; 96–97, 102–103; 114, 120, where we find the following formula: *u Šilhak-Insušnak šak Šutruk-Nahuntek . . . batek Nahuntek melku tukik nappip Hatamtik likame Insušnak ir haništri menik Hatamtik ak Šušenki.*

[cj] König, *Elamische Königsinschriften*, no. 65, l. 2, 141. Also Lambert, "Hutélutush-Inshushinak," 63–66.

[ck] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 51, ll. 1–2, Br. 2316 (1+2); no. 52, ll. 1–2, Br. 2318, 2321 (1+2); no. 53, ll. 1–5, Br. 2323 (1–3); 117–122; also Vallat, "Brique de Hutelutush-Inshushinak," 97–107; and "Hutelutuš-Inšušinak," 44–45, ll. 1–2.

[d] On the Neo-Elamite period in general, see Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 385–395; "Elam i: *History of Elam*," 309–312; and Stève *et al.*, "Suse," 470–485. Vallat's radical departure from the traditional identification of neo-Elamite sovereigns with Elamite rulers attested in Neo-Assyrian chronicles—and forced synchronisms with Mesopotamian rulers—by emphazising the internal evidence of Neo-Elamite inscriptions in establishing the chronology, has been widely accepted ("[o]r, comme ce schéma issu de ces différentes équations est inacceptable, le seul moyen de sortir de cet imbroglio est l'analyse interne des inscriptions Elamites, la seule piste qui n'ait pas encore été suffisament explorée"; Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 386). See also, with some noteworthy variations, Tavernier, "Neo-Elamite Chronology," note 3, with useful tables on 36–37 and 39; and "Elam: Neo-Elamite Period," 22–23, who seems to have been followed by Henkelman, *Other Gods*, 4–8. Some of Tavernier's reassessment of the later neo-Elamite rulers, especially Šutruk-and Šutur-Nahunte and Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak, were strongly objected to by Vallat, "Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak," 59–62, on the basis of an unpublished text ascribed to Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak, which

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Neo-Elamite I-III
	king of Anzan und Susa [*ù* ^{l}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}PÍR *ša-ak* $^{l.d}$*hu-ban-im-me-na-kí-ik-k*]*i su-un-ki-ik-k an-za-an š*[*u-šu-un-ka*$_4$ *li-ku-me ri-ša-ak-ka*$_4$ . . .][cp] "[I, Šutruk-Nahunte, son of Humban-imena], king of Anzan and S[usa, I, by whom the realm has been magnified . . .]"

Notes (*cont.*)

Vallat proposes to publish in a forthcoming study entitled *Inscriptions royales d'Elam et de Susiane*, and which, on the face of it, seems to substantiate his chronology. For a more conservative view of the Neo-Elamite period, see Waters, *Neo-Elamite History*, which was partially criticized by Vallat, review of *Neo-Elamite History*, 372–376, and Henkelman, "Defining Neo-Elamite History," 252–264. More recently, some of Waters' views on the identity of Elamite rulers in Mesopotamian and Elamite sources, and in particular his identification of Te'umman with Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak, were revisited, and further evidence for the validity of the Te'umman/Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak equation was introduced; see Waters, "Mesopotamian Sources," 473–482; "Four Brothers," 499–502; and "Royal Family," 65–68. For an invaluable chronicle of events, see Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 259–308; from an Art historical perspective, see Carter, "Neuelamische Kunstperiode," 282–290.

[cm] On Šutruk-Nahunte II's predecessor, Huban-nikaš, see Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 263–264; and Waters, *Neo-Elamite History*, 12–16. The identity of the Elamite rulers Šutur- and Šutruk-Nahunte, the dates of their respective rules, and possible variations of their name(s), has been intensely debated in recent times, especially since the successive publications of Vallat ("Šutruk-Nahunte, Šutur-Nahunte," note 44; "Nouvelle analyse," 388–391, and 393 (chronological table); and "Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak," 60–61), who, based on linguistic and paleographical criteria, as well as the nature of the royal titulature, distinguishes between Šutruk-Nahunte, son of Humban-imena [II], whom he places in the late eighth/early seventh centuries (717–699) BCE and Šutur-Nahunte, son of yet another Humban-imena [III], whom he situates after the seizure of Susa by Assurbanipal in 646 BCE. Beside Šutruk- and Šutur-Nahunte, sons of Humban-imena [II] and [III], Vallat recognizes a third, sixth-century-BCE ruler, Šutur-Nahunte, son of a certain Indada (EŠŠANA ^{l}*šu-tur-*^{d}PÍR *šá-ak in-da-da-ri-na* "king Šutur-Nahunte, son of Indada"), who may have ruled as a petty ruler "dans l'arrière-pays quelque part entre 585 et 539"; see Vallat, "Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak," 61. On the inscription of the official Hanni in Malāmir, mentioning his sovereign Šutur-Nahunte, son of Indada, see König, *Elamische Königsinschriften*, no. 15, l. 14, 158; and Hinz, "Elamische Inschriften des Hanne," l. 10, 108. More recently, both Waters, *Neo-Elamite History*, appendix B, 111–116, and Tavernier, "Neo-Elamite Chronology," note 3, 7–22 and 39; and "Elam: Neo-Elamite Period," 23, have re-examined the Šutruk-/Šutur-Nahunte dossier. Both approaches are similar in being minimalist, by assuming one historical figure, where Vallat posits two, that is, one eighth/early-seventh-centuries ruler Šutruk-Nahunte, whom they both equate with Šutur-Nahunte, son of Humban-imena [II]; and a later, in the case of Waters mid-seventh-century ruler, Šutur-Nahunte, whom the author equates with the ruler of Hidalu (*Ištarnandi šarru*$^{?}$ *Ḫidali*), mentioned in Assurbanipal's inscriptions; on *Ištarnandi*, see also Borger, *Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, 299, 3 I7, A1 I6. Vallat, "Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak," 59–61, on the strength of an unpublished text of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak, wherein the latter's victory over the army of Šutur-Nahunte, son of Humban-imena is mentioned ("[c]omme Šutur-Nahunte, fils de Huban-immena, manœuvre à Ayapir, j'ai mâté son armée") infers on the existence of a sixth century Šutur-Nahunte, son of Humban-imena [III], whose contemporary Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak was. On the distinction between Šutur-/Šutruk-Nahunte, before Vallat, see Amiet, "Éléments émaillés," 36-46; and Lambert, "Shutruk-Nahunte et Shutur-Nahunte," 47–51.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Neo-Elamite I-III
	[no title] *ù* ^{l}*šu-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}PÍR *ša-ak* $^{I.d}$*hu-ban-im-me-na-kí-ik-ki li-ku-me ri-ša-ak-ka*$_4$ *ka*$_4$*-at-ru ha-tam-tik me-en-ku li-ik-ki ha-tam-ti-ik*[q] "I, Šutruk-Nahunte, son of Humban-imena, I, by whom the realm has been magnified, the 'master' of Elam, I, who has been given the Elamite crown"
Humban-imena (Umman-menanu)	***king of Elam** *Menanu šar (mat) Elamtí*[cr] "Menanu king of Elam"
Šutur-Nahunte	**king** $^{I.d}$*hu-ban-ki-tin* DUMU EŠŠANA ^{I}*šu-tur-*^{d}PÍR-*na*[cs] "Humban-kitin, son of king Šutur-Nahunte"

Notes (*cont.*)

[cn] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 55, ll. 1–2, Br. 2393, 2404–05; no. 56, ll. 1–2, Br. 2433; 132–134. See also Stève, *Nouveaux mélanges*, no. 11. 29, pl. VI, 1: [*ša*$^{?}$ EŠŠANA$^{?}$ ^{I}*šu-ut-ru-u*]*k-*^{I}*nah-hu-un-te i-p*[*u-šu*]; no. 12 (A+B), ll. 1–4, 29, pl. VI, 2: [*ša*$^{?}$ EŠŠANA$^{?}$ ^{I}*š*]*u-ut-*[*ru-uk-* ^{I}]*nah-*[*hu*]*-un-t*[*e i-*]*pu-š*[*u*]$^{?}$.

[co] König, *Elamische Königsinschriften*, no. 74, ll. 20, 35, 152–153; on the writing of *su-kir*$_{10}$ / *su-gìr* "king," see Waters, *Neo-Elamite History*, III, n. 2.

[cp] König, *Elamische Königsinschriften*, no. 73 (A–C), l. 1; B, l. 7; C, l. 11; 148–149: [^{I}*šu-*]*-ut-ru-uk-*^{d}PÍR *ša-ak* $^{I.d}$*hu-ban-im-me-na-ri-me*.

[cq] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 57, ll. 1–3, Br. 2442, 135–136.

[cr] Humban-imena is not known from extant Elamite sources, but the Babylonian Chronicle and Sennacherib's annals refer to him—as they do to his predecessors, his brother Kutir-Nahunte II, whom he succeeded, and his father, Ḫallušu–as "king of Elam" *menanu šar (māt) Elamti*. See Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 1, iii: 20, 25; Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 16, iii: 20, 25, 198–199; no. 17, iii: 20′, 206–207; Brinkman, "Babylonian Chronicle Revisited," no. 1B, iii: 20′, 102. On the attestation of Humban-imena (Umman-menanu) as "king of Elam," in Sennacherib's annals, see Luckenbill, *Annals*, H2, iv: 33, vi: 24, 42, 47; H3, 34–35, 82; Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, T 174, obv. II, 207–208: [^{I}*um-ma-an-me-na*]*-nu* LUGAL ELAM.MA^{ki}. What distinguishes Humban-imena's reign is the mention, within the annals, of a confederacy he supposedly marshaled against Assyria, and which included the lands of Parsuaš and Anzan; see Luckenbill, *Annals*, H2, v: 43–52, 43; H4, 44–46, 88; H5 rev. 9–11, 90–91. The mention of Anzan in connection with Parsuaš, independently from Elam, has led notably Potts to assume that at that time the kingdom of Elam did not include Anšan, which may have constituted an independent polity, eventually becoming the Persian Anšanite kingdom; see Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 272–274; "Kingdom of Anshan," 16–17: "[t]his suggests to me that while the 'kindom of Anshan and Susa' was no longer a reality, a highland Elamite kingdom or recognized entity led by a chief and identifiable as 'Anshan' *did* exist. And it is here, I would argue, that we have a geopolitical locus in which to place the line of Anshanite kings enumerated in the Cyrus Cylinder." See also Waters, *Neo-Elamite History*, 34–35.

[cs] On the inscription of "Humban-kitin, son of king Šutur-Nahunte," placed on the former's seal, see Kahane, *Catalogue no. 6*, no. 90, 38, pl. iii (g); and more recently, Amiet, "Éléments émaillés," 44–45, fig. 14; and "Glyptique de la fin," no. 34, ll. 1–4, 29. Another inscription published already in *MDP* 9, no. 5, ll. 9–10, 7, with the partial reading: "*Hu-ba-ki-tin* DUMU EŠŠANA [. . .]

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Neo-Elamite I-III
	king of Anzan und Susa[ct] *[ù ᴵš]u-tur-*^{d}PÍR *šá-ak* $^{I.d}$*hu-ban-im-me-na-kí-ik-ki su-un-ki-ik-ki* ^{AŠ}*an-z[a]-an* ^{AŠ}*šu-šu-un-ka*$_4$ *li-ku-me ri-šá-ak-ka*$_4$[cu] "[I, Š]utruk-Nahunte, son of Humban-imena, king of An[z-] an and Susa, I by whom the realm has been magnified"
	ù ^{I}*šu-tur-*^{d}PÍR *šá-a[k* $^{I.d}$*hu-]ban-im-me-na-k[í-ik-ki su-un-ki-ik-ki]* ^{AŠ}*an-za-an* ^{AŠ}*šu-[šu-un-ka*$_4$*]*[cv] "I, Šutur-Nahunte, so[n of Hu]mban-imena, [king] of Anzan and [Susa]"
Hallutuš-Inšušinak	**(king) of Anzan und Susa** *ù* ^{I}*hal-lu-šu-*^{d}MÙŠ.LAM *šá-ak* ^{d}*hu-ban-tah-ra-ah-ha* ^{AŠ}*an-za-an* ^{AŠ}*šu-šu-un li-ku-me ri-šá-ah*[cw] "I, *Hallutuš-Inšušinak, son of Huban-tahrah, have enlarged the realm of Anzan and Susa"
Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak	**king of Anzan and Susa** *[ù at-ta-ha-mi-ti-]*^{d}MÙŠ.LAM *šá-ak* ^{d}*hu-ut-ra-an-te-ip-[ti-i] k-ka*$_4$ *su-un-k[i-ik* ^{AŠ}*an-za-an* ^{AŠ}*šu-šu-un-ka*$_4$ *li-ku-me ri-šá-ak-ka*$_4$ *ka*$_4$*-a]t-ri ha-tàm-ti-i-ki hal-me-ni-i-ik-k[i ha]-tàm*$_5$*-ti-ik-ki*[cx] "[I Atta-Hamiti]-Inšušinak, son of Hutran-Tep[ti], king [of Anzan and Susa, I, by whom the realm has been magnified, the 'mas]ter' of Elam, the 'landlord' of [E]lam"

Notes (*cont.*)

"Humban-kitin son of [. . .]," may refer to the same Humban-kitin (son of king Šutur-Nahunte) mentioned above; on this probable identification, see already Йусифов[Yusifoff], "Заламские хозяйственные документы из Суз," 202, 231; de Miroschedji, "Notes sur la glyptique," 61, n. 46; Stève, "La fin de l'Élam," 7–21, especially 15; and more recently Vallat, "Šutruk-Nahunte, Šutur-Nahunte," note 44. "[a]insi dans notre cas, il s'agit bien d'un 'Huban-kitin fils du roi [x].' Et comme le cylindre de Jérusalem est contemporain des tablettes de l'acropole, il serait curieux que le nom de ce roi ne soit pas Šutur-Nahunte!"; and Stève *et al.*, "Suse," 478–479. See also Waters, *Neo-Elamite History*, 95, n. 91, and 113, no. 13. Compare also the reservation that Tavernier, "Neo-Elamite Chronology," note 33, 30–31, has expressed as to the equation of "Humban-kitin son of [. . .] with the homonymous father of Šutur-Nahunte."

[ct] On Šutruk- and Šutur-Nahunte, see above, n. *cm*.

[cu] König, *Elamische Königsinschriften*, no. 71 (A+B), l. 1, 146–147. On the attribution of this inscription to Šutur-Nahunte, see Vallat, "Šutruk-Nahunte, Šutur-Nahunte," note 44; "Nouvelle analyse," 390. Compare Waters, *Neo-Elamite History*, 111, no. 2, 114, and 116; and Tavernier, "Neo-Elamite Chronlogy," note 3, 22, who ascribe this inscription to the earlier Šutruk-Nahunte.

[cv] Amiet, "Éléments émaillés," 36–37, fig. 8c. While Vallat, "Šutruk-Nahunte, Šutur-Nahunte," note 44, ascribes this inscription to Šutur-Nahunte, Waters, *Neo-Elamite History*, 111, no. 3, 114, and 116, and Tavernier, "Neo-Elamite Chronlogy," note 3, 22, attribute it to Šutruk-Nahunte.

[cw] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 58, l. 1, Br. 2517 (1+2), 2483; 136–137. On a business document dated to the fifteenth regnal year of Ḫallušu, where the latter is mentioned with the title LUGAL ^{kur}ELAM.MA^{ki}, see Stolper, "Ḫallušu," 235–239. On the identification of Hallutuš-

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Neo-Elamite I-III
Ummanunu	**king** EŠŠANA [BE]*Um-ma-nu-nu*[γ] "king Ummanunu"
Šilhak-Inšušinak II	**king** EŠŠANA [!]*ši-il-ha-ak*-[d]MÙŠ.LAM *šá-ak* [r!]*um-ma-nu*[?]*-nu-ra*[α] "king Šilhak-Inšušinak, son of *Ummanunu"
Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak	**[no title]**[dα] *ù* [d]*te-ip-ti*-[d]*hu-ban*-[d]MÙŠ.LAM/[d]NINNI$_6$.LAM *šá-ak šil-ha-ak*-[d]MÙŠ.LAM/[d]NINNI$_6$.LAM[dβ] *ù* [d]*te-ip-ti*-[d]*hu-ban*-[d]*in-su-uš-na-ak šá-ak šil-ha-ak*-[d]*in-su-uš-na-ak-ki-ik*[dγ] "I, Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak, son of Šilhak-Inšušinak"

Notes (*cont.*)

Inšušinak with the Ḫallušu of the Babylonian Chronicle (ii: 32–33), compare Waters, *Neo-Elamite History*, 24–30; and more circumspectly "Mesopotamian Sources," 474–476. For a critique of this equation, see Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 393; "Problèmes de succession," 65–66; review of *Neo-Elamite History*, 373–374.

α König, *Elamische Königsinschriften*, no. 86, l. 1, 172–174. The identity of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak has been subject to some *chassés-croisés* in recent scholarship. It is again the merit of Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 390–91; 393, to have shown that this Elamite ruler may not be identified with the Attametu of the Mesopotamian sources. However, based upon a thorough examination of the dossier, Tavernier, "Neo-Elamite Chronlogy," note 3, 22–29, 37, 39, by taking into account also the use of broken signs in Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak's inscription, has intriguingly argued that this ruler may be identical with the Elamite rebel *Aθamaita* known to us from the Bisitun Inscription (DB 5.4–16: *Ūvja nāmā dahayāuš hauv hamiçiyā abava* [*I martiya*] *Aθamaita nāma Ūvjiya* [*avam*] *maθištam akunava*[?]*tā* "the land by the name of Elam, it became rebellious; a single man, by the name of *Aθamaita*, an Elamite, him they made the greatest among them"), which would place him in the final Neo-Elamite (and Achaemenid transitional) period. This equation had already been envisaged by Waters, *Neo-Elamite History*, 85, who, however, did not commit to it; see also Henkelman, "Defining Neo-Elamite History," 262 (review of Waters, *Neo-Elamite History*); and *Other Gods*, 7–8. Again the unpublished inscription of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak, briefly outlined by Vallat, "Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak," 59–61, could make Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak a contemporary of Šutur-Nahunte—against whom he campaigned—rather than of Dareios the Great. Compare Henkelman, *Other Gods*, 14, 363, no. 848, who subscribes to the position of Waters and Tavernier, and is justifiably reserved vis-à-vis Vallat's announcement of a new inscription belonging to Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak, for which merely a partial translation has been purveyed; however, his dithyrambic declaration that "Neo-Elamite is often much harder to understand than some of his [Vallat's] publications suggest," is clearly out of place.

γ *MDP* 9, no. 165, l. 4, 146; see Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 389, 393; "Elam i: *History of Elam*," 311; and Stève, *et al.*, "Suse," 479–480; Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 299; Tavernier, "Neo-Elamite Chronlogy," note 3, 31–32, 37, 39; and "Elam: Neo-Elamite Period," 23

α König, *Elamische Königsinschriften*, no. 78, l. 1, 169. See also Waters, *Neo-Elamite History*, 40–41. On the increased use of ideograms in neo-Elamite (and Achaemenid) texts in lieu of syllabical writing, especially in the case of *su-un-ki-l*EŠŠANA "king" and *ša-ak*/DUMU "son," see more recently Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 386–387; on Šilhak-Inšušinak II, see *ibid.*, 389.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Persian Kings (of Elam) avant l'Empire
Kuraš, king of Pārsumaš	**king of Pārsumaš** ^{I}*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL ^{kur}*par-su-ma-áš*^{ld} "Kuraš king, king of Pārsumaš"
Šišpiš (Teïspes)	**king of Anšan** ^{I}*ši-iš-pi-iš* LUGAL.GAL LUGAL ^{uru}*an-ša-an*^{de} "Šišpiš, great king, king of (the city of) Anšan"

Notes (cont.)

[da] Traditionally Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak has been equated with the Elamite king Te'umman, known from Assurbanipal's inscriptions; for a historical overview, see Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 276–280. This equation was challenged by Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 385–386, 389, and 393, whose opinion appears initially to have influenced Waters, *Neo-Elamite History*, 50 ("the identification of this Te'umman with Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak of EKI [König, *Elamische Königsinschriften*] 79–85 must be rejected"), 96, and 105, who, however, in two subsequent articles, namely, Waters, "Four Brothers," 499–502; and "Royal Family," 65–68, having removed one major hindrance in identifying Te'umman with Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak, resuscitated this traditional hypothesis. Indeed, as Assurbanipal's records (prisms B-C) show, Te'umman seems to have been the brother of two of his royal predecessors (Huban-Haltaš II and Urtak), the offspring of whom took refuge in Assyria, after Te'umman's seizure of power; Te'umman is called their uncle (*aḫi abišu*[*nu*] ŠEŠ AD-*šú*-[. . .]); on the passage in question, see Streck, *Assurbanipal*, vol. I, 212–213, l; compare also Borger, *Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, 97, B IV 85–C V 91; and 223, B IV 83-86, who does exclude *aḫi abišu*[*nu*]: "und 60 Mitglieder der königlichen Familie, zahllose Bogenschützen | und adlige Elamer | flohen vor dem Morden Teummans || vor Teumans | und umfassten meine königlichen Füsse." Based on Grayson's restoration of a passage of the Babylonian Chronicle (iii: 33) that narrates the succession to Huban-Haltaš I, it had been hitherto assumed that Huban-Haltaš II was the son of Huban-Haltaš I ([DUMU$^{?}$]-*šú* "his son"), consequently making Te'umman, Huban-Haltaš II's brother, also a son of Huban-Haltaš I. In light of Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak's calling his father Šilhak-Inšušinak, the equation of Te'umman with Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak was therefore unlikely, unless one were to assume a common mother, and different fathers. It is Waters' merit to have shown, based upon a new collation that the signs restored by Grayson may be read [ŠE]Š-*šú* ([*aḫ*]*ušu* "his brother": *Ḫumba-ḫaldašu šanû* [*aḫ*]*šu ina kussê ittašab* "Huban-Haltaš, the second, the brother of his [Huban-Haltaš I], succeeded to the throne," and that Te'umman was possibly, like Huban-Haltaš II, the brother of Huban-Haltaš I. This would signify that at least this argument may not oppose the traditional identification of Te'umman with Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak, although others, which Waters himself acknowledges, still persist; see Waters, "Four Brothers," 499, and 501: "[i]f this Te'umman/Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak II connection is correct, did Šilḫak-Inšušinak II father all four of the brothers? One general problem is that there is no clear place in the chronology for a king . . . Šilḫak-Inšušinak II, unless one posits simultaneous kings in Elam before the mid-seventh century." Therefore, we follow Vallat's chronology on Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak's reign, which he reiterated in later publications; see Vallat, "Elam i: *History of Elam*," 310–311; and Stève *et al.*, "Suse," 480. Similarly, Tavernier, "Neo-Elamite Chronology," note 3, 37 and 39; "Elam: Neo-Elamite Period," 23; and Henkelman, *Other Gods*, 7–8, n. 13.

[db] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 59, l. 1, Br. 2518–19; no. 60, l. 1, Br. 2520–21; no. 61, l. 1, Br. 2522; 138–139. See also König, *Elamische Königsinschriften*, nos. 79, l. 1; 81 (a+b); and 82–84; 169 and 171.

[dc] Malbran-Labat, *Inscriptions de Suse*, no. 62, l. 1, Br. 2523; 140. Also König, *Elamische Königsinschriften*, no. 80, l. 1; 170–171. On Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak's titulature and inscriptions,

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Persian Kings (of Elam) avant l'Empire
Kuraš [I], son of Šešbeš (Teïspes)	**[no title]** [^{I}]*kur-ráš* ^{AŠ}*an-za-an-ir'-ra* DUMU *še-iš-be-iš-na*[dj] "Kuraš, 'the Anzanite,' son of Šešbeš"
	king of Anšan ^{I}*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL.GAL LUGA[L ^{u}]^{ru}*an-ša-an*[dg] "Kuraš, great king, king of (the city of) Anšan"
Kambuzia, son of Kuraš	**king of Anšan** ^{I}*ka-am-bu-zi-ia* LUGAL.GAL LUGAL ^{uru}*an-ša-an*[dh] "Kambuzia, great king, king of (the city of) Anšan"
Kuraš [II], king of Anšan	**king of Anšan** ^{I}*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL ^{kur}*an-za-an*[di] ^{I}*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL ^{uru}*an-ša-an*[dj] ^{I}*ku-raš* LUGAL *an-šá-an*[dk] "Kuraš, king of (the land/city of) Anzan/Anšan"
	^{I}*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL ŠÁR LUGAL ^{kur}*aš-ša-an* DUMU ^{I}*kam-bu-zi-ia* LUGAL ^{kur}*aš-ša-an*[dl] "I am Kuraš, king of the world, king of Anšan, son of Kambuzia, king of Anšan"
	king of the world ^{I}*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL *kiš-šat*[dm] "Kuraš, king of the world"

Notes (*cont.*)

see Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 389: "[o]n peut ajouter à propos des inscriptions de Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak, le petit-fils d'Ummanunu, qu'il ne porte même plus de titre de 'roi' bien que la phraséologie de ses inscriptions reste royale"; similarly Waters, *Neo-Elamite History*, 48.

[dd] Borger, *Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, 191–192, 250, H2 ii' 7'; Waters, "Cyrus and Achaemenids," 94, no. 1. On the localization of Parsumaš, still Rollinger, "Parsu(ma)a(š)," 115–139; also more recently Young, Jr., "Parsua," 243–248.

[de] Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, no. K2.1 (Cyrus Cylinder), l. 21, 553, 555; on recent interpretations of Cyrus' lineage, and the formation of the Persian ethnogenesis, resulting from Elamite and Persian acculturation, see also Stronach, "Anshan and Parsa," 37–39, 49; and "Of Cyrus," 682–685; also de Miroschedji, "Fin du royaume d'Anšan," 292–296; "Susa and Highlands," 34–36. On the notion of late Elamite political fragmentation, compare de Miroschedji, "Fin de l'Elam," 75–88; and "Susa and Highlands," 35–36. For the refutation of this conjectured fragmentation, see most recently Henkelman, *Other Gods*, 12–19.

[df] On the inscription, iconography, and historical implications of this seal, PFS 93*, which most likely belonged to Cyrus II's homonymous grandfather, Cyrus I, and was used, possibly by members of the royal house, under the reign of Dareios within the Persepolitan administration, see de Miroschedji, "Fin du royaume d'Anšan," 285–287; Garrison, "Seals and Elite," 3–4, figs. 1–2, and 14–15; "Persepolis Fortification Seal," 29–31; "Seal of 'Kuraš,'" 375–405; Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 392; Garrison and Cool Root, *Persepolis Seal Studies*, 6–7, figs. 2a–c; more recently Potts, "Cyrus the Great," 18–20; Waters, "Cyrus and Achaemenids," 93–95; "Parsumash, Anshan, and Cyrus," 290–293; Henkelman, "Acculturation," 193–194; *Other Gods*, 53–56, n. 135, 132, n. 293.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

Rulers	Titles
	Persian Kings (of Elam) avant l'Empire
	king of Persia ^{I}*ku-raš* LUGAL ^{kur}*par-su*^{dn} "Kuraš, king of Persia"
	king of Elam LUGAL ^{kur}ELAM.MA$^{ki\,do}$ "(Kuraš) king of Elam"
	king of the lands ^{I}*ku-raš* LUGAL ^{lú}KUR.KUR *ra-'i-im* É.[SAG].ÍL *u* É.ZI.DA A ^{I}*kam-bu-zi-ia* 20 [= LUGAL] *dan-nu a-na-ku*^{dp} "I am Kuraš, king of the kings, who loves Esagila and Ezida, son of Kambuzia, the strong king"

Notes (cont.)

[dg] Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, no. K2.1 (Cyrus Cylinder), l. 21, 553, 555; Waters, "Cyrus and Achaemenids," 94, no. 2.

[dh] Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, no. K2.1 (Cyrus Cylinder), l. 21, 552–553, 555; Waters, "Cyrus and Achaemenids," 94, no. 4.

[di] Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, no. 2.12 (Eḫulḫul Cylinder), i.27, 417, 436–37; Watters, "Cyrus and Achaemenids," 94, no. 3; Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus*, 108.

[dj] Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, no. K2.1 (Cyrus Cylinder), l. 12, 552, 555; Waters, "Cyrus and Achaemenids," 94, no. 4.

[dk] Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 7, ii: 1, 106; Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 26, ii: 1, 234–235; *Chroniques*, no. 26, 201–204; Waters, "Cyrus and Achaemenids," 94, no. 7 [a].

[dl] Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, no. K1.2 (Ur Cylinder), ll. 1–3, 549; Waters, "Cyrus and Achaemenids," 94, no. 6.

[dm] Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, no. P1 (Verse Account of Nabonid), v: 4′, 569, 576; Lee, "Propaganda," 31–36; Waters, "Cyrus and Achaemenids," 94, no. 8.

[dn] Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 7, ii: 15, 107; Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, no. 26, ii: 15, 236–237; *Chroniques*, no. 26. 201–204.; Waters, "Cyrus and Achaemenids," 94, no. 7 [b].

[do] Grayson, *Historical-Literary Texts*, ii: 17, 20, 32–33; van der Spek, "Darius III," no. 3.

[dp] See Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, no. K1.1 (Uruk Cylinder), ll. 1–4, 548; compare Waters, "Cyrus and Achaemenids," 94, no. 5 with traditional reading.

of political titles indicating sovereign rule in Elam, as explicit from extant indigenous documents. The table has no claim of being exhaustive, or, in view of the many contested chronological attributions, unobjectionable. However, we have tried to incorporate sufficient data, and encompass to the extent possible recent discussions, to afford a reliable backdrop against which some of our inferences concerning the evolution of the Elamite titulature will be drawn. Many documents from Elam, at least for the earlier

parts of Elamite rule, when Mesopotamia—be it the old kings of Akkad, or be it the Sumerian kings of Ur III—held considerable sway over Iran, were written in Sumero-Akkadian, and only beginning with the Middle Elamite period do we have an important supply of (Middle) Elamite texts.

Subsuming the changes of the royal titulature, several observations can be made. The first one is the extreme conservatism and constancy of the Elamite titulary. The title of "king of Elam," which, in the inscriptions of Sargon of Agade, is *de rigeur* for the Awanite rulers, falls, following the sway of Akkad over Iran, into desuetude.[820] The title of governors of Old Akkadian rulers in Elam, is varied, although in time it coalesced into two main components (with some slight variations): "ENSÍ of Susa" and "GÌR.NÍTA of the land of Elam."[821] These titles (originally of subordinate rulers) were then assumed in combination by the Awanite ruler Puzur-Inšusinak upon his putting an end to the old Akkadian dominion in Elam; in addition to these titles, which, at the latest under Puzur-Inšusinak's reign, were no longer perceived as indicative of a dependent rule by Elamite potentates, Puzur-Inšusinak also re-introduced the title of "king of Awan,"[822] which he did not use, however, in conjunction with the titles "ENSÍ of Susa" and "GÌR.NÍTA of the land of Elam."[823] Under the Šimaškean dynasty the titles ENSÍ and GÌR.NÍTA continued to be used, according to Awanite practices, but were eventually supplemented by royal titles that strikingly adopted the same binary distribution we observed with "ENSÍ of Susa" and "GÌR.NÍTA of the land of Elam." Indeed, the distribution of the Šimaškean titles "king of Anšan," and "king of Šimaški and Elam," seems to set forth the same *structure*, if not always the *content*, of former Awanite titles.

This is a phenomenon we may even observe during the *sukkamaḫate*, where the title of "*sukkal* of Susa," and *sukkal* of Elam" are clearly formed on the pattern of "ENSÍ of Susa" and "GÌR.NÍTA of the land of Elam," as well as "king of Anšan" and "king of Šimaški and Elam."[824] Thus,

[820] See table 15 (a).

[821] See Vallat, "L'époque des *sukkalmaḫ*," 121.

[822] *Ibid.*

[823] See table 14 (a).

[824] See table 15 (a). A contested issue still remains the relationship of power between the different *sukkal* and the *sukkalmaḫ*, who have been traditionally deemed to form a triumvirate, with the *sukkalmaḫ* being the supreme regent, and the *sukkal* of Elam and Šimaški, as well as the *sukkal* of Susa, being the former's subordinates, before eventually becoming themselves *sukkalmaḫ*, following a *cursus honorum*. Despite its ingenuity this concept was criticized in more recent times—among others—by Vallat, "L'époque des *sukkalmaḫ*," 119–121; and "L'époque paléo-babylonienne," 314–315, who rightly points to many cases in which one and the same person held concurrently *all* these offices, that is, those of the *sukkalmaḫate* and the *sukkalate(s)*, which evidently would contradict the concept of a trimvirate. See most pertinently, Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 162–163; also Waters, "Four Brothers," 500–501, n. 5. Compare Carter and Stolper, *Elam*, 24–32; also the

whereas the general pattern and the binary distribution of Elamite titles seems to have remained constant until the end of the *sukkalmaḫate*, their contents have changed in accordance with the poltical realities of Elamite rule.[825]

Beginning with the Middle Elamite period and the standardization of the royal title *sunkik anšan šušunka* "king of Anšan and Susa,"[826] we may observe the emergence of additional titles that intriguingly seem to continue the Elamite titles of old under new guise.[827] Indeed, we see next to *sunkik anšan šušunka,* the consolidation of a tripartite titulature with the following elements:[828]

(1) *likume rišakka* "magnifier of the realm"; (2) *katri hatamtik* "master of Elam"; and (3) *hal-menik hatamtik* "landlord of Elam"

and its alternate realization:

(1) *likume rišakka*; and (2) *hal-menik hatamtik* / (3) *ak šušenki* "landlord of Elam and Susa."

intriguing proposition by de Miroschedji, "Localisation de Madaktu," 218–219, who suggests applying the principle of a political collegium under the *sukkulmaḫate* to the neo-Elamite period, and interprets the conjectured fragmentation of the political landscape between different capitals as reflecting a political system akin to the *sukkalmaḫate*: "la relation politique entre les trois capitals et leur souverain respectif pourrait avoir été à l'époque néo-élamite de même nature que celle qui existait à l'époque Elamite ancienne entre sukkal de Suse, le sukkal d'Elam et de Šimaški et le sukkalmah. Cette hypothèse implique évidemment celle d'un *cursus honorum* au cours duquel un souverain passerait du trône de Suse ou de Hidalu à celui de Madaktu." See also Henkelman, *Other Gods*, 12–19, who also strongly defuses the notion of a late fragmented Elamite state: "[i]n short, the 'king of Hidali' is not an argument for a weakened and fragmented Elam, but rather points to a coherent elite surrounding the ruling dynasty and holding the state's strategically important positions"; *ibid.*, 13.

825 There are, as manifest from table 14, other titles in use during the *sukkalmaḫate*, which are exceptions to the generalization we propose here, such as the individual titles of Atta-hušu, that is, "*ibbir* of Susa," "shepherd (*rē'ú*) of the people (in arms) of Susa," or "shepherd of Inšušinak"; or the title "king of Susa," which appears next to that of "*sukkal* of Susa."

826 Before its regular appearance in the titulary of the Middle Elamite period, the title *sunkik anšan šušunka* "king of Anšan and Susa" is once attested for Ebarat II (see table 14, 265), the last of the Šimaškeans. It was another Šimaškean ruler, that is, Kindattu, who put an end to the Ur III dynasty, whose rulers, notably, Ur-Nammu, and Šulgi made use of the title; see Hallo, *Royal Titles*, 77–85; for Šulgi's inscriptions, see Gelb and Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, Ur C1 (Šulgi 54), ll. 7–8, 344. Thus, one possible source of emulation for *sunkik anšan šušunka* "king of Anšan and Susa" could be the title *šar māt Šumeri u Akkadî* (Sumerian lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri), which is also attested for Rîm-Sin of Larsa, Hammurabi, as well as Lipit-Ištar of Isin; Hallo, *Royal Titles*, 84–85; Seux, *Épithètes royales*, 302–303.

827 See table 15 (b) and (c).

828 In an influential article, Grillot, "Trinôme de royauté," 185–190, discussed the meaning of these titles, whose interpretation in the present discourse reposes upon her findings. However, whereas she conceives of the rare title *merrik Hatamtik*, which is only attested once under Humban-numena (see table 14, 271), as part of the Elamite *trinôme*, it seems more consequent to include, in lieu of this single attestation, *likume rišakka* as part of the tripartite titulary.

The title *hal-menik hatamtik āk šušenki* may represent the re-introduction (in Elamite) of the former title(s) "ENSÍ of Susa" and "GÌR.NÍTA of (the land of) Elam," with its first element *hal-menik hatamtik* corresponding to "GÌR.NÍTA of (the land of) Elam," and its second *āk* [*hal-menik*] *šušenki* to the "ENSÍ of Susa."[829] The same may be true with some slight variation for the first title, with *hal-menik hatamtik* reflecting the old title "GÌR.NÍTA of (the land of) Elam," and consequently *katri hatamtik* the title "ENSÍ of Susa."[830]

As to the title of Cyrus, that is, "king of Anšan," with which the latter designated his ancestry and himself in his Cylinder, and as which he is also known in Nabonidus' inscriptions, its origin has been variously interpreted. It has been deemed to be the re-introduction of the Šimaškean title "king of Anšan,"[831] first attested for Imezu, or the reduction of the title of "king of Anšan and Susa."[832] Although both possibilities are equally conjectural, the absence of "king of Anšan and Susa" from the titulary of the last Neo-Elamite rulers, Ummanunu, Šilhak-Inšušinak II, and Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak, in conjunction with the Elamite ability to conserve and reinterpret historical titulatures, makes it conceivable that the title "king of Anšan" was re-introduced. Undoubtedly, the reintroduction of a formerly Šimaškean title, rather than the mere reduction of the title "king of Anšan and Susa," already in disuse in the late Neo-Elamite period, ought to have had an ideological dimension for the Persians assuming royal authority in Elam, namely, the design to attach themselves to the prestigious beginnings of Elamite sovereignty.[833]

Coming back to our initial query, our dealing with the Elamite titulature was prompted by the need to find a possible *Vorlage* for the Achaemenid title *šar māt Parsu u māt Mādaya* "king of the land of Persia and of the land of Media," for which no old Persian precedent is attested. The succinct review of the Elamite titulature may suggest two possible sources of inspiration: one being the well-attested title *sunkik anšan šušunka* "king

[829] See table 15 (d).

[830] See table 15 (d).

[831] See de Miroschedji, "Fin du royaume d'Anšan," 296–299: "[e]n reprenant cet ancien titre à la fin du VII[e] siècle, quand le Fārs s'est définitivement détaché d'un empire en décomposition, Téispès et ses successeurs ont donc renoué avec une très vieille tradition, dont il faut souligner qu'elle était spécifiquement Elamite et qu'elle revêtait une signification symbolique d'autant plus profonde que la ville d'Anšan était alors depuis longtemps désertée. Ils se sont ainsi posés en successeurs directs des rois Elamites depuis le début du II[e] millenaire jusqu'en 646"; *ibid.*, 298–299.

[832] See Henkelman, *Other Gods*, 56.

[833] See *ibid.*, 56–57.

Table 15. *Elamite titulary*

(a) Distribution of Old Elamite titles

Awanite (and Šimaškean) Period(s)		*Šimaškean Period*		*Sukkalmaḫate*	
Individually	*In Combination* [only under P-I][a]	*Individually*	*In Combination*	*Individually*	*In Combination*
king (of the land) of Awan	ENSÍ of Susa, GÌR.NÍTA of the land of Elam		king of Anšan, king of Šimaški and Elam	king of Susa / Anšan	SUKKAL.MAḪ, SUKKAL of Elam, (and) Šimaški, (and Susa)
—		—		SUKKAL.MAḪ	
ENSÍ of Susa		king of Anšan king of Anšan & Susa		SUKKAL of Susa	
ENSÍ of Elam GÌR.NÍTA of Elam GÌR.NÍTA of the land of Elam		king of Šimaški and Elam		SUKKAL of Elam and Šimaški	

(b) Elements of Middle and Neo-Elamite titulary

"king of Susa and Anšan"	"magnifier of the realm"	"governor of Elam" [only under H-n][b]	"master of Elam"	"landlord of Elam" / "landlord of Elam and Susa"
sunkik anšan šušunka	*ligawe/likume/likame rišakka/-i (rišari)*	*merrik hatamtik*	*katri/-u hatamtik(ki)*	*hal-menik(ki) hatamtik(ki)*
		—	—	*hal-menik/-ir hatamtik/-ir āk šušenki/-ri*

Notes:
[a] = Purur-Inšusinak
[b] = Humban-numena

Table 15 (*cont.*)

(c) "King of Susa and Anšan" and the Tripartie Middle and Neo-Elamite titulary

"king of Susa and Anšan"	"magnifier of the realm"	"master of Elam"	"landlord of Elam" / "landlord of Elam and Susa"
sunkik anšan šušunka	*likume/likame rišakka/-i*	*katri/-u hatamtik(ki)*	*hal-menik(ki) hatamtik(ki)*
sunkik anšan šušunka	*likume/likame rišakka/-i (rišari)*	—	*hal-menik/-ir hatamtik/-ir āk šušenki/-ri*

(d) The evolution of Elamite titulary

Awanite (and Šimaškean) Period(s)	*Šimaškean Period*	*Sukkalmaḫate*	*Middle and Neo-Elamite periods*	
king of the land of Awan		SUKKAL.MAḪ	*sunkik anšan šušunka*	
ENSÍ of Susa	king of Anšan	SUKKAL of Susa	*katri/-u hatamtik(ki)*	*hal-menik/-ir hatamtik/-ir āk šušenki/-ri*
GÌR.NÍTA of the land of Elam	king of Šimaški and Elam	SUKKAL of Elam and Šimaški	*hal-menik(ki) hatamtik(ki)*	

of Anšan and Susa," referring to the two political and ideological poles of Elamite royal authority, Anšan and Susa; or the Middle Elamite interpretation of the same, namely, *hal-menik hatamtik āk šušenki* "(land)lord of Elam and Susa."

However, one still would need to explain how these titles may have found their ways into the Babylonian title of Xerxes, and who the agents of these changes were. But before we may further investigate this possibility, a glance at the Babylonian royal titulature is in order.

Babylonian precedents and conclusions

The Cyrus cylinder, redacted by Babylonian scribes in the immediate aftermath of Cyrus' Babylonian conquest, may provide a noteworthy point of departure, as the following passage illustrates:

Anaku Kuraš | šar kiššati | šarru rabû | šarru dannu | šar Bābili | šar māt Šumeri u Akkadî | šar kibrāti irbitti

"I am Cyrus, king of the world, great king, strong king, king of Babylon, king of the country of Sumer and of Akkad, king of the four (world) quarters."[834]

Although the sequence *šar māt Parsu u māt Mādaya* is absent from Cyrus' cylinder, attested is, however, the Babylonian title *šar māt Šumeri u Akkadî,* which on occasion had been adopted by Assyrian conquerors and restorers of Babylon, notably, by Assurbanipal—to whose inscription Cyrus' edict *expressis verbis* refers[835]—most probably, as a means of depicting themselves as bearers of Babylonia's dynastic continuity.[836] Indeed, in the context of Cyrus' strengthening the defenses of, and restoring, Babylon's great wall, the Dur-Imgur-Enlil, there is the mention of Assurbanipal's foundational cylinder, which probably had served the Achaemenids as a literary model: "an inscription with the name of Aššurbanipal, a king who had preceded [me I sa]w . . . "[837] Thus, it

[834] See Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, 551–556; for a new English translation, see Cogan, "Cyrus Cylinder," 314–316; for the recent French edition, see Lecoq, *Inscriptions*, 181–185.

[835] Still indispensable, Harmatta, "Modèles littéraires," 29–48; especially, 37: "ce sont les inscriptions babyloniennes d'Aššurbānapli qui servirent de modèles littéraires au clergé de Marduk pour l'édit babylonien de Cyrus."

[836] See Kuhrt, "Cyrus Cylinder," 88–92, especially 88: "the ultimate purpose of the Cyrus cylinder: it was composed to commemorate his [Cyrus'] restoration of Babylon like that of his predecessor Assurbanipal, recount his accession and pious acts and demonstrate to subsequent generations his legitimacy as ruler of Babylon." See also Kuhrt, "Cyrus the Great," 169–191.

[837] See Assurbanipal's titles as reflected on his foundation cylinder at the Dur-Imgur-Enlil: *Anaku Aššurbânaplu šarru rabû šarru dannu šar kiššati šar māt Aššur šar kibrāt irbitti apil Aššuraḫiddina šarru rabû šarru dannu šar kiššati šar māt Aššur šakkanak Bābili šar māt Šumeri u Akkadî* "I am Assurbanipal, the great king, the strong king, king of the world, king of Assur, king of the four world quarters, son of Assurhaddon, the great king, the strong king, the king of the world, king of

is possible that this old title, embracing Babylonia's chief cultural and ethnic constituents, already adopted by Cyrus as part of his titulature in Babylonia, may also have served as *Vorlage* in forging Xerxes' new title component, which hinted at the Achaemenid empire's *two* leading ethnogeneses—or to use the term coined by Pierre Briant, the *ethno-classes dominantes*—namely, the Persian and Mede *ethnea*, in the same way as the title *šar māt Šumeri u Akkadî* used to refer to the main ethnic constituents of Assurbanipal's empire.

The question that remains of importance to us in the present context—and this, notwithstanding the rationale for introducing a new title component emphasizing the Iranian element, albeit in conjunction with the Babylonian title *šar Bābili*—is the identity of the agents who brought about this change under Xerxes.

Two distinct routes present themselves. Were we to assume that the model for Xerxes' Babylonian title might have been the old titles of Elam, that is, *sunkik anšan šušunka* "king of Anšan and Susa," or *hal-menik hatamtik āk šušenki* "(land)lord of Elam and Susa," then we would have to presume that the Achaemenid chancellery was responsible for this innovation, which may have been then introduced as normative into Babylonian practices.

Indeed, Xerxes' chancellery continued to redact minor royal inscriptions in the three languages of the empire—with their majority imitating the models established by Dareios—but there were also genuine new (bi- and trilingual) compositions, be it sections of the *harem* (XPf) and the *daiva* (XPh) inscriptions, or be it more subtle changes in the well known formulaic texts of the Babylonian version, such as XPc. As ably demonstrated by Michael Kozuh,[838] Achaemenid scribes and copyists were able to revise traditional formulae to befit their space requirement. An example in point is XPc^{b}, whose Babylonian version was—due to ideographic writing—shorter than the space allotted to it on the southern portico of the *tačara* palace in Persepolis,[839] hence prompting Achaemenid scribes to alter the usual Akkadian formula, in order to maintain the spatial symmetry between the three versions placed side by

Assur, the governor of Babylon, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad"; see Streck, *Assurbanipal*, 235–238.

[838] See Kozuh, "Persepolis Inscriptions," 266–270; also Herrenschmidt, "Deux Textes accadiens de Xerxès à Persépolis," 69.

[839] On the location of XPc in three copies: on the western (XPc^{a}) and eastern (XPc^{c}) *antae*, as well as the southern central façade (XPc^{b}) of the *tačara*, see Shahbazi, *Persepolis Platform*, map 2; on the Old Persian text, see Schmitt, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, 73–75; also Lecoq, *Inscriptions*, 253; for the Babylonian version, still Weissbach, *Keilinschriften*, III, § 1, ll. 4–8.

side.[840] Thus, whereas the Old Persian text states Xerxes was made by the greatness of Ahuramazdā: *aivam parūnām xšāyaθiyam aivam parūnām framātārām* "one king of many, one ruler of many,"[841] the Babylonian text usually read: *ištēn ina šarrāni madūtum ištēn mute"imu mādūtum* "one among the many kings, one of the many princes."[842] In XPc, however, this Babylonian passage was altered and increased in length to accommodate esthetic exigencies; instead it read: *šarru ša šarrāni mādūtum ša ēdiššīšu ana napḫar mātāti gabbi uta"ama,* "[Xerxes who was made] king of the many kings, he who alone governs over the totality of all the lands."[843] The royal chancellery's ability to redact new texts in Babylonian and Elamite, as exemplified in XPh and XPg, as well as its ability to make impromptu changes to traditional formulae, may indicate that in principle it possessed the expertise to introduce the new title of *šar māt Parsu u māt Mādaya* in Babylonia, which may, or may not, have been inspired by an Elamite model.

However, a second possibility exists. Babylonian scribes, well versed in the Babylonian literary tradition, and cognizant of the use of past royal titulatures in Mesopotamia, could have been responsible for the learned adoption of the old Babylonian title of *šar māt Šumeri u Akkadî.* To what extent this change was reflecting the desire of the Persian authority, or was owing to scribal decisions intrinsic to the Babylonian *Tempelgemeinden*, remains uncertain. Although this highly complex literary operation, that is, the composition of a new Achaemenid title, cast into the mold of Elamite or Babylonian titles of old, could have been conceived of by Persian authorities, in view of the local nature of this change, it was more likely undertaken by Babylonian scholars.[844] The more so as Babylonian scribes, presumably mindful of the use of the title *šar māt Šumeri u Akkadî* by Assyrian kings in the past, notably, by Assurbanipal, might have deemed the newly coined title *šar māt Parsu u*

[840] Kozuh, "Persepolis Inscriptions," 269–270.

[841] XPa, ll. 4–6; XPb, ll. 8–11; XPca, ll. 4–5; XPc^{b}, ll. 7–9; XPd^{a}, ll. 7–8; XPd^{b}, ll. 8–11; XPf, ll. 6–8; XPh, ll. 5–6.

[842] See Weissbach, *Keilinschriften*, 107, § 1, ll. 4–5.

[843] *Ibid.*, 111, § 1, ll. 4–8.

[844] See also, Rollinger, *Herodots babylonischer Logos*, 359: "Überhaupt erscheint es nicht unproblematisch, in den Titulaturen der Urkundendatierungen ausschließlich den Spiegel eines hochoffiziellen Aktes zu sehen, hinter dem sich eine vom König vorgegebene Staatsideologie bzw. gar die reale Verfaßtheit eines Staatswesens verbergen soll"; and 368: "Überhaupt ist die Annahme, in den Titulaturen der Urkundenformulare einen auf königlichen Erlaß zurückgehenden hochoffiziellen Akt zu sehen, dem sogar der Charakter eines Spiegels der verfassungsmässigen Realitäten zugeschrieben wird, nicht problematisch. Hier sind meistens in ebenso hohem Maße lokale Traditionen zu berücksichtigen, wobei es den Anschein hat, daß *auch den einzelnen Schreibern in einem gewissen Rahmen ein entsprechender Spielraum zur Verfügung stand* [emphasis mine]."

māt Mādaya—in spite of appearances pointing to a strengthening of the Iranian element in the titulature[845]—as a means of subtly revealing their opposition to the Persian suzerain,[846] by establishing a parallel between the dominion of the Assyrian and Achaemenid empires. Thus, the relevance of regal titles as indicative of vicissitudes and changes within the central authority's political designs and ideological postures remains subject to caution.[847]

To what extent, may we surmise, by basing ourselves upon the paradigm of Xerxes' title changes in Babylonia, did the Babylonian scribes possess a measure of literary latitude in the composition and usage of regal titles, and if so, to what extent may we assume that Achaemenid Babylonian practices may serve as a gauge in assessing Babylonian literary usages under the Arsacids? The complexity of title changes on Babylonian documents, be it under the Achaemenids, or be it under the Arsacids, having required intricate knowledge of the literary tradition, and the possession of things past, may hint to a degree of (literary) independence amongst Babylonian scribes of the Arsacid age.

Recapitulating the aforesaid, we may state that the introduction of the title *šar māt Parsu u māt Mādaya* under Xerxes may have drawn upon the Babylonian title of old, *šar māt Šumeri u Akkadî* (rather than the Elamite title of "king of Anšan and Susa"), and could be ascribed to Babylonian scribes, who were more likely responsible for its realization and attribution to Xerxes.

[845] *Ibid.*, 359: "es ließe sich höchstens an eine Aufwertung Persiens und Mediens denken, die nun mit Babylonien gemeinsam eine Trias bildeten, die bewußt einer sonst anonymen Ländermasse gegenübergestellt wird" See also Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, "Transitions," 315.

[846] This opposition could have either been the result of the possible demotion by Xerxes of the traditional social elites, which composed the ranks of the *kiništu* of Babylonian temples associated with the Esagila, or, as suggested by Kessler, could have been the cause of it, which, however, makes us wonder, what then the motivation for the opposition was to begin with: "[e]s könnte also sein, dass bei einer Restrukturierung des äußeren Tempelbereiches zahlreiche Positionen durch die königliche Verwaltung neu besetzt wurden. Die Träger dieser Ämter dürften zu einem wesentlichen Teil dann nicht mehr der Schicht der alten Elite angehören, welche noch die traditionellen Familiennamen führten. Folgt man solchen Überlegungen, so scheint der Schluss, dass die Restrukturierungen und der Austausch des kultischen Personals letztlich einer Bestrafung vieler der führenden Familien der *kiništu* von Babylon bzw. des Esagila-Tempels und vielleicht anderer nordbabylonischer Städte gleichkamen. Es ist dann auch unschwer zu vermuten, dass der von Babylon ausgehende Widerstand gegen Xerxes einer der wesentlichen Auslöser für diesen ganz Babylonien betreffenden kultischen Wechsel war"; see Kessler, "Urukäische Familien," 252–253. See also Stolper, "Achaemenid Legal Texts," 559–622.

[847] See Kessler, "Duplikate und Urkunden II," 262–263: "Die Belege zeigen, daß die Führung dieses oder jenes Titels offensichtlich mehr von bestimmten Schreibtraditionen und -Schulen abhängig war, als etwa von dem Diktat der persischen Verwaltung."

The Achaemenid evidence, therefore, may provide a precedent for the Arsacid era and validate the claim that Babylonian scribes operating under their Parthian rulers may have *also* enjoyed a comparable measure of literary freedom.

(5) Once more on the titulatures of Gōdarz I and Urūd I: An Achaemenid and Arsacid comparison

Above we have mentioned the possibility of the Babylonian scholars having had recourse to an Achaemenid *Vorlage* in composing the formulae used on cuneiform documents dated to the reigns of Gōdarz I and Urūd I. When comparing these formulae with those found in the *Diaries* of the Achaemenid period, wherein the given, as well as the throne, names of Persian sovereigns are mentioned:

Achaemenid formula	*Arsacid formulae*
Umakuš/Aršu ša Artakšatsu šarru/šar mātāti šumšu nabû	*Aršakâ / Aršakam (šarru/šar šarrāni) ša iṭṭarridu Gutarzâ/Urudâ (šarru)*
	Aršakâ šarru ša šumšu Gutarza
"Ochos/Arses who is called *Artaxerxes king/king of the lands"*	"Arsaces (king/king of kings) who is called Gōdarz/Urūd, (king)"
	"Arsaces (king/king of kings) whose name is Gōdarz, (king)"

the following pattern emerges:

Achaemenid formula	*Arsacid formulae*	
[given name]	[dynastic name]	[dynastic name]
—	[title:] (*šarru/šar šarrāni*)	[title:] *šarru*
ša	*ša iṭṭarridu*	*ša šumšu*
[throne name]	[throne name]	[throne name]
[title:] *šarru/šar mātāti*	[title:] (*šarru*)	—
šumšu nabû	—	—

The parallels are striking: in both cases a dynastic (*Aršakâ*) or a given (*Umakuš/Aršu*), name has been further specified by the addition of a throne name (*Gutarzâ/Urudâ*; or *Artakšatsu*), and either the same formula (*ša šumšu (nabû)*), or one expressing the same basic meaning (*ša iṭṭarridu*) was utilized. The inference is inescapable that the Babylonian scholars of the early Arsacid period who under Frahād II had resuscitated the old Achaemenid title *šar mātāti,* and changed the historical outcome of

the Persian–Macedonian conflict in favor of Dareios III in the *Dynastic Prophecy*, and who under Mihrdād II had furthermore resurrected the imperial title *šar šarrāni*, were also responsible for the resumption of the Achaemenid formula . . . *ša* . . . *šarru/šar mātāti šumšu nabû*, and its Arsacid equivalent . . . *ša iṭṭarridu* . . . If so, rather than consider the atypical use of a thone name under Gōdarz I and Frahād II as a means for two rival kings to differentiate their simultaneous rules beyond the use of a common dynastic name, we should merely see in it the desire of Babylonian scholars to emulate Achaemenid chancellery practices to underline their equation of the neo-Iranian Arsacid empire with its Achaemenid forebear.

Concluding remarks

In the present sub-chapter, we have investigated the evolution of the Achaemenid title "king of kings," as one of the three criteria which, we have argued,[848] would allow us to assess the reality of the Achaemenid political revival under the early Arsacids. We have demonstrated that the emergence of this title, with all its political implications, was prompted by the agency of Babylonian scholars, who alone in the ancient Orient possessed an uninterrupted link to the Achaemenid past.

In the following succinct sub-chapters, we shall turn our attention to the remaining two criteria for assuming an "Achaemenid program" under the early Arsacids, that is, Urūd II's large-scale invasion of Asia Minor, and Tacitus' report on Ardawān II's claim to Achaemenid territories.

(B) The Large-scale invasion of Asia Minor under Urūd II

Another indication for the Arsacid revival of Achaemenid tradition is seen in the large-scale campaign of conquest launched by Urūd II in 41/40 BCE, in the aftermath of the Roman defeat at Carrhae in 53 BCE. The invasion of Asia Minor led by prince Pakōr (*Pacorus*) and the Roman general in Arsacid service, Quintius Labienus,[849] which was undoubtedly the most ambitious offensive campaign ever attempted by the Arsacids,[850] and only comparable in scale to the war of conquest attempted by

[848] See above, 41.

[849] Quintius Labienus was the Roman ambassador sent by the commander-in-chief of Syria, Cassius, to the Arsacid court to negotiate an alliance with the Republican supporters; Labienus remained at the Arsacid court after the defeat of the Republicans at Philippi in 42 BCE.

[850] On Pakōr's campaign see Wolski, "Sur l'impérialisme," 643–644; and *L'empire*, 136–140; Dąbrowa, *Politique*, 32–37.

the Sasanian Husraw II against Byzantium, was, after initial success, thwarted by the Romans. It is of course possible to regard the Arsacid aggression in 41/40 as an attempt to revive the Achaemenid empire,[851] there is, however, no unequivocal evidence that would favor such an interpretation. Indeed, the Arsacid invasion of Asia Minor, which followed shortly after the conclusion of the Roman civil war, at a time when Roman dominion over its eastern possessions was fragile, may be explained as an opportunity to expand the Arsacid sphere of influence to the detriment of Rome without having to assume an ideologically motivated *Großmachtpolitik*.[852]

(C) Ardawān II's claim to the Achaemenid heritage

Thus, of the three arguments for the hypothesis of an "Achaemenid program" under the early Arsacids, the first two have proved to be inconclusive, which leaves us with Tacitus' account as the only argument for an Achaemenid revival.

When comparing Tacitus' report to those of Cassius Dio and Ammianus, we find striking similarities in both content and form,[853] as the following comparative and contrastive table illustrates:

[Tac. *Ann.* 6.31]	[D.C. 80.3.4]	[Amm. Marc. 17.5.5]
simul veteres Persorum ac Macedonum terminos, seque invasurum possessa primum Cyro et post Alexandro per vaniloquentiam ac minas iaciebat.	καὶ ἀπειλῶν ἀνακτήσεσθαι πάντα, ὡς καὶ προσήκοντά οἱ ἐκ προγόνων, ὅσα ποτὲ οἱ πάλαι Πέρσαι μέχρι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἔσχον	*ad usque Strymona flumen et Macedonicos fines tenuisse maiores* **imperium** *meos, antiquitates quoque vestrae testantur; haec me convenit flagitare . . . splendore virtutumque insignium serie, vetustis regibus antistantem.*

[851] Wolski and Dąbrowa are the principal proponents for the existence of a "great" Arsacid program—next to a "small" program aiming at dominion over Armenia, Adiabene, and Osrhoene—to revive the Achaemenid empire from the middle of the second century BCE to the fall of the empire; on both programs see, notably, Wolski, "Achéménides et Arsacides," 63–89; "Les Parthes," 460–461; "Die Parther," 146–149; "Sur l'impérialisme," 639–644; and *L'empire*, 97–140; and Dąbrowa, *Politique*, 102–122; 131–147; 155–167; 174–175; "Le programme," 149–165, especially 160–164; "Les héros," 313–314; and "Die Politik," 141–153.

[852] See Panitschek, "Achaemenidennachfolge," 467–492.

[853] See Calmeyer, "Zur Genese," 142–143.

"at the same time he threw vain talk and menaces with respect to **the old boundaries of the Persians and the Macedonians, and** that he would seize what was held first by **Cyrus** and afterwards by **Alexander.**"

"he (was) threatening to recover **all that the ancient Persians had once held** as far as the Greek Sea, on the grounds that all this belonged to **him** through his **ancestors.**"

"that **my forefathers' empire** reached as far as the river Strymon and the boundaries of Macedonia even your own ancient records bear witness; these lands it is fitting that I should demand, since . . . I surpass **the kings of old** in magnificence and array of conspicuous virtues."

In all three passages the arguments follow the same pattern: (1) an allusion is made to the boundaries of the dominion of ancient Persians (and Macedonians): *veteres Persorum ac Macedonum terminos . . . per vaniloquentiam ac minas iaciebat* (Tac.); *ἀπειλῶν ἀνακτήσεσθαι πάντα . . . ὅσα ποτέ οἱ πάλαι Πέρσαι μέχρι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἔσχον* (D.C.); *ad usque Strymona flumen et Macedonicos fines tenuisse maiores* imperium *meos* (Amm. Marc.); and then (2) the cause for the legitimate claim of the sovereign to recuperate contested territories is expressed, for they were once held by the ruler's ancestors: *seque invasurum possessa primum Cyro et post Alexandro* (Tac.)*; ὡς καὶ προσήκοντά οἱ ἐκ προγόνου* (D.C.); *haec me convenit flagitare . . . splendore virtutumque insignium serie, vetustis regibus antistantem* (Amm. Marc.).

In this context, it is noteworthy that Tacitus derives Ardawān II's territorial revendication from both the Achaemenid and Macedonian empires, whose founders, Cyrus and Alexander, are explicitly mentioned. In contrast, Dio and Ammianus refer solely to the Achaemenid empire, describing its confines, respectively, as the Greek Sea (*μέχρι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης*) and the boundaries of Macedonia (*Macedonicos fines*). Dio's and Ammianus' reports also concur in hinting at the rulers of the past without any precision, respectively: the ancient Persians (*οἱ πάλαι Πέρσαι*), who are subsequently qualified as Ardaxšīr's forefathers (*οἱ προγόνοι*), *and* the ancestors (*maiores*) who are later identified as the kings of old (*vestusti reges*). The fundamental difference between the three accounts resides in the fact that in Tacitus' account the Arsacid Ardawān II legitimizes his claim over disputed Roman territories by indiscriminately associating himself with Alexander and the Macedonians, that is, the Seleucids, Alexander's heirs in Iran, as well as with Cyrus and the Achaemenids, the representatives of "Iranism" proper. In contrast, in the accounts of Dio, Herodian, and Ammianus about Ardaxšīr and Šābuhr II,

the short-lived Macedonian and the following Seleucid empires are not mentioned.

These close parallels in structure and content notwithstanding, our classical sources appear to point to *two* radically discordant (literary) traditions as possible inspirations for their narratives. The divergence between the account of Tacitus and those of Dio/Herodian and Ammianus seems to mirror the contrast prevailing between the reception of Alexander as reflected in the Middle Persian Zoroastrian writings (Book Pahlavi) and in the Iranian national epic, the *Šāhnāme*, that is, the *dichotomy* between Alexander's negative image in the Zoroastrian tradition as opposed to his favorable portrayal in the national epic.

Thus, in the following two sections, I shall first investigate the Alexander image in the Middle Persian Zoroastrian writings and the *Šāhnāme,* then, I shall discuss the possible influence of these contrasting traditions upon the content of our classical sources.

(1) The Alexander image in the Middle Persian Zoroastrian writings

In the Middle Persian Zoroastrian writings, which are representative of the Sasanian attitude toward Alexander, his memory is despised and his (mis-)rule and oppression (*duš-xwadayīh*; *stahmagīh*); taken as a token of political division (*Ērānšahr pad 90 kadag-xwadāy baxt*), heresy, and loss of religious identity (*ēn dēn čiyōn hamāg Abestāg ud Zand . . . ōy ahlomoγ ī druwand . . . abar āwurd ud bē sōxt*), as the following passages from the *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān* (KAP), the *Bundahišn* (Bd.), the *Ardā Wīrāz Nāmag* (AWN), and the *Dēnkerd* (DkD) illustrate:

[KAP 1.6–7]

*ud Sāsān šubān ī Pābag būd ud hamwār abāg gōspandān būd ud az tōhmag ī Dārāy ī Dārāyān būd ud andar duš-xwadayīh ī Alaksandar *niyāgān ō wirēg ud nihān-rawišnīh ēstād ud abāg Kurdān šubānān raft*

"and Sasan was the shepherd of Pabāg and was always with the sheep, and was of the seed of Dārāy son of Dārāy, and under the misrule of Alexander, (his) ancestors took flight and were in hiding, and went with 'Kurdish' shepherds."

[KAP 7.6]

čē abāg stahmagīh ī Dahāg ud Frāsyāb ī Tūr ud Alaksandar ī Hrōmāyīg pas-iz yazdān padiš hunsand nē būd u-šān pad warz ud xwarrah ī xwēš ēdōn wany ud abaydāg kerd čiyōn ān ī ō gēhān āšnāg

"since the gods were not pleased with the oppression of Zahāk, Afrāsiyāb of Tūr, and Alexander the Roman, and by their own miraculous power and glory (the gods) destroyed and rendered them invisible as universally known."

[Bd. 33.14]

pas andar xwadāyīh ī Dārāy ī Dārāyān ****Aleksandar Kēsar*** *az Hrōm dwārist ō* ***Ērānšahr*** *āmad Dārāy ī šāh ōzad hamāg dūdag ī xwadāyān mēnōg-mardān ud paydāgān ud Ērānšahr abesīhēnīd was marag ātaxš afsārd dēn ī māzdēsnān Zand stad ō Hrōm frēstād Abestāg sōxt Ērānšahr pad 90 kōdag-xwadāy baxt*

"Thereafter, during the reign of Dārāy, son of Dārāy, **Alexander the Caesar** moved from Rome (and) came to Iran. (He) killed king Dārāy, destroyed all the families of the lords, spiritual men, and illustrious people of Iran. **He extinguished numerous fires, seized the Zand (Exegesis) of the Madayasnian religion and sent it to Rome, burnt the Avesta, (and) divided Iran among 90 house-rulers.**"

[AWN i.1–7]

ēdōn gōwēnd kū ēw-bār ahlaw Zarduxšt dēn padirift andar gēhān rawāg be kerd tā bowandagīh [ī] sē sad sāl dēn abēzagīh ud mardōm andar abēgumānīh būd hēnd ud pas gizistag gannāg mēnōg ī druwand gumān kerdan ī mardōmān pad ēn dēn rāy ān ***gizistag Aleksandar ī Hrōmāyīg ī Muzrāyīg mānišn*** *wiyābānēnīd ī pad garān sēzd ud nibard ud yask ō Ērānšahr āmad uš ōy Ērān dehbed ōzad ud dar ud xwadāyīh wišuft ud awērān kerd ud ēn dēn čiyōn hamāg Abestāg* ***ud Zand*** *abar gāw pōstīhā ī wirāstag ud pad āb ī zarr nibištag andar Staxr Pābagān pad Diz Nibišt nihād ēstād ud ōy petyārag ī wadbaxt ī ahlomoγ ī druwand ī anāg-kerdār Aleksandar ī Hrōmāyīg ī Muzrāyīg mānišn abar āwurd ud be sōxt ud čand dastwarān ud dādwarān ud hērbedān ud mowbedān ud dēn-burdārān ud abzārōmandān ud dānāgān ī Ērānšahr rāy be kušt ud mehān ud kadag-xwadāyān ī Ērānšahr ēk abāg did kēn ud anāštih ō mayān abgand ud xwad škast ō dušox dwārist.*

"Thus it is said that once the righteous Zarathustra propagated in the world the religion that he received, upon the completion of three hundred years, the religion was in purity and the people (were) in freedom from doubt; and then, the accursed, wicked, Evil Spirit, in order to make people doubt the religion, deceived **the accursed Alexander, the Roman who lived in Egypt,** who came to the empire of Iran (*Ērānšahr*) with severe tyranny, war, and illness; he (Alexander) killed the lords (*dehbed*) of Iran, and destroyed and laid waste the court and the sovereignty; and **this religion, that is, all of Avesta and the Zand (Exegesis)** were written with golden ink upon cow hides (and) deposed in the Staxr of Pābag, at the "Fortress of Writings" (*Diz Nibišt*), {and} **that adversary (*petyārag*) of bad fortune, (that) heretic, sinful, evil-doer, Alexander, the Roman who lived in Egypt, took (them) away and burnt them;** and he **(Alexander) killed numerous (theological) authorities, judges, priests (*hērbed* and *mowbed*), and faithful, able, and wise people of Iran (*Ērānšahr*);** and he **threw among the grandees and petty lords (*kadag-xwadāy*) hate and discord, one with another;** and he himself was broken and ran back into Hell."

[DkD, 511, ll. 1–8]

*Dārāy ī Dārāyān hamāg Abestāg ud Zand čiyōn Zardušt az Ōhrmazd padīrift nibištag 2 paččēn, yak pad ganj ī *šāhīgān yak pad diz ī nibišt dāštan framūd.*

Walaxš ī Aškānān Abestāg ud Zand čiyōn abēzagīhā andar āmad ēstād hammōg-iz ī aziš harw čē az wizend ud āšuftkārīh ī Aleksandar ud ēwār ud rōb ī Hrōmāyān andar Ērānšahr pargandagīhā abar nibištag tā čē uzwān abespārīšnīg pad dastwar mānd ēstād andar šahr čiyōn frāz āmad ēstād nigāh dāštan ō šahrīhā ayādgār kerdan framūd.

"Dārāy, son of Dārāy, ordered that two written copies of **all of Avesta and the Zand** (Exegesis), as **Zarathustra** had received them from (God) **Ōhrmazd**, be kept, one in the royal treasury, and one in the fortress of writings.

Walaxš, the Arsacid, ordered the provinces to remember preserving the Avesta and the Zand (Exegesis), as they had come down in purity, also all teaching from it, which remained in authority, following **the harm and desolation of Alexander and the plundering and robbery of the Romans** (= Macedonians), in Ērānšahr in scattered form in writing, or even oral transmission, as soon as they came forward in the empire."[854]

(2) *The Alexander image in the Šāhnāme*

In contrast, the *Šāhnāme*, the receptacle of old Iranian oral epic tradition,[855] has kept the memory of Alexander in an extremely favorable light. In the *Šāhnāme*, Alexander is depicted as the legitimate successor to the two Dārā(s): supposedly Dareios I and Dareios III. Alexander is illustrated as the son of Dareios I and the daughter of Philip of Macedonia and the half-brother of Dareios III. In the *Šāhnāme*, not only are the two representatives of the Achaemenid empire known to the Arsacids attached to the Kayanian cycle, but so is Dareios III's victor, Alexander, who is blended with the Achaemenids and, consequently, the Kayanians, through his filiation with Dārā (Dareios I). In the *Šāhnāme*, Alexander is a Persian prince, a legitimate pretender, who, after having defeated his half-brother Dārā (Dareios III) in several battles, assumes rightfully the Kayanian throne, which Dārā (Dareios III), before passing away, bestows upon him.

[854] On this passage and other excerpts from the *Dēnkerd* mentioning the desolation brought by Alexander and the damage caused to the Avesta and its Exegesis see Boyce, *Zoroastrianism*, vol. I, 16–17, n. 70; Shaki, "Dēnkart," 114–125; Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 7–9; 31–34; also Nyberg, *Religionen*, 422–426; for a translation of some of these passages see de Menasce, *Dēnkart*, 317–318; 379; also Molé, *Légende*, 71; 111; and more recently Gignoux, "Démonisation," 89–95

[855] On the orality of the *Šāhnāme*, see the authoritative study by Davidson, Poet and Hero, 19–72 and 168–169; also "Shânâmeh and Burden of Past," 63–68; "Formulaic Analysis," 88–105. On recent works on the orality of the Iranian epic tradition, see notably Skjærvø, "Reflexes," 269–286; "Aži Dahāka," 533–549; "Importance of Orality," 9–31; "Achaemenids and Avesta," 52–81; "Epic Traditions I" 545–658; "Royalty" 99–107; "Irano-Manichaica IV," 597–628; "Irano-Manichaica III," 187–223; and "Avestan Quotations," 1–64.

In the following, the *Šāhnāme* relates the return of Nāhīd, Philip's daughter, to her father consequent upon her repudiation by Dārā (Dareios I); she is told to carry the unborn child Alexander in her womb:

[Š-KhM,V. 524, ll. 105–108]

دل پادشا سرد گشت از عروس
فرستاد بازش بر فیلقوس

"The heart of the king turned cold with the bride,
(and so) he sent her back to Philip.

غمی دختر و کودکی در نهان
نگفت آن سخن با کس اندر جهان

The girl was sad and in secret (pregnant) with a child,
of which she told no one in the world.

چو نه ماه بگذشت بر خوب چهر
یکی کودک آمد چو تابنده مهر

As nine months had passed, to the fair beauty
was born a child radiant as the sun.

به بالای اروند و بویا برش
سکندر همیخواندی مادرش

Because of his heroic height and his fragrant breath
his mother called him Alexander."

In order to conceal Alexander's real ancestry Philip pretends to be his father:

[Š-KhM,V. 524, ll. 110–111]

همی گفت قیصر به هر مهتری
که پیدا شد از تخم من قیصری

"The Caesar told every grandee:
'there has appeared a Caesar from my seed.'

نیاورد کس نام دارا به بر
سکندر پسر بود و قیصر پدر

No one evoked the name of Dārā:
Alexander was the son and Caesar the father."

Meanwhile, another spouse of Dārā's (Dareios I) gave birth to another son, who was also called Dārā (Dareios III) and designated to succeed him:

[Š-KhM,V. 525, ll. 126–128]

و از آن پس که ناهید نزد پدر
بیامد زنی خواست دارا دگر

"And after Nāhīd had returned to her father,
Dārā took another wife.

یکی کودک آمدش با فر و یال
ز فرزند ناهید کهتر به سال

To him was born a child with glory and force,
lesser in years than Nāhīd's child.

همان روز داراش کردند نام
که تا از پدرش بیش باشد به کام

The same day he was named Dārā,
so that he might be yet more fortunate than his father."

Alexander having defeated his brother in three battles, arrives on time to receive the last advice of his moribund half-brother Dārā mortally stabbed by his own followers. In this passage, which ostensibly follows the story pattern of Pseudo-Callisthenes, many of the same themes that occur in Zoroastrian writings in guise of grievances held against Alexander, resurface in the *Šāhnāme* not as calamities perpetrated by Alexander, but as responsibilities the latter promises to Dārā to uphold:

[Š-KhM, V. 557, ll. 370–382]

نگه کن به فرزند و پیوند من
به پوشیدگان خردمند من

"[Dārā:] 'Look after my children and kindred,
after my wise consorts;

ز من پاک تن دختر من بخواه
بدارش به آرام در پیشگاه

ask me for my chaste daughter('s hand)
hold her in peace in the foremost place,

کجا مادرش روشنک نام کرد
جهان را بدو شاد و پدرام کرد

whom her mother called Rōšanak
(and) made the world happy and fair to her.

نیاری به فرزند من سرزنش
نه بیغاره از مردم بدکنش

Do not reproach my child,
nor (expose) her to aversion from people with evil deeds,

و پرورده ی شهریاران بود
به رای افسر نامداران بود

for (she) was fostered by kings
and was voted to be the crown of the eminent ones.

مگر زو ببینی یکی نامدار
کجا نو کند نام اسفندیار

Unless you see (born) to her an eminent one,
who shall revive the renown of Esfandyār,

بیاراید این آتاش زردهشت
بگیرد همین زند و اوستا به مشت

shall arrange this fire of Zarathustra,
shall hold in his fist these very Avesta and Zand,

نگهدارد این فال جشن سده
همین فر نوروز و آتشکده

shall preserve this omen of the Feast of Sada,
and this very glory of Nōwrōz and Fire-temples,

همان اورمزد مه و روز مهر
بشوید به آب خرد جان و چهر

(on) that very month of Ōhrmazd and day of Mihr,
shall wash his soul and face in the water of wisdom,

کند تازه آیین لهراسپی
بماند پی دین گشتاسپی

shall restore the customs of Lohrāsp,
shall abide by the religion of Goštāsp,

مهان را مه دارد و که به که
بود دین فروزنده و روزبه

shall hold the great ones as great and the lesser ones as less (and so) shall the religion remain luminous and auspicious!

سکندر چنین داد پاسخ بدوی
که ای نیک دل خسرو راست گوی

Alexander answered thus to him:
'O sovereign of kind heart and true speech

پذیرفتم این پند و اندرز تو

I hereby accept this counsel and advice of yours.'"

The *Šāhnāme* also narrates how following Dareios' demise, Alexander wrote to the potentates, magnates, and magi of the realm letters of apology (for Dareios' death) and reconciliation, and caution to respect his authority:

[Š-KhM,V. 562, ll. 415–419]

نبشتند نامه به هر کشوری
به هر نامداری و هر مهتری

"They wrote letters to every province,
to all illustrious people and grandees,

از اسکندر فیلقوس بزرگ
جهانگیر و با کینه جویان سترگ

from Alexander, son of Philip, the Great, conqueror of the world, and stern with those seeking revenge,

سوی موبدان نامه یی همچنین
پرافروزش و پوزش و آفرین

to the magi also a letter (was written),
full of brilliancy, repentance, and praise,

سر نامه از پادشاه کیان
سوی کارداران ایرانیان

the letter head (being): 'from the Kayanian king
to all the leaders of the Iranians.'"

[Š-KhM,V. 563, ll. 434–436]

پر از درد داراست روشن دلم
بکوشم کزاندرز او نگسلم

"My ardent heart is afflicted with sorrow for Dareios
I shall strive not to break with his behest.

هر آنکس آید بدین بارگاه
درم یابد و ارج و تخت و کلاه

Whoever comes to this court
shall find Drachms, honor, throne, and rank,

چو خواهد که باشد به ایوان خویش
نگردد گریزانز پیمان خویش

if he desires to abide in his own house
he should not desert his sermon (of fidelity)."

[Š-KhM,V. 564, ll. 438–439]

درم را به نام سکندر زنید
بکوشید و پیمان ما مشکنید

"Strike the Drachm with Alexander's name, be diligent and do not break the sermon to us,

نشستنگه شهریاران خویش
بسازید زین پس به آیین پیش

the seat of your kings, forge
henceforth in accord to **the customs of old.**"

[Š-KhM,V. 565, ll. 456–458]

کسی کو ز فرمان ما بگزرد
به فرجام از آن کار کیفر برد

"Whoever transgresses our commands
at the end will be punished on account of it.

چو نامه فرستاده شد بر گرفت
جهانی به آرام از آن کار کیفر بر گرفت

As the letter was dispatched,
he took serenely possession of the world,

ز کرمان بیامد به شهر سطخر
به سر بر نهاد آن کیی تاج فخر

he came from Kermān to the city of Staxr,
(and) placed **on his head that Kayanian glorious crown.**"

The contrasts between the two corpora are indeed striking: whereas the Middle Persian texts denounce Alexander as having extinguished numerous (Zoroastrian) fires, the *Šāhnāme* praises Alexander for pledging to Dareios that under the rule of his (future) son the glory of the fire-temples will be maintained and the fire of Zarathustra will be prepared:

was marag ātaxš afsārd

"He (Alexander) **extinguished** manifold fires."

مگر زو ببینی یکی نامدار . . .
. . . بیاراید این آتش زردهشت

"unless you see (born) to her an illustrious one . . . (who) **shall arrange** this **fire of Zarathustra,**"

(نگهدارد) همین فر نوروز و آتاشکده

"(who **shall preserve**) this very glory of Nōwrōz and the **Fire-temples.**"

Whereas the Middle Persian texts charge Alexander with the burning of the Avesta and the Zand, accuse him of the loss of religious and national identity, in the *Šāhnāme*, he promises to uphold the Avesta and the Zand and the old ways:

dēn ī māzdēsnēn Zand stad ō Hrōm frēstād Abestāg sōxt

"[Alexander] **seized the Zand (Exegesis)** of the Madayasnian religion **and sent it to** Rome [and] **burnt the Avesta.**"

بگیرد همین زند و اوستا به مشت

"(who shall) always **hold in his fist these Avesta and Zand (Exegesis).**"

ud . . . Abestāg ud Zand . . . Aleksandar ī Hrōmāyīg ī Muzrāyīg mānišn abar āwurd ud be sōxt

"and . . . **the Avesta and the Zand** . . . Alexander, the Roman who lived in Egypt, took (them) away and burnt."

. . . کند تازه آیین لهراسپی
بماند پی دین گشتاسپی

". . . (who) **shall restore the customs of Lohrāsp,**
shall abide by the religion of Goštāsp."

In the Middle Persian literature, Alexander is accused of killing religious authorities, judges, magi, believers, and skilled people of the realm, but the *Šāhnāme* relates how Alexander sent out apologetic and conciliatory letters to the grandees, magi, and leaders of the realm summoning them to his court, where honors and good fortune would await them:

ud čand dastwarān ud dādwarān ud	نبشتند نامه به هر کشوری به هر نامداری و هر مهتری
	از اسکندر فیلقوس بزرگ . . .
herbadān ud mowbedān ud	سوی موبدان نامه یی همچنین
	پرافروزش و پوزش و آفرش
	سر نامه از پادشاه کیان
dēn-burdārān ud abzārōmandān ud dānāgān ī Ērānšahr rāy	سوی کاردران ایرانیان
	هر ان کس که آید بدین بارگاه
be kušt	درم یابد و ارج و تخت و کلاه[856]
"and (Alexander) **killed** numerous **religious authorities, judges, priests, believers, skilled people, and wise men of Iran (Ērānšahr).**"	"they wrote letters to every province, to **all illustrious people and grandees** from Alexander, son of Philip, the Great . . . and also to **the magi** a letter, full of brilliancy, repentance, and praise, the letter head (being): 'from the Kayanian king, to **all the leaders of the Iranians** . . . Whoever comes to this court **shall find Drachms, honor, throne, and rank**."

(3) Tacitus' account: Fiction or reality? Conclusions

Where do these conflicting representations of Alexander come from?[857]

The *negative* appraisal of Alexander has been hitherto ascribed to a hostile Zoroastrian priestly tradition, which (1) had kept alive some (vague) memories of Alexander's wicked deeds from old,[858] or (2) projected the

[856] See a passage of NPi (H7.05–H15.05), pointed out to me by Skjærvø, where a similar formula is used by king Narseh: *ud hamāg šahr pad nōg xwāhām ud kē xwēš ō dar ī amā āyād ēnyā *frēstag ud dāšn ud nibēg ud nibāg *padistāwagān ō dar ī [amā frēstād ōy hus]rawīh ud xīr ī any gōnag dārād* "And We claimed the whole realm anew. And whoever comes to Our Court himself or [sends?] envoys, presents, letters, [and] promises of hostages to [Our] Court, he would have fame and other things."

[857] On the entire dossier of the Alexander reception in Pre- and early Islamic Iran, see Briant, *Darius*, 443–521; and now authoritatively Wiesehöfer, "Accursed and Adventurer," *forthcoming*; I am very grateful to Josef Wiesehöfer for graciously making the draft of his forthcoming paper available to me.

[858] See Frye, "Two Iranian Notes," 187–188; Gignoux, "Démonisation," 87–98; Briant, *Darius*, 455–459; Gaillard, *Dârâb Nâmeh*, 20–22; most recently Wiesehöfer, "Accursed and Adventurer," especially iii. *Alexander Gizistag*, where the author rightly points to the historical circumstances that may have conditioned the negative reception of Alexander already in Iranian antiquity: "No, the emergence and the broad and enduring effect of the negative Alexander-image may only be

aversion Romans (Christians) inspired in the Zoroastrian priesthood during the Sasanian period onto Alexander.[859]

The *positive* appreciation of Alexander has also been variously interpreted as (1) an independent folkloric/epic tendency (of old) that assimilated Alexander to the Iranian national tradition and co-existed alongside of the hostile sacerdotal tradition;[860] (2) the consequence of a favorable reception, in the late Sasanian period (*post* sixth century CE), of the Alexander romance,[861] whose positive portrayal of Alexander enjoyed popularity within the aristocratic milieu;[862] (3) the result of a "patriotic" response, in the early Islamic period, to the challenge of the presumed Pahlavi translation of the Alexander Romance, in which Alexander is represented as the son of the Egyptian Pharaoh;[863] (4) the work of Iranian Zoroastrian priests

understood, if the Zoroastrian allegations, despite all exaggerations and elaborations, could be substantiated by the historical fact of atrocities committed by Alexander in Iran. This does not mean that the concrete allegations had to have their respective origin in Alexander's own time; it only means that the image of Alexander as evildoer had to have arisen in Zoroastrian circles in Iran during his lifetime." Compare Ciancaglini, "Alessandro e l'incendio," 59–81 who subscribes to the view that the negative Alexander image emerged in the late Sasanian and early Islamic periods.

859 See Nöldeke, "Geschichte des Artachšîr," 36, n. 1: "Es ist mir nicht zweifelhaft, dass die Irânier keine eignen Erinnerungen von Alexander bewahrt haben . . . [e]ntscheidend ist, dass Alexander auch im Pehlewi immer den Beinamen 'der Römer' hat; der Name ist den Persern also erst wieder bekannt geworden, als die Römer, nicht Griechen oder Macedonier ihre politischen und geistigen Gegner waren. Die Parsenpriester haben dann ihren Römer-, vielleicht auch Christenhass auf Alexanders Person abgeladen und ihn zum Zerstörer ihrer heiligen Literatur gemacht."

860 See Frye, "Two Iranian Notes," 187–188: "More likely is the folkloric tendency to assimilate Alexander to the Iranian national tradition, such that one may postulate two Iranian traditions side by side, one of folklore which made Alexander a scion of the Achaemenid kings and an Iranian hero, while the priestly tradition maintained the historic picture of Alexander as the destroyer of not only the Iranian kingdoms, but also of the Iranian culture and sacred writings." It is certainly noteworthy that even the oral epic tradition, as reflected in the *Šāhnāme*, does depict within a predominantly positive context traces of a hostile Alexander portrayal that may have originated from the (Sasanian) sacerdotal tradition, or directly from an oral precedent. On the ambiguity/duality of the Alexander image in the *Šāhnāme*, see Yamanaka, "Ambiguïté," 341–365, especially the conclusion, 353: "ainsi, on peut voir dans l'ambiguïté de la figure d'Alexandre chez Firdaswī une rencontre de traditions contradictories: Alexandre le héros du roman Pseudo-Callisthenien et Alexandre le démon de la tradition sassanide coexistent dans la même épopée"; Briant, *Darius*, 468–469; Gaillard, *Dârâb Nâmeh*, 17–19; and Wiesehöfer, "Accursed and Adventurer," *forthcoming*. On Alexander's Iranian lineage in the *Dārāb Nāme*, Gaillard, *Dârâb Nâmeh*, 22–28.

861 See Nöldeke, "Geschichte des Alexanderromans," 34–35, and 34, n. 1; and Wiesehöfer, "Accursed and Adventurer," *forthcoming*.

862 See Wiesehöfer, *Dunkele Jahrhunderte*, 19–20; "Accursed and Adventurer," *forthcoming*.

863 See Boyce and Grenet, *Zoroastrianism*, vol. III, 60, n. 40, where the author states: "The story about Alexander's birth which appears in Iranian versions of the Alexander romance belongs to a later age . . . [t]his story was apparently invented in early Islamic times in imitation of the Egyptian one preserved by Pseudo-Callisthenes, which made Alexander's real father the last Egyptian Pharaoh. This Egyptian fabrication was evidently reproduced in the lost Pahlavi version of Pseudo-Callisthenes, for it is found in its 6th-century Syriac translation. It thus came to offer a challenge

in the early Islamic period who, while translating Middle Persian texts such as the *Xwadāy-nāmag* into Arabic, also changed the prevailing hostile attitude towards Alexander, so as to please the Arab conquerors, who associated Alexander with the favorable figure of the Koranic *Ḏū l-Qarnayn*[864]; (5) the consequence of a gradual assimilation of the Alexander image as a "prophet of universality," which already existed in pre-Islamic Iran through the reception of the Alexander Romance and the Armenian and Talmudic traditions, but was intensified in the Islamic period, when identified with the Koranic *Ḏū l-Qarnayn*, and was finally completed in Neẓāmī's *Eskandar-nāme*.[865]

These interpretations may be summarized as follows: (1) the favorable and hostile attitudes toward Alexander resulted from co-existing and diverging traditions of old that represented different social groups (priesthood/nobility) and distincts paths of transmission (literary/oral tradition(s)); (2) the negative attitude was the original, but was revised under the reception of the favorable Alexander Romance; (3) the negative attitude was the original, but was altered in the early Islamic period for various reasons.

As for (1), even assuming that the memory of Alexander's evil deeds survived in ancient Iran, we still have to explain for what reason he was included in the national history despite the prevailing negative attitude towards him. A simplistic argument is that the *Persianization* of Alexander effaced the memory of the Iranian defeat by turning Alexander into an indigenous prince, the legitimate heir to the Persian throne rather than its conqueror. However, I believe that more tangible political motives were responsible for the assimilation of Alexander, aside from the sensible desire to redeem the history of past defeats.

As for (2), assuming that the Alexander Romance decisively influenced the Alexander image in Iran,[866] we still must unravel why the Alexander

to Iranian patriotism, and the parallel Iranian fiction was presumably forged in response to it." On Nectanebo, see more recently Stoneman, *Alexander*, 6–26.

[864] See Shahbazi *apud* Frye, "Two Iranian Notes," 187–188, n. 5. On the association of Alexander with the Koranic *Ḏū l-Qarnayn*, see Southgate, *Iskandarnamah*, 196–201; Hanaway, "Eskandar-nāma," 609–612; also Doufikar-Aerts, "Pharos," 191–202. More recently, see the fascinating study of van Bladel, "Alexander Legend in Qur'ān," 175–203, in particular the conclusions on 195–196; and "Syriac Sources," 58–61; 65–67.

[865] See Abel, "Figure d'Alexandre," 119–134; see especially the resumé and the conclusions on 119, 134; for the various currents responsible for the gradual assimilation of Alexander in Iran, see 120–121, also 123–124; see also de Polignac, "Cosmocrator," 149–164. On Neẓāmī's *Eskandar-Nāme*, see de Blois, "Eskandar-Nāma," 612–614; de Fouchécour, "Macédonien iranisé," especially 235–241; Casari, *Alessandro e Utopia*, 3–84; Beelaert, "Alexandre," 243–252.

[866] On the Alexander Romance in general, still valuable is Ausfeld, *Alexanderroman*, 8–28; more recently, see Franco "Romanzo di Allessandro," 45–102, especially 80–87. On the Greek recensions

Romance was favorably received in a Sasanian Iran whose priesthood demonized Alexander and whose kings, after the recuperation of Alexander by Rome in the late Republic, must have considered Alexander as a Roman king/hero—as Alexander's Middle Persian epithet *Hrōmīg* "the Roman" clearly suggests.

Concerning (3), notwithstanding Abel's commanding demonstration,[867] as long as all sources that might account for the favorable perception of Alexander from within the traditions of ancient Iran have not been fully exploited, interpretations ascribing it to the Islamic period will remain a matter of conjecture.

of the Alexander Romance, see *ibid.*, 47–56; and the recent exhaustive study of Jouanno, *Naissance et métamorphoses*, 13–55 (α), 247–303 (β), 305–338 (λ), 339–440 (ε), 441–462 (γ); on the sources and the *Überlieferung* of the Alexander Romance, see still Merkelbach, *Quellen*, 11–74; Jouanno, *Naissance et métamorphoses*, 17–26. For the interplay of history, epic, and fiction in the Romance, see Franco, "Romanzo di Allessando," 57–75, and Jouanno, *Naissance et métamorphoses*, 127–243. On the Alexander reception in Syriac sources, see now conveniently van Bladel, "Syriac Sources," 56–57. On the thorny issue of the dependence of the Syriac Alexander Romance upon a presumed Pahlavi *Vorlage*, compare Frye, "Two Iranian Notes," 185–188; and Gignoux, "Démonisation," 89, for a critique. In the same vein, compare also the recent studies of Ciancaglini, "Antecedenti," 55–93; and the later revised English version, to which we refer, Ciancaglini, "Syriac Version," 121–140, wherein the author attempts to debunk the theory established by Theodor Nöldeke, according to which the Syriac Alexander Romance was based on a lost Middle Persian translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes (recensions α). Following a philological discussion (and refutation) of Nöldeke's thesis, the author rejects the notion of the Pahlavi version being the antecedent of the Syriac Romance, and explains the Persianisms therein, which theretofore were partially considered as a token of the Syriac Romance's dependence on the Middle Persian *Vorlage*, as indicative of its author's Nestorian background: "Persian glosses cannot be used as proof that there existed an intermediary Pahlavi or Middle Persian version between the original Greek and the Syriac text; instead they indicate that the Syriac translator had quite a good knowledge of the Persian"; see *ibid.*, 130 and 138–139. Ciancaglini's arguments have been strongly and persuasively criticized by van Bladel, "Syriac Sources," 61–64. There is, however additional material that may be induced to substantiate Nöldeke's old hypothesis. In a most recent study, Weber, "Fragment des Alexanderromans," 307–318, has introduced the fragment of a hitherto unpublished Pahlavi papyrus from Egypt that refers to the Alexander Romance. It may therefore represent the first tangible proof for the existence of the Romance's Pahlavi version, whose mere assumption has mostly led to recent attempts at dissociating the Syriac version from it. The first lines of the fragment in question (P. Pehl. 371) read: */1/ *Timā'ōs Sāmāyīg ēn gowišn ō Aleksandar Ka[ysar] /2/ guft ud Aleksandar Kaysar xešm nē grift*, "*Timaios, the Samian said this saying to Alexander the Caesar, and anger did not befall Alexander the Caesar." Despite Weber's justified cautionary tone, he clearly indicates the importance of this find: "wir dürfen allerdings festhalten, dass mit diesem Fragment die alte Postulierung einer (frühen) Pahlavi-Version . . . zum ersten Mal seine Bestätigung findet." On the possible dependency of the Arabic Alexander reception upon the Syriac tradition, see Doufikar-Aerts, "Derniers jours d'Alexandre," 61–75; on the recently discovered Arabic Alexander Romance, see Doufiker-Aerts, "Alexander Magnus Arabicus." Most recently, see the exhaustive study of Zuwiya, "Alexander Romance," *forthcoming*. On the Egyptian Alexander Romance, see still Macuch, "Egyptian Sources," 503–511. For an English translation of the Romance, see Haight, *Life of Alexander;* for a more recent (French) translation, see Bounoure and Serret, *Pseudo-Callisthène;* on the Armenian version of the Romance, see Wolohojian, *Romance of Alexander.*

867 See Abel, "Figure d'Alexandre," 119–134.

We may therefore suggest that the favorable reception of the Alexander Romance in Iran may be accounted for, were we to assume that a positive image of Alexander—offering a quiescent predisposition towards the assimilation of the Alexander Romance—existed prior to the emergence of the Romance and its reception in Iran. One may further submit that this predisposition came first into existence under the early Arsacids, who, when confronted with the expanding Roman empire in the aftermath of the Mithridatic wars, claimed simultaneously the double heritage of Alexander and the Seleucids, as well as that of Cyrus and the Achaemenids. The recuperation of Alexander and his subsequent association with the Achaemenids in the political ideology of the Arsacids is not only attested in Tacitus' account, but also in the *Šāhnāme*. That this favorable portrayal of Alexander was able to survive, in the face of the prevailing hostile literary tradition of the clergy, supports Frye's assumption that its path of transmission was probably oral.[868] Indeed, it seems that we have to presume two co-existing traditions: a positive oral epic tradition, which, as Tacitus' account bears witness, was an Arsacid creation, and a hostile literary priestly tradition that probably imposed a *damnatio memoriae* on Alexander under the early Sasanians, parallel with, or in reaction to, Rome's reclaiming of the Alexander mystique—as witnessed by the vigor of the *imitatio Alexandri* in Rome and the increasing association of Alexander with the epithet *Hrōmīg* "Roman," in Middle Persian texts, that is, the Roman foe.

The assimilation of Alexander into the oral epic tradition under the Arsacids—coinciding with the "long expanse of Parthian rule, while the Iranian legendary history, as developed in the east, was being cultivated by Parthian princes and their vassal courts"[869]—was undoubtedly responsible for the favorable reception of the Alexander Romance under the Sasanians to the extent that whatever accounts of Alexander were preserved in the epic tradition prior to the reception of the Romance were recast into the mold of the Alexander Romance and subsequently re-incorporated into the oral literature. Intriguingly, while the tales about Alexander, as recorded in the epic tradition, were for the most part adjusted to the *story pattern* of the Alexander Romance—a notable exception is the story of Alexander's Egyptian extraction, which was replaced by one exposing his Persian lineage—they still shared with the hostile Zoroastrian tradition various *themes and formulae*.[870]

[868] See Frye, "Two Iranian Notes," 187–188.

[869] Yarshater, "Iranian National History," 390.

[870] In the Middle Persian text *Ardā Wīrāz Nāmag*, Alexander is called *Aleksandar ī Hrōmāyig ī Muzrāyig mānišn* "Alexander, the Roman, *who lived in Egypt*." The epithet *Muzrāyig mānišn*

Thus, the presence of a positive Alexander image in the *Šāhnāme,* which ultimately reflects the favorable image of the Macedonian in the Arsacid period, in contrast to the hostile attitude of Zoroastrian writings in the Sasanian period, seems to mirror the difference between the account of Tacitus, in which the Arsacid Ardawān II legitimizes his claim over disputed Roman territories by indiscriminately associating himself with Alexander and Cyrus, and those of Dio/Herodian and Ammianus reporting on Ardaxšīr and Šābuhr II, who exclusively mention their (Achaemenid) ancestors without any reference to the short lived Macedonian and Seleucid empires.

However, we still have to investigate whether the fact that the Arsacids referred to the Achaemenids and Alexander as part of their political ideology also warrants the postulate of continuity of an Achaemenid culture in Iran, that is, whether this fact alone constitutes a proof for the emergence of a historical consciousness on the part of the Arsacids. Or, are there any historical precedents for the *simultaneous* use of the Achaemenid and Hellenistic legacies as the cornerstone of an ideological discourse that could have served to shape Arsacid political thought. In the following section, we hope to shed some light on the above discussion.

III. MITHRIDATES VI EUPATOR OF PONTOS

In his short description of the Parthian empire,[871] Justin describes the prestige Aršak, the eponymous founder of the Arsacid dynasty, enjoyed after his death:

[Just. 41.5–6]
sic Arsaces quaesito simul constitutoque regno non minus memorabilis Parthis quam Persis Cyrus Macedonibus Alexander Romanis Romulus matura senectute decedit . . .

"Thus, Arsaces having acquired and, at the same time, established a kingdom, and having **become no less memorable among the Parthians than Cyrus among the Persians, Alexander among the Macedonians,** and Romulus among the Romans, died at a mature age . . ."

In this passage, which may compare with that of Tacitus, a reference is given, in the guise of a comparison between Arsaces (*Aršak*) and

seems to indicate that Middle Persian Zoroastrian writings were exposed to the Greek Alexander Romance, in which Alexander is presented as the son of the Egyptian Pharaoh Nectanebos (Ps.-Callisth. 1.1–14), without being notably affected by the positive tenor of it, as their ongoing hostile discourse towards Alexander shows.

[871] See Liebmann-Frankfort, "Histoire des Parthes," 894–922.

the founders of preceding empires, to the constituting components of Parthian dynastic legitimacy, that is, Cyrus and Alexander, the Persians (=Achaemenids) and the Macedonians. That the association of Arsaces with the Achaemenids and the Macedonians is a later fabrication can be assumed for now, but we shall substantiate it below.[872]

Now compare Justin's record of the speech delivered by the Pontic king Mithridates VI Eupator on the eve of the first Mithridatic war (89–85 BCE), in which he emphasizes his double descent from Iranian and Macedonian kings:

[Just. 38.7]
se autem seu nobilitate illis conparetur clariorem illa conluvie convenarum esse qui paternos maiores suos a Cyro Darioque conditoribus Persici regni maternos a magno Alexandro ac Nicatore Seleuco conditoribus imperii macedonici eferat

"He continued that if he was compared with them [the Romans] with respect to extraction, he was more illustrious than that collection of mixed people [the Romans], he, whose ancestors on his father's side were from **Cyrus and Dareios, the founders of the Persian empire**, and on his mother's side, from **Alexander the Great and Seleukos Nikator, the founders of the Macedonian empire**."

Like Tacitus' account of Ardawān II's letter, the speech of Mithridates is distinguished by its binary referral to the Achaemenid and Hellenistic legacies,[873] and, despite the fact that almost a century separates Ardawān II's letter from the first Mithridatic war, it is worthwhile inquiring whether Mithridates' political discourse in his opposition to Rome influenced the ideological conceptions of the Arsacids in their stance against the Roman empire. Since Tacitus' note on the reign of Ardawān II does not exclude the probability of a reference to the Achaemenids or Macedonians as part of an Arsacid political ideology prior to Ardawān II's reign, it is conceivable that Pontic propaganda impacted Arsacid political ideology, especially since, after the defeat of Mithridates, and the extinction of the Pontic kingdom, the Arsacids succeeded him as the foremost eastern power, in the face of Roman imperialism. Thus, not only parallels in the revendication of a dual heritage, possibly sustained by the continuous presence of Iranian and Greek constituents in the ethnic composition of

[872] See Neusner, "Parthian Political Ideology," 47–48; also Wiesehöfer, *Antikes Persien*, 182–83.
[873] On the genealogical constructions of the Pontic kings, see Panitschek, "Konstruktionen," 73–95, especially 80–82; 93–95.

both realms,[874] but also a comparable political stance vis-à-vis the growing power of the eastward-expanding Roman empire, could have caused the Arsacids to adopt elements originally pertaining to the Pontic political ideology.

Mithridates' ideological program and policy has been extensively discussed by B. C. McGing,[875] and L. Ballesteros Pastor.[876] By analyzing the numismatic, archaeological, and narrative sources,[877] McGing comes to the conclusion that Mithridates was able to project an image that appealed to both Greeks and Orientals.[878] Thus, on the bronze coins issued by Pontic cities he is depicted wearing the Achaemenid leather cap, the *Kyrbasia*, continuing a well-attested Achaemenid satrapal tradition.[879] Also, the recently discovered inscription of Nymphaeum, which was probably dedicated to him in the course of the first Mithridatic war,[880] qualifies him as "king of kings," giving more weight to Appian's accounts that Mithridates and his son Arkathias called their appointed governors in the newly conquered territories *σατράπης*, in emulation of the imperial Achaemenid tradition.[881]

Furthermore, there are sundry reports of the Mithridatids' alluding to the Achaemenids, which, although certainly not barren of historical truth, might have been farther propagated under Mithridates Eupator's rule to substantiate his Achaemenid credentials.[882] Indeed, Appian, while describing the origins of the house of the Mithridatids and Cappadocia's *peripeteiae* under the *diadochoi*, mentions, a certain Mithridates [I], a scion of the Persian royal house (*Μιθριδάτης ἀνὴρ γένους βασιλείου Περσικοῦ* "Mithridates, a man of the Persian royal house"), in the entourage of Antigonos Monophthalmos. This Mithridates, thus continues the account, would eventually escape together with six horsemen

[874] *Ibid.*, 94–95.

[875] McGing, *Foreign Policy*, 89–108, with a survey of older literature; and most recently "Eupator: Victim or Aggressor?," 203–216.

[876] Ballesteros Pastor, *Mitrídates Eupátor*, 379–416; "El último," 115–133; on the use of Troy as a point of reference in the Roman-Pontic conflict, see "Troy," 217–231; see also Madsen, "Ambitions," 193–197.

[877] On the prophecies presaging the end of Rome during Mithridates' reign, see Ballesteros Pastor, *Mitrídates Eupátor*, 396–402; also Amiotti, "Oracoli Sibillini," 18–26; and Fuchs, *Geistiger Widerstand*, 7–9.

[878] McGing, *Foreign Policy*, 107–108; "Eupator: Victim or Aggressor?," 205–206.

[879] McGing, *Foreign Policy*, 95.

[880] See above, n. 767; also McGing, "Eupator: Victim or Aggressor?," 205.

[881] App. *Mith.* 22: *ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπι τε Ῥοδίους ναῦς πλείονας συνεπήγνυτο καὶ σατράπαις ἅπασι καὶ πόλεων ἄρχουσι δι' ἀπορρήτων ἔγραφε*; and *Mith.* 35: *ὁ Ἀρκαθίας ὁ Μιθριδάτου υἱός . . . Μακεδονίαν πᾶσαν ὑπηγάγετο καὶ σατράπαις ἐπιτρέψας.*

[882] See McGing, "Eupator: Victim or Aggressor?," 205–206.

(ὁ δ' ἐξέφυγε σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἕξ "he escaped together with six horsemen")—for Antigonos intended to put him to death on account of some troubling portent—and in time establish his reign in Cappadocia and the adjacent countries; Eupator was apparently in the sixth generation a descendant of this homonymous forebear.[883] Aside from unequivocally establishing Mithridates Eupator's belonging to the Achaemenid royal house, this passage supplies an intriguing allusion to the legend of the Seven,[884] that is, Dareios and the six noblemen who killed Gaumāta, which, on the one hand, underlines the Pontic claim to descend from the Seven,[885] and, on the other hand, equates the dynastic founding act of Mithridates I, the Cappadocian forebear, with that of Dareios I by purveying him with an equal number of companions. Polybios also knows to report of the claim by the Pontic king Mithridates II—whose daughter Laodike was Antiochos III's wife[886]—to descend from the Seven who had killed the magus: ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης εὔχετο μέν ἀπόγονος εἶναι τῶν ἑπτὰ Περσῶν ἑνὸς τῶν ἐπανελομένων τὸν μάγον "Mithridates [II] boasted of being the descendant of one of the Seven who had killed the magos." Polybios' note is echoed a century later in Diodoros' *bibliotheca*, who thus recounts of Mithridates II's claim: "there was also present with them Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes, and a descendant of one of the seven Persians who slew the Magian Smerdis, a man remarkable for courage and trained from childhood as a soldier."[887]

On another front, we are informed of Mithridates Eupator's organizing a sacrificial feast in the wake of his victory (in 82 BCE) over L. Licinius Murena—whom Sulla had left behind as the *propraetor* of Asia[888]—during the course of the second Mithridatic war,[889] possibly in emulation of the Achaemenid royal *šip* feast.[890] Indeed, Appian[891] (again) reports Mithridates offering an ancestral sacrifice to Zeus Stratios[892] (ἐξελάσας ἔθυε τῷ Στρατίῳ Διὶ πάτριον θυσίαν) like those practiced by the Persian kings at Pasargadae (οἷόν τι καὶ ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἐστὶ τοῖς Περσῶν

[883] App. *Mith.* 9.

[884] On (the legends of) the Seven, see Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, 128–138, in particular, 134.

[885] Plb. 5.43.2.

[886] Plb. 5.43.1–4; on Laodike, see Grainger, *Prosopography*, 49, no. 11.

[887] D.S. 19.40.2.

[888] App. *Mith.* 64–66.

[889] On Murena, see Letzner, *Sulla*, 301–303.

[890] On the *šip* feast, see, most recently with discussion of older literature, Henkelman, "Parnakka's Feats," 89–166, in particular 6.5: *Šip: an interim summary*, and 8: *A Persian feast*; 119–120, 133–134.

[891] App. *Mith.* 66.

[892] On Mithridates' thanksgiving to Zeus Stratios and its affinity with Iranian rituals, see Boyce and Grenet, *Zoroastrianism*, vol. III, 293–299; on Zeus Stratios, still Cumont, "Zeus Stratios," 47–57; also Calmeyer, "Grabrelief," 82–84. On its link with Ahuramazdā, see de Jong, *Traditions*, 261–262, and 356–57; and most recently Saprykin, "Religion and Cults," 255–258.

βασιλεῦσι θυσίας γένος), which could *mutatis mutandis* attest to the longevity of Achaemenid ritual traditions in Pontos.[893]

On the other hand, Mithridates portrayed himself as a new Alexander, as seen on royal Pontic issues representing Mithridates with the "open, apparently inhaling mouth, the luxuriant wind-swept hair, the exalted expression of Alexander's portraiture."[894] The purpose of Mithridates' propaganda was twofold: (1) to be perceived by Greeks as a champion of the Greek cause against Rome, notably by emulating Alexander;[895] and (2) to be considered by the Iranian element of his realm as a Persian sovereign, a descendant of the Achaemenids, who withstood Roman expansion in the name of his ancestral (Achaemenid) rights.[896]

However, in this duality lay both the strength and the flaw of the Pontic ideology: in the desire to blend together the Hellenistic heritage, whose legitimacy, despite its symbiosis with Oriental culture, was primarily based upon Alexander's act of conquest, and the Iranian element that could have perceived the selfsame act in less favorable light. Thus, portraying Rome as a danger to Alexander's heritage would have helped mobilize only moderately the Iranian element, in whose eyes Rome's expansion—or the *imitatio* of her legates—could have been reminiscent of the Macedonian conquest, hence, the imperative in Mithridates' stratagem to have recourse also to the Iranian heritage, whose survival in Pontos may have been portrayed as equally imperiled by Rome.[897]

IV. ARSACID AND ROMAN RELATIONS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIRST CENTURY BCE

In 96 or 92 BCE, the Arsacids came into contact with Rome,[898] in the aftermath of king Ariobarzanes' restoration to his Cappadocian throne,

[893] For a discussion of the political dimension of religious cults practiced in the Pontic kingdom, see Saprykin, "Religion and Cults," 249–275. On the survival of Iranian cults and religious practices in Cappadocia and Pontos, see Boyce and Grenet, *Zoroastrianism*, vol. III, 262–304; on the Persian sanctuary of Zela, where, according to Strabo (12.3.37), the Pontic people would make their oaths in matters of outmost importance, see *ibid.*, 263–264; 287–289; see also Sökmen, "Temple States in Pontos," 281–282. On Pontic historical geography under the Mithridatids, see still Olhausen and Biller, *Historisch-geographische Aspekte*, especially 15–67.

[894] McGing, *Foreign Policy*, 99, 101–102; and "Eupator: Victim or Aggressor?," 210–211. See also Alram, *Nomina propria*, pl. 2. See also Ballesteros Pastor, "El último," 118–119, and 128.

[895] On other aspects of Mithridates' propaganda, see Glew, "Selling of the King," 253–256.

[896] McGing, *Foreign Policy*, 107–108; and "Eupator: Victim or Aggressor?," 205–206, 211.

[897] See Arnaud, "Guerres parthiques," 21.

[898] The relations between the Arsacid and Roman empires have been subject to a number of studies in more recent years; among the more penetrating expositions of the *status questionis*, see Wheeler, "*Völkerrecht* or Power Politics," 287–292; an important survey of early Arsacid and Roman encounters, and the empires' respective territorial ambitions (with consideration of the

of which he seems to have been bereft by Tigranes of Armenia, allegedly in compact with Mithridates Eupator.[899] Indeed, Tigranes, an Arsacid client himself, being helped onto the Armenian throne in March–April 96 by Mihrdād II, had extended his power, according to Justin, upon being solicited by Mithridates, but most probably with the tacit approbation of his Arsacid suzerain Mihrdād II, into Cappadocia in support of the former Pontic protégé Gordios,[900] who might have been recognized as a rival ruler to Ariobarzanes by a faction of the Cappadocian nobility.[901] Upon Sulla reinstating Ariobarzanes, and driving away the Armenian auxiliaries,[902] the Arsacids, in their capacity as Tigranes' overlord, reportedly sent a delegation to Sulla to inquire about Rome's intentions.

This was interpreted by our classical authors as the desire to establish diplomatic relations with Rome, Livy qualifying it as *amicitia* (*populi Romani*), and Plutarch as *συμμαχία καὶ φιλία* "alliance and friendship"[903]; only Florus called it a *foedus*,[904] on which we shall elaborate below.

It is very unlikely that only a few years after Tigranes' instatement by the Arsacids, the former would have been able to act independently, as recently suggested.[905] Tigranes' attempt at expanding his power into Cappadocia, which reportedly resulted from an entente with his father-in-law Mithridates

Arsacid state's geography) is provided by Kennedy, "Parthia and Rome," 68–90. For a longer descriptive survey of Parthian and Roman politics and diplomacy, see Ferguson, *Rome and Parthia*, 12–22. For the recent presentation and discussion of Arsacid and Roman encounters, their sources, and the Roman perception of the Parthians, from Sulla to Crassus, see Lerouge, *L'image des Parthes*, 21–81.

899 On this episode, see Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, 109–110; 219–220; Hind, "Mithridates," 140–144; also Keaveney, "Treaties," 195–199; *Sulla*, 37–40; Letzner, *Sulla*, 100–103. On the chronology of the alleged *amicitia* between Sulla and Mihrdād II, still Badian, "Sulla's Cilician Command," 157–178, especially 172–73.

900 See Just. 38.3.1–3: *hunc Mithridates mire ad societatem Romani belli quod olim meditabatur perlicere cupiebat. Nihil igitur de offensa Romanorum sentientem per Gordium inpellit ut Ariobarzani segni admodum bellum inferat et ne quis dolus subesse videatur filiam suam ei Cleopatram in matrimonium tradit. Primo igitur adventu Tigranis Ariobarzanes sublatis rebus suis Romam contendit atque ita per Tigranen rursus Cappadocia iuris esse Mithridatis coepit.*

901 If we were to believe the veracity of Mithridates' own words, in the speech reported by Justin (38.5.9): *dein populo Cappadocum pro libertate oblata Gordium regem orante ideo tantum quoniam amicus suus esset non obtinuisse.*

902 Plu. *Sull.* 5.3: *καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν Καππαδοκῶν πλείονας δ' αὖθις Ἀρμενίων προσβοηθοῦντας ἀποκτείνας Γόρδιον μὲν ἐξήλασεν Ἀριοβαρζάνην δὲ ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα* "and he [Sulla] having killed many of the Cappadocians themselves, and even more of the Armenians, who had come to their aid, drove out Gordios and made Ariobarzanes king again."

903 Liv. *Per.* 70: *Ariobarzanes in regnum Cappadociae a L. Cornelio Sylla reductus est. Parthorum legati a rege Arsaci missi venerunt ad Syllam ut amicitiam populi Romani peterent*; also Plu. *Sull.* 5.4; and Vell. Pat. 2.24.3: *cum ad eum primum omnium Romanorum legati Parthorum venissent.*

904 Flor. 1.46.4–5: *et cum apud Nicephorium castra posuisset missi ab Orode rege legati nuntiavere percussorum cum Pompeio foederum Sullaque meminisset.*

905 Compare Lerouge, *L'image des Parthes*, 45.

Eupator, ought to have been tolerated, if not approved of, by the Arsacids,[906] who in this manner, and without exposing themselves militarily or diplomatically, would have gained political influence in Cappadocia. It is difficult to imagine that prior to the meeting of Mihrdād II's envoy with Sulla, the Arsacids were unaware of the emerging power that was thrusting into their world. To the contrary, their cautious engagement in the Armenian foray into Cappadocia not only seems to reflect Mihrdād II's desire farther to expand the reach of Arsacid influence,[907] but also the king's caution against Roman might, whose strength ought to have been known to the Arsacids through the Seleucids, or Mithridates Eupator.

Numerous are, indeed, the cases denoting Arsacid imperialism beyond the Euphrates in the latter years of Mihrdād II's rule.[908] One case in point was the capture of Dura-Europos across the Euphrates *post* 116 BCE,[909] possibly in co-ordination with the endeavor of Antiochos IX Kyzikenos, an Arsacid ally, to wrest Antioch from Antiochos VIII Grypos in the west in 114/113 BCE (= 199 SE [of the Macedonian Calendar]), while the Arsacids were taking possession of Dura-Europos in the east.[910] There

[906] See similarly Olbrycht, "Eupator and Iran," 169: "Tigranes' activities in Sophene, then in Kappadokia, and his close cooperation with Mithridates Eupator must have been undertaken on Parthian initiative."

[907] See Kennedy, "Parthia and Rome," 77–78; also compare Keaveney, "Treaties," 199, who suggest that Arsacid foreign policy was pacific and eager to accommodate surrounding powers including Rome, even under Mihrdād II, thereby entirely neglecting the systematic Arsacid expansionism, that is, the submission of (still) nominally independent polities, such as Elymais and Characene; the capture of Dura-Europos; repeated interventions in Seleucid Syria; and extension of Arsacid control over Armenia, which collectively convey a rather aggressive Arsacid posture.

[908] Most recently see Olbrycht, "Eupator and Iran," 166–167.

[909] The date for the Arsacid capture of Dura-Europos is conjectured on the basis of the evidence provided by a fragmented Greek parchment dated to 116 BCE, which, missing the formula ὡς τὸ πρότερον "of the former reckoning," usually reserved for Greek documents of the Arsacid era, ought to represent a Seleucid document; hence the *terminus post quem* for Arsacid Dura is fall 116 BCE. See Welles, Fink, and Gillian, *Parchments and Papyri*, no. 34, pl. v: 2; in support of the year 114/113 BCE (= 199 SE), Bellinger, "Seleucid Dura," 65–67, who, due to Arsacid countermarks on the Antiochene issues of Antiochos VIII Grypos' first reign ending in 114/113 BCE, infers the date of the city's capture by the Parthians. See also Welles, "Chronology," 468–469; Millar, "Dura-Europos," 475. More recently, see Sommer, *Steppengrenze*, 295, n. 52. For the date of Antioch's capture in 114/113 BCE (= 199 SE) by Antiochos IX—which could be simultaneous with that of Dura by the Arsacids—see Houghton, "Reigns," 95, 105, for a chronological table of the rival kings' rule, 96; Houghton and Spaer, *Sylloge*, 352–253, nos. 2681–2686; pl. 171; and Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 219.

[910] Bellinger, "Seleucid Dura," 65: "[t]he explanation which will most easily fit the facts is that Antiochos IX had some sort of understanding with the Parthians which enabled them to attack the Seleucid realm on the East while he attacked it from the West. They then entered Dura in the year that he won Antioch, and finding the coins of the common enemy [Antiochos VIII] in circulation, counterstamped them to be valid under the new regime"; also Bellinger, "End of Seleucids," 67; and Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 228, who interestingly does not exclude the possibility of a marriage

are, furthermore, accounts of subsequent Arsacid interventions in Syria: against a certain queen Laodike,[911] reportedly, the queen of the *Γαλιήνοι*, or the *Σαμηνοί*—*ἡ τῶν Γαλιηνῶν / Σαμηνῶν βασιλίσσα*[912]—with the *Σαμηνοί* being qualified by Stephan of Byzantium as *νομάδων Ἀραβίων ἔθνος* "(an) Arab nomadic tribe,"[913] although the possibility of Laodike being queen of Samosata in Commagene, as suggested by Bouché-Leclercq, rather than the ruler of an otherwise unknown Arab tribe, may not be excluded.[914] Irrespective of the location of Laodike's reign in Syria, her rule was perceived as sufficiently important by Antiochos X, son of Antiochos IX Kyzikenos,[915] for him to defend her against Parthian aggression, whereby he eventually fell in 93/92 BCE.[916]

Another interference in Seleucid affairs in Syria, this time by the Arsacid commander Mitrāṭu against Demetrios III and in support of his brother Philippos I, is reported for the reign of Gōdarz I, probably shortly before

between Antiochos IX and a certain Brittanē, daughter of Mihrdād II, sometime between end of 112 and 98/97 BCE, as reported by Malalas (208.26): *καὶ ἔλαβε γυναῖκα Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ τῷ λεγομένῳ Κυζικηνῷ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρσάκους τοῦ Πάρθου τοῦ τυραννήσαντος αὐτὸν ὀνόματι Βριττάνην*; the cited passage, which follows the new edition of Thurn, *Chronographia*, occurs therein as 208.25.

911 See also Olbrycht, "Eupator and Iran," 166.

912 J. *AJ* 13.371. On manuscript variants, see Marcus, *Josephus*, 410, n. 6. The *Γαλιήνοι* in the passage *Λαοδίκῃ γὰρ ἐλθὼν σύμμαχος τῇ τῶν Γαλιήνων* has been diversely interpreted in the past. Already Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, 80, n. 1, associated queen Laodike, with Laodike Thea Philadelphos, daughter of Antiochos VIII, and wife of Mithridates Kallinikos, king of Commagene, and suggested emendation of *Γαλιήνων* to *Καλλινικηνῶν*, and that we see in her the queen of a region adjacent to the Commagene: "[Ich] wage nicht den Namen [Kommagene] selbst herzustellen, sondern vermuthe eher den einer benachbarten Oertlichkeit, etwa *Καλλινικηνῶν*." Similarly, Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. II, 605. This emendation was criticized by Dobiaš, "Rapports," 222–223, who objects to Gutschmid's thesis, among others, on the grounds that the city of *Καλλίνικος* "n'a jamais pu faire partie du royaume de Commagène," although Gutschmid had merely raised the possibility of it being "eine benachbarte Oertlichkeit" of Commagene; Dobiaš, therefore, favors the reading *Σαμηνῶν* for *Γαλιήνων*.

913 St. Byz. Σαμηνοί.

914 See Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. I, 420: "[l]es Parthes doivent avoir envahi à ce moment d'abord la Commagène. Ce pays, récemment détaché du royaume séleucide, était alors gouverné par la reine Laodice"; and 421, n. 1: "plutôt de Samosta." More circumspect, Will, *Histoire*, vol. II, 452: "[v]ers cette époque, une reine anonyme d'un royaume incertain (la Commagène?) fait appel à Antioche X contre les Parthes et le Séleucide périt dans l'expédition enterprise à cette occasion (92?)." Also Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 241, n. 1057, and 260, n. 1225. Compare, more recently, Facella, *Dinastia degli Orontidi*, 216–217, who also doubts Laodike may have been the queen of Samosata: "[d]i certo l'ipotesi che i Σαμηνοί siano gli abitanti di Samosata (a noi noti soltanto col nome di Σαμοσατεῖς) e la definizione di Laodice come regina degli abitanti di una sola città (piuttosto che di un popolo) lasciano molto perplessi."

915 On the family bonds between Antiochos X and Laodike, see Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. II, 605–606; Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 241 and 260; Facella, *Dinastia degli Orontidi*, 215–216.

916 J. *AJ* 13.371. For a discussion of the contradicting traditions as to Antiochos X's *fin de règne* and death, see Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, 420, n. 2; vol. I, vol. II, 605–606; Bellinger, "End of Seleucids," 75, n. 73; and Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 241.

the year 88/87 BCE (= 225 SE [of the Macedonian Calendar]), although this Arsacid intervention has been inaccurately attributed to Mihrdād II and his commander Mitradātâ (Mithridates Sinakēs) by Josephos.[917]

The aforesaid examples amply illustrate that prior to, and after, the first Parthian and Roman diplomatic encounter, the Arsacids were engaged in expanding the sphere of their influence westwards, so that the Arsacid-backed foray into Cappadocia by Tigranes ought to be evaluated within this context.

This suggestion may find support in the report of the ensuing negotiations between Sulla and his protégé Ariobarzanes on the one side, and the king's representative Orobazos on the other side.[918] Although Plutarch, whose account is the most extensive on the subject,[919] is silent as to the substance of the discussions between the three men, it is clear from the report's general tenor that in the mediation of Sulla between Ariobarzanes and Orobazos, the interests of Armenia—if at that juncture there was an independent Armenian political design—are represented by the Iranian empire, or in other words, Cappadocia was deemed to belong also to the Iranian sphere of interest. In this context, one shall not forget that it is Rome, having emerged victorious in Cappadocia, that is making a plea with the Arsacids—never *directly* involved in the conflict—for Ariobarzanes' right to remain king in Cappadocia, upon Sulla's inevitable retreat. Thus, Plutarch's entertaining episode on Sulla's sense of superiority, which was expressed in the latter's assuming the right to mediate as arbiter between Ariobarzanes and Orobazos, seems more like a literary artifice to blur the underlying reality that Rome's client could not have maintained his position in the long term without Arsacid consent.[920] A remaining question is whether the Arsacids by relinquishing their claims on Cappadocia, secured any concessions from Rome. One possibility is to posit that, considering Seleucid Syria to be part of their patrimony, wherein the Arsacids felt entitled to intervene, they reserved the unhindered right of interference,[921] which they continued to exercise under the reign of Gōdarz I.

[917] See above, 203–204.

[918] On this episode, and the Arsacid policy in Cappadocia, see Olbrycht, "Eupator and Iran," 174–176.

[919] Plu. *Sull.* 5.4–5; Vell. Pat. 2.24.3; Liv. *Per.* 70.

[920] For a partially diverging, albeit well informed, discussion of this incident, compare Lerouge, *L'image des Parthes*, 47–49.

[921] Already Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, 80, expressed this opinion: "[w]ahrscheinlich verfolgte Mithridates bei dieser Gesandschaft den Zweck, sich der Römer wegen seiner Pläne auf Syrien zu versichern." See also Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. I, 421. Compare Dobiaš, "Rapports," 224: "[l]a supposition d'après laquelle Mithridate II aurait commencé par une attaque sur la Commagène son avance, dont la Syrie était le but final, n'est donc soutenue par aucune

Under the reign of Frahād III, the two empires would resume relations under exceedingly different conditions.[922] Indeed, the Arsacid empire that Frahād III had inherited might have no longer been the hegemonic power of the East, for two other actors, namely, Armenia, hitherto in Arsacid vassalage, and Pontos, with former aspirations geared toward the Aegean, had obstructed the Arsacid expansionist thrust. Already under Gōdarz I, Tigranes had extended, beginning probably in 87/86 or 83 BCE,[923] his empire into Syria, Cilicia, and later Coele–Syria, and taken control initially of Antioch, then in 72 of Damascus, and possibly in 70 BCE of Ptolemais.[924] Only after the arrival of Lucullus in Asia Minor in late 74/73 BCE, at the onset of the third Mithridatic war (73–63 BCE) opposing Mithridates of Pontos and his ally Tigranes of Armenia to Rome,[925] and Lucullus' subsequent campaign against Armenia in 69 BCE, was Tigranes impelled to withdraw his forces from Syria and Cilicia.[926]

The initial Armenian venture into Syria may have been prompted at the invitation of the Antiochenes, who, in reaction to the Seleucid inability to provide continuous governance, reportedly considered other powers capable of filling the political vacuum left by the later Seleucids.[927] According to Justin, one reason why the Antiochenes chose Tigranes of Armenia over Mithridates Eupator and Ptolemaios of Egypt was Tigranes' political alliance (*societas*) with the Parthians, which could suggest that, in the year 87/86 BCE, he was acting still as an Arsacid vassal.[928] The position of Tigranes as an Arsacid subject in this period is supported by the

source. Et la théorie selon laquelle Mithridate aurait recherché l'amitié des Romains dans le but de s'assurer leur bienveillance pour ces plans, paraît encore plus hasardeuse."

922 See Bivar, "Political History," 45–48; Debevoise, *History*, 70–76; and Frye, *History of Ancient Iran*, 216.

923 The divergence in dates reflect chronological differences in our sources: Justin (40.1.4) ascribes seventeen or eighteen years of rule in Syria to Tigranes ending with Lucullus' Armenian invasion in 69 BCE, whereas Appian (*Syr.* 48) knows only of fourteen years. See Koehler, *Nachfolge*, 10–30, who opts for the year 87/86; similarly, Brodersen, *Appians Abriß*, 76–77. Compare Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 250–252, who seems to favor the year 83.

924 On the dates, see Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 255; on Tigranes' Syrian expansion, see Bellinger, "End of Seleucids," 80; Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 246–256; also Sartre, *D'Alexandre*, 431–433; *Middle East*, 27–30.

925 See more recently, de Callataÿ, *Guerres mithridatiques*, 341–388.

926 App. *Syr.* 48.

927 Differently, App. *Syr.* 48 and *Mith.* 105, who indicates Tigranes had put to flight Antiochos X.

928 Compare Dobiaš, "Rapports," 225–226, for an exactly opposite view: "si la *societas* dont parle Justin fut imposée aux Parthes par l'attaque de Tigrane, et si les Syriens choisirent Tigrane pour roi, parce qu'en dehors de ses propres effectifs, il disposait aussi de la force armée des Parthes, cela signifie que le roi des Parthes n'était pas loin de se trouver vis-à-vis de Tigrane dans un rapport de dépendance."

evidence of the Avroman deed, dated to 19/20.x.–17/18.x.88 BCE. (= Apellaios 225 SE [of the Macedonian Calendar]), wherein Gōdarz I's titulature *βασιλεύων βασιλέων* is contrasted against that of Tigranes, called *βασιλεὺς μεγάλος*,[929] thus testifying to Arsacid suzerainty over Armenia in late 88 BCE.[930] Justin's text thus reports:

[Just. 40.1–3]
Mutuis fratrum odiis et mox filiis inimicitiis parentum succedentibus cum inexpiabili bello et reges et regnum Syriae consumptum esset ad externa populus auxilia concurrit peregrinosque sibi reges circumspicere coepit. Itaque cum pars Mithridatem Ponticum pars Ptolomeum ab Aegypto arcessendum censeret occurreretque quod et Mithridates inplicitus bello Romano esset Ptolomeus quoque hostis semper fuisset Syriae omnes in Tigranen regem Armeniae consensere instructum praeter domesticas vires et Parthica societate et Mithridatis adfinitate.

"Since the kings and the kingdom of Syria had been exhausted by relentless warfare due to the mutual hatred of brothers, and, next, the sons who succeeded in the enmity of their fathers, the people sought external assistance, and began to look for foreign kings for themselves. Thus, some recommended inviting Mithridates of Pontos, some Ptolemaios from Egypt, but as it happened that Mithridates was engaged in a Roman war, and Ptolemaios had always been an enemy of Syria, they all agreed on Tigranes of Armenia, who was supported beyond his personal forces, by the Parthian alliance, and the family bonds with Mithridates."

That the Armenians could have initially acted in Syria under Arsacid directive is possibly echoed in Strabo's note on Cilicia, wherein he states that the Arsacids, having held possessions beyond the Euphrates, became masters of the country (Cilicia), before eventually relinquishing it to the Armenians.[931] Since the Arsacids are not otherwise known to have advanced as far as Cilicia,[932] one may assume that Strabo's report

[929] See above, 195–196.

[930] See similarly Koehler, *Nachfolge*, 22–23: "[d]aß die syrischen Thronparteien zum Zeitpunkt der Wahl des Tigranes die Macht des Partherreiches zu fürchten hatten und deswegen das armenisch-parthische Bündnisverhältnis in starkem Maße bei der Berufung des Tigranes berücksichtigten, ist ein weiterer Beweis dafür, daß Tigranes das Partherreich zu dieser Zeit weder bekriegt noch durch seine Eroberungen von den syrischen Grenzen hinweggedrängt und damit die bisherigen unmittelbare Gefährdung Syriens durch die Parther aufgehoben hatte."

[931] Str. 14.5.2 (669): *τοῦτο δὲ συμβὰν τῆς μέν χώρας ἐποίησε κυρίους Παρθυαίους οἳ τὰ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου κατέσχον τὸ τελευταῖον δὲ καὶ Ἀρμενίους.*

[932] Although Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. I, 421, is among the few to acknowledge the historicity of Strabo's report of an early Arsacid thrust into Syria, and even Cilicia: "[l]'élan qui les [Parthes] avait portés jusqu'aux frontières de la Syrie, et peut-être même en Cilicie, s'était brusquement arrêté," it seems, however, the Arsacids early on used Tigranes as their agent for expansion.

in reality referred to the two phases of Armenian control over Syria and Cilicia: with Armenia extending, in the first phase, the nominal influence of the Arsacid overlord to Syria and Cilicia—hence Strabo's perception of Parthian dominion in the region—and, in the second, upon evading Parthian suzerainty, ruling independently over the same territories. Another indication for the validity of the above inference might be provided by Tigranes' titulature on his Syrian coinage. The Armenian king is invariably called "king Tigranes" during the extent of the Syrian occupation from 83 (or 87/86?) to 70 BCE,[933] in contrast to the use of the imperial title "king of kings Tigranes" on the Armenian mints, which are dated to his second reign, that is, from 66 to 55 BCE.[934] It is mystifying that Tigranes, at the height of his power, should merely use the simplex "king" on Syrian and Armenian mints, if his intention was to dispute the Parthian hegemony in the East, and in stark contrast, predominantly adopted the imperial title, upon being reinstated on the Armenian throne by the grace of Rome. One therefore wonders whether Tigranes' change of titulature did not owe to Pompeius' design to represent the Armenian ruler as "king of kings"—and by the same token himself as his conqueror—rather than being reflective of Tigranes' hegemonic ambitions traditionally associated with his Syrian conquest, the general perception of Arsacid decline, and the usurpation of the Arsacid imperial title.[935] Within the confines of the present query, suffice it to say that there is no material opposition to assuming, based upon the reports of Justin and Strabo, that the Armenian campaign in Syria was conducted, at least initially, in the service of the Arsacid overlord, whose sphere of influence it was designed to expand, much like the Armenian Cappadocian campaign under Sulla. Both the Avroman document and the numismatic evidence seem to suggest that in the year 88 BCE, continuing until possibly the eve of Lucullus' campaign, Armenia was under Arsacid nominal control.

Coming back to our main narrative, in the summer of 69 BCE, following Lucullus' invasion of Armenia,[936] where Mithridates had taken

[933] See table 12. Of interest is also the use by Tigranes of the title "Great King Tigranes, Philhellenos," in the years 80 and 64/63 BCE in Nisibis.

[934] See above, 241, n. 768.

[935] On the use of the imperial title in the triangle of the Arsacid, Armenian, and Roman policies, see Vardanyan, "Titolo di 're dei re,'" 43–45.

[936] On Lucullus' Armenian campaign and Arsacid-Roman encounters, see Plu. *Luc.* 23.7–36.7; App. *Mith.* 87; D. C. 36.1–3. On Lucullus' (in the end) futile campaigns against Mithridates and Tigranes, see Magie, *Roman Rule*, vol. I, 338–345; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, 159–185; "Lucullus and Pompey," 233–244; Lanza, *L'eredità di Alessandro*, 249–269; also; McGing, *Foreign Policy*, 153–162; Ballesteros Pastor, *Mitrídates Eupátor*, 245–264.

refuge, it came to diplomatic negotiations between Lucullus and Frahād III, which could have led to an *amicitia*.[937] Despite Lucullus' initial success in the Armenian campaign, Mithridates Eupator and Tigranes had escaped to northern Armenia, and had from there beseeched Frahād III for assistance against Rome in return for relinquishing the formerly Arsacid territories of Mesopotamia, Adiabene, and Gordyene,[938] which Tigranes is generally believed to have wrested from the Arsacid realm under Gōdarz I's reign. However, as we have seen above, there is little evidence for positing a territorial dispute between the Arsacid empire and Tigranes until before Lucullus' advancing against Armenian interests in 70/69 BCE. What is more, in a letter addressed by Mithridates Eupator to Frahād III and reported by Sallust in the little that remains from his *historiae*, Mithridates, seeking to persuade Frahād III to side with the Pontic ruler and Tigranes against Rome, mentions the recent war (*recentum bellum*) of the Arsacids with Armenia that has given him much cause for anger (*ira*) at Tigranes as the reason for Frahād III's reluctance to form an alliance with them: *atque ea quae te morari posse videntur ira in Tigranem recentis belli et meae res parum prosperae si vera existimare voles maxime hortabuntur*.[939] Indeed, as already pointed out by Pascal Arnaud, it is unlikely that the *recens bellum* would allude to an event dating back to the reign of Gōdarz I; to the contrary, it ought

[937] As to the nature of the entente between Lucullus and Frahād III, Cassius Dio (36.3.2) specifically mentions that Arsaces concluded friendship and alliance with Lucullus (φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐσπείσατο); similarly Memnon of Herakleia (*FGrH* III, no. 434, 38 = Phot. *Bibl.* 224): Ἀφικομένων δὲ πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον καὶ παρὰ Λευκόλλου πρέσβεων τοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἰδίᾳ φίλος εἶναι ὑπεκρίνατο καὶ σύμμαχος ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους διετίθετο; Orosius (6.13.2) calls it a *foedus*.

[938] According to Strabo 11. 14. 15 (273–274), Tigranes having recovered the Seventy Valleys, went on to ravage Arsacid territory in the regions of Nineveh (Strabo calls it Ninos) and Abela (ἐπόρθησε τήν τε περὶ Νίνου καὶ τὴν περὶ Ἄρβηλα); eventually submitting the rulers of (Media) Atropatene and Gordyene, and conquering Mesopotamia, Syria, and Phoenicia (ὑπηκόους δ' ἔσχε καὶ τὸν Ἀτροπατηνὸν καὶ τὸν Γορδυαῖον μεθ' ὧν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἔτι δὲ τὴν Συρίαν αὐτήν καὶ Φοινίκην διαβὰς τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀνὰ κράτος εἶλεν); Plutarch (*Luc.* 30.1) merely mentions Mesopotamia as the price for an Arsacid alliance with Tigranes; Memnon of Herakleia (*FGrH* III, no. 434, 38 = Phot. *Bibl.* 224) mentions by name Adiabene, Mesopotamia, and the Great Valley, which Tigranes had promised to Frahād III in return for assistance against Lucullus: αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον Φραδάτην διεπρεσβεύετο παραχωρεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν καὶ τοὺς Μεγάλους Αὐλῶνας. Cassius Dio (36.1.1–2) refers to these regions merely as disputed territory (χώρα ἀμφισβητήσιμα).

[939] On the *epistula Mithridatis*, see Maurenbrecher, *Sallusti Historiarum reliquiae* (4.69.3); and McGushin, *Sallust* (4.67.3). On the intellectual current opposing Roman imperialism in the late *res publica*, as expressed in Sallust's *epistula Mithridatis*, see further Bickermann, "Lettre de Mithridate" 131–151; see also Lerouge, *L'image des Parthes*, 55, n. 46, for further discussion. On Frahād III's anger at Tigranes, see similarly D.C. 36.3.2.

to refer to the subject of an immediate past.[940] Therefore, it seems that Tigranes' wresting away of adjacent Arsacid territories, which also heralded Armenia's emancipation from Arsacid control, occurred on the eve of Frahād III's rise to power, possibly under the short and obscure reign of Sinatruces.

Closely related to the above questions is the thorny issue of the reported Armenian aggression against Arsacid interests in the region of Nineveh, Arbela, and Media Atropatene, the latter of which allegedly submitted to Tigranes.[941] This event, which hitherto has either been placed at the tail end of Mihrdād II's reign,[942] or under Sinatruces,[943] if true, should have occurred in conjunction with the reported occupation of upper Mesopotamia, Adiabene, and Gordyene, which, as we have suggested, belongs to the short reign of Sinatruces. It certainly does not constitute an argument for presuming Armenian emancipation from Parthian suzerainty before the year 70/69 BCE. As a matter of fact, the *Diaries* indicate that in 8/9.x.–6/7.xi.87 BCE (= vii.225 SE), Media was in the possession of the Arsacid king Gōdarz I,[944] and again 28/29.v.78 BCE (= 23.ii.234 SE), we hear of a certain Libluṭ, the administrator of Esangil, joining the Arsacid king Urūd I in Media,[945] without any disturbances being reported in the region within the extant *Diaries*.

Returning to the chronicle of events, at that particular juncture of Arsacid and Roman diplomacy, Lucullus had already invested some of the contested regions following the retreat of Tigranes,[946] and is reported to have offered an alliance to Frahād III, the terms of which are unclear, although it appears that he promised the recognition of Arsacid claims against Tigranes in return for a league with Rome.[947] Frahād III, however,

[940] See Arnaud, "Guerres des Parthes," 140.

[941] Strabo 11. 14. 15 (273–274). In his *Parthian Stations*, Isidore of Charax (Isid. Char. 6) also alludes to the advance of Tigranes into Media (Atropatene): *εἶτα εἰς Ἀδραπάναν τὰ βασίλεια τῶν ἐν Βατάνοις ἃ Τιγράνης ὁ Ἀρμένιος καθεῖλε*.

[942] Compare Debevoise, *History*, 50–51; Schippmann, *Parthische Geschichte*, 33; Arnaud, "Guerres des Parthes," 137, 143; Wolski, *L'empire*, 123; Schuoll, *Die Charakene*, 305; and Lerouge, *L'image des Parthes*, 50.

[943] Compare Dobiaš, "Rapports," 227–228.

[944] See Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –86 B 'flake' 10' (= 460–461).

[945] *Ibid.*, no. –77 A 'obv. 31' (= 490–491).

[946] Plu. *Luc.* 29.5–6 seems to indicate that following Lucullus' dissolution of the city of Tigranokerta, while he was in Gordyene, the Arabs, the people of Sophene and Gordyene, freely submitted to him: *καὶ γὰρ Ἀράβων Βασιλεῖς ἦκον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίζοντες τὰ σφέτερα καὶ τὸ Σωφηνῶν ἔθνος προσεχώρει· τὸ δὲ Γορδυηνῶν οὕτω διέθηκεν ὥστε βούλεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐκλιπόντας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκείνῳ μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐθελοντὰς ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε*. Similarly, Cassius Dio (36.2.5), who adds to the list also Antiochos, king of Commagene.

[947] On the nature and content of the negotiations between Frahād III and Lucullus, compare Dobiaš, "Premiers rapports," 229–235, who posits that Frahād III concluded an *amicitia* with Lucullus

seems to have rejected all solicitation, and, if we were to accept Dio's account, maintained neutrality in the conflict.[948] Plutarch and Memnon of Herakleia, however, *expressis verbis* mention that Frahād III, eager to recover lost Arsacid territories, made promises to both sides,[949] which—as Plutarch further elaborates—may have prompted Lucullus' desire to undertake a Parthian campaign.[950]

It is not unlikely that the Arsacids gave assurances to both quarters,

and designated the Euphrates as their common boundary: "[e]n tout cas, un traité fut réellement conclu à cette époque. Nous en connaissons au moins deux articles: Phraate fut reconnu comme *amicus et socius populi Romani* et l'Euphrate dut marquer la frontière entre les deux puissances." Also Ziegler, *Beziehungen*, 24–28, who suggests that the *amicitia* between Sulla and Mihrdād II in the year 96 or 92 was extended into a *foedus* designating the Euphrates as the Roman–Parthian frontier in the year 69/68. Compare also Keaveney, "Treaties," 199–202, who posits that not only had the Arsacids concluded a treaty (*foedus*) already under Sulla, which Lucullus renewed with Frahād II, but, what is more, the Arsacids were required under the terms of this treaty to provide some military assistance to Rome against Armenia. However, as pointed out by Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, 222–223, the treaty determining the Euphrates as the frontier between the Arsacid and Roman empires in 69/68 seems improbable since the Parthian territories along the Euphrates were held by Tigranes of Armenia: "historians have inferred that the Euphrates frontier was specified in the agreements of 68 and 66, and have even read it back into the supposed treaty of Sulla and Mithridates Megas. But in those years Tigranes held Sophene, Mesopotamia and Adiabene, which separated the nearest Parthian territory in Babylonia from the middle and upper Euphrates. The question of the Euphrates frontier only arose when Pompeius dispossessed Tigranes of his southern provinces . . ."; also for Wolski, *L'empire*, 124–125, the negotiation of a *foedus* in 69/68 designating the Euphrates as the frontier between the two realms seems improbable, for "nous ignorons toujours pourquoi les rois des Parthes, pour lesquels la possession de la Syrie constituait depuis un siècle un élément important de leur politique, auraient limité leur programme sans rien obtenir en échange." See more recently, Wheeler, "*Völkerrecht* or Power Politics," 289–291, who rejects the possibility of any *foedus* between the two empires, or Roman recognition of the Euphrates as common frontier, before the treaty of the year 218 CE, concluded between Macrinus and Artabanos IV in the aftermath of the battle of Nisibis, from which the Arsacids emerged as victors: "Macrinus' peace agreement with Artabanus IV in 218 following the Roman defeat at Nisibis becomes the last and the only *feodus* with the Parthians"; *ibid.*, 290; see also Wheeler, "Africanus," 576. See also Lerouge, *L'image des Parthes*, 49–58.

948 D.C. 36.3.1–3.

949 Plu. *Luc.* 30.1; and *FGrH* III, no. 434, 38 = Phot. *Bibl.* 224.

950 Lucullus' reported (Plu. *Luc.* 30.1–31.1) desire to undertake a campaign against the Arsacids—echoed in Eutropius' *Brevarium* (Eutr. 6.9): *Lucullo paranti capta Nisibi contra Persas expeditionem successor est missus*—upon becoming aware of their duplicity, may be deemed suspect, as Lucullus had not been able, following the fall of Tigranokerta, decisively to defeat Tigranes and Mithridates, to enable him to engage a third adversary; see Dobiaš, "Rapports," 231–233. Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, 181–183, has argued that, were we to place the abortive plan of a Parthian campaign in the aftermath of Lucullus' conquest of the city of Nisibis in the fall of 68 BCE, as supported by the aforementioned epitomae of Livy, such a scheme would be deemed conceivable. He, nonetheless, concedes that the primary objective of Lucullus was to force Tigranes into a final defeat in battle, and that he probably considered the Armenians, who had wrested sundry territories from the Arsacids, too formidable adversaries, for him to devote "much thought to the question of Parthia." For an illuminating discussion of the literary traditions ascribing Parthian ambitions to Lucullus, see Lerouge, *L'image des Parthes*, 52–58, where (58) she concludes: "[l]a situation de l'Empire parthe était connue à Rome; retenons qu'il paraissait vraisemblable, en 69, qu'elle excite la convoitise de Lucullus."

without committing themselves, but awaiting the outcome of the war. Indeed, when Tigranes offered to restore former Arsacid territory to Frahād III in exchange for a league, he had already lost control of Mesopotamia and Gordyene, over which Lucullus then held sway, a circumstance that ought to have brought Tigranes' offer at that particular time to naught. Similarly, Lucullus' relative position of strength in lower Armenia, when he reportedly extended the offer of *amicitia* to the Arsacids, in view of Tigranes and Mithridates remaining unvanquished and at large, may have rendered the Roman compact immaterial for Frahād III, for an unexpected turn of events—which did not fail to materialize—could have made Lucullus' advances fold. Thus, one may well agree with Dio in assessing Frahād III's posture as primarily intent on facilitating the struggle between Rome and Armenia to procure the greatest benefit for the Arsacid realm.[951]

The next diplomatic encounter between the Arsacid empire and Rome occurred upon Pompeius' arrival in 66 in Asia Minor as the new commander in the war against Mithridates and Tigranes.[952] In his negotiations with Frahād III, Pompeius may have proposed a proper league,[953] which called for Arsacid military assistance in return for Roman recognition of Parthian suzerainty over Mesopotamia, Adiabene, and Gordyene.[954]

[951] D.C. 36.3.3: *τὸν γὰρ πόλεμον αὐτῶν ἰσοπαλῆ ὄντα ἀσφάλειαν οἱ μεγίστην οἴσειν ἐνόμιζεν.*

[952] On the sources of Pompeius' eastern campaign, see D.C. 36.45.3–36.53.6; 37.5.2–7.5; Plu. *Pomp.* 32.1–33.6; 36.1–2; 37.2; 39.3; App. *Mith.* 104–106; Liv. *Per.* 100–101.

[953] The accord of 66 BCE between the two empires is called differently by our sources: Livy (*Per.* 100) refers to it as *amicitia*: *Pompeius . . . cum rege Parthorum Prahate amicitiam renovavit*; Cassius Dio calls it *φιλία* (36.45.3), *συνθήκαι* (36.51.1; 37.5.2), or *συγκείμενα* (37.5.5); Florus (1.46.4–5) describes it as *foedus*, as does Orosius (6.13.2): *contra foedus Luculli et Pompei avaritia inductus Euphraten transierit*. See also Dobiaš, "Premiers rapports," 235, n. 1; and Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, 221, n. 90.

[954] On the nature of the entente of 66 BCE, compare Dobiaš, "Premiers rapports," 235–240, who considers the prior *amicitia* designating the Euphrates as the frontier between Rome and Iran to have been renewed, but also requiring Arsacid military aid against Armenia: "on le [Phraate] reconnaissant comme roi, il [Pompée] s'assura de son concours contre les Arméniens"; similarly compare Ziegler, *Beziehungen*, 28–30, who deems the accord of 66 a *foedus* which, beyond the recognition of the Euphrates frontier, would have also recognized the Arsacid claim on the contested territories in dispute with Armenia: "[Pompeius] gestand Phraates III. auch jene Gebiete zu, die Tigranes von Armenien und Mithridates VI. von Pontos diesem als Preis für ein Bündnis gegen Rom geboten hatten," in return for military alliance. Compare also Keaveney, "Treaties," 202–204, who, nonetheless, makes the interesting observation that the *foedus* of Pompeius was a *new* treaty, albeit in terms similar to that of Lucullus, since the old one was breached by Frahād III, when he accepted simultaneous Armenian and Pontic overtures. Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, 221, calls the accord an alliance and which called for military assistance, restitution to the Arsacids of the lands disputed with Armenia, although the author goes on to specify that the accord "was not formally written down and sworn, and was hardly couched in the traditional terms of a Graeco-Roman *foedus*." Along similar lines, see most recently Lerouge, *L'image des Parthes*, 58–59.

Frahād III's invasion of Armenia and his siege of the old Armenian capital Artaxata suggest that such an entente between the two empires may have come into existence.[955] However, Frahād's objective, to instate Tigranes' homonymous son, Tigranes the Younger, upon the Armenian throne,[956] may have been contrary to the spirit of the entente, as it would have restored Arsacid sway over a territory which Pompeius had been mandated to submit to Rome's authority.

Before we may pursue the merits of the aforesaid argument, we shall briefly expose the events. In summer 66 BCE, in spite of the initial success in subduing Armenia minor and besieging Artaxata—which caused Tigranes the Elder to take flight from the city[957]—Frahād III, confronted with the long duration of the siege, is reported to have left Tigranes the Younger (supported by Arsacid troops) in charge of further progress.[958] Tigranes the Elder, however, reportedly defeated his son, who appears to have subsequently sought, with Arsacid consent,[959] Pompeius' backing,[960] the latter having interrupted his pursuit of Mithridates, to campaign in Armenia.[961]

At this juncture, we are told Tigranes the Elder surrendered Artaxata, and himself to Pompeius,[962] and was confirmed by him in his position, while Tigranes the Younger had to content himself with the lesser rule over Sophene (*τῷ δὲ νεωτέρῳ τὴν Σωφανηνὴν μόνην ἀπένειμε* "to the younger [Tigranes] he [Pompeius] merely assigned Sophene").[963] Tigranes the Younger's continued league with the Arsacids and their collective design to replace the elder Tigranes seem to have led to the former's incarceration, and eventual death.[964] Arsacid protestations as to the younger Tigranes' arrest in spring 65,[965] and Gabinius' foray into Mesopotamia as

[955] See Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, 221–222.
[956] D.C. 36.51.1; App. *Mith.* 104.
[957] D.C. 36.51.2.
[958] *Ibid.*
[959] App. *Mith.* 104.
[960] D.C. 36.51.3; Plu. *Pomp.* 33.1–2.
[961] Plu. *Pomp.* 32.9; App. *Mith.* 104.
[962] D.C. 36.52.1–53.1; Plu. *Pomp.* 33.2–4; App. *Mith.* 104.
[963] D.C. 36.53.2; see also Plu. *Pomp.* 33.4–5: *Σωφηνῆς δὲ βασιλεύσειν τὸν υἱόν*; and App. *Mith.* 105: *διῆ'τησε [ὁ Πομπήιος] τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἄρχειν τῆς Σωφηνῆς καὶ Γορδυηνῆς.*
[964] D.C. 36.53.4; Plu. *Pomp.* 33.5; App. *Mith.* 105 indicates that it was Tigranes the Younger who incited the Parthians against Pompeius (*Παρθυαίους ἐρεθίζων ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον*). All three sources, that is, D.C. 37.6.2; Plu. *Pomp.* 33.5, 45.4; App. *Mith.* 105, mention that Tigranes the Younger was led in Pompeius' triumph, before his death, but Plutarch (*Pom* 45.4) adds that the wife and daughter of Tigranes the Younger were also held captive and led in triumph.
[965] Plu. *Pomp.* 33.6.

far as the Tigris,[966] were met by Pompeius with Lucius Afranius' ephemeral re-occupation of Gordyene, of which the Arsacids had taken possession before, in late 65.[967] Upon protesting in vain for a second time,[968] the Arsacids, once Afranius had retreated from Mesopotamia in the winter of 65/64[969] and Pompeius had resumed his campaign against Mithridates, invaded Armenia minor again in early 64,[970] and forced Pompeius and Tigranes to acquiesce to some of their demands,[971] as Pompeius ought to have been wary of committing to a Parthian campaign (*τὰς τε γὰρ τοῦ Πάρθου δυνάμεις δείσας* "he [Pompeius] was in fear of the forces of the Parthian"),[972] despite our sources' hyperbolical attestations to the contrary.[973]

An interesting note by Plutarch mentions Pompeius' receiving envoys of the kings of Media (Atropatene) and Elymais (*Ἐλυμαίων καὶ Μήδων βασιλεῖ*)[974]—possibly simultaneous with those of Frahād III—prior to Afranius' campaign in Gordyene in late 65, clearly suggesting that they were seeking an alliance with Pompeius. The context of Plutarch's note, wherein Pompeius' friendly treatment of the Mede and Elymaean heralds is contrasted with his hostile actions vis-à-vis Frahād III, may suggest that these kings were seeking an alliance with Rome in defiance of their Arsacid overlord.

The *Diaries* have now well established that Elymais had been subdued to

966 D.C. 37.5.2.

967 Plu. *Pomp.* 36.2.

968 D.C. 37.6.3.

969 *Ibid.* 37.5.5.

970 *Ibid.* 37.6.4 mentions again Tigranes the Younger participating in the second campaign of Phraates in Armenia, but whereas little doubt persists as to the historicity of the second campaign, the mention of Tigranes the Younger at this juncture ought to be due merely to a duplication of a prior passage (*ibid.* 36.5.1), for Tigranes is well reported to have been enchained by then (*ibid.* 36.53.4).

971 The disputes over Mesopotamia, Adiabene, and Gordyene between Tigranes the Elder and Frahād III were apparently resolved through arbitration by a panel of three judges, mediated by Pompeius; see D.C. 37.7.3; Plu. *Pomp.* 39.3.

972 D.C. 37.7.1–3 mentions that Pompeius agreed not to provide further support for Tigranes the Elder following the second campaign of Frahād III in Armenia, and upon the latter's dispatch of a third embassy, since apparently Pompeius not only felt ashamed and alarmed (*τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ αἰσχυνθῆναι καὶ καταπλαγῆναι*), but he also was in fear of undertaking a war against the Parthians with an uncertain outcome—in spite of his being encouraged to do so by all (*τὰς τε γὰρ τοῦ Πάρθου δυνάμεις δείσας καὶ τὸ ἀστάθμητον τῶν πραγμάτων φοβηθείς οὔτε τὸν πόλεμον καίτοι πολλῶν ἐναγόντων ἀνείλετο*).

973 In particular, Plu. *Pomp.* 38.2–3; on Pompeius' intended Parthian campaign, see Lerouge, *L'image des Parthes*, 61–62, who (62) concludes: "ce que l'on doit retenir, c'est qu'en 66, de même qu'en 69, l'hypothèse d'une expédition romaine contre les Parthes n'apparaissait pas comme fantaisiste; elle semblait même d'actualité, si l'on croit Dion Cassius."

974 Plu. *Pomp.* 36.2.

Arsacid direct rule by Mihrdād II in 19/20.i.–3/4.ii.124 BCE (= 15–30.x.187 SE),[975] and only in the second half of 231 SE (of the Macedonian Calendar) (= 14/75.x.82–1/2.x.81 BCE), which partially overlaps with the final year of Gōdarz I's rule ending on 21.iv.81 BCE (= 14.i.231 SE),[976] do we see the coins of an Elymaean vassal ruler and his consort emerging again: they are called Kamnaskirēs III and Anzazē.[977] The *Diaries* report that Urūd I undertook in 28/29.xi.–27/28.xii.78 BCE (= ix.234 SE) a campaign against this Kamnaskires III that seems to have led to the investment of Elymaean cities and the defeat of the king's troops:

> [. . .] went to Elam and fought **Qabinaškiri, the king of Elam**, and out [. . .] in it, and the cities [. . .] / [. . .] . . . the few troops which were with him, turned away from him and went up to the mountains. I heard that towards the mountains when [. . .][978]

Thus, at the latest by the end of December 78 BCE, Elymais was again in Arsacid hands, although Kamnaskires III seems to have continued his rule (likely as an Arsacid subject) until 76/75 BCE (= 237 SE [of the Macedorian Calendar]), when his last coins are attested.[979] That Kamnaskires III may have rebelled against his Arsacid suzerain over a decade later, this time under Frahād III, is possible, although it cannot be otherwise substantiated. However, the coinage of the next Elymaean ruler, another Kamnaskires (IV), is attested beginning with 62/61 BCE (= 251 SE), or 59/58 (= 254 SE) for the period ending in 56/55 BCE (= 257 SE), which could indicate that Frahād III replaced Kamnaskires III with his homonymous son in 62/61 BCE, in retribution for his rapprochement with Pompeius, albeit this suggestion remains highly speculative.[980]

Evaluating Frahād III's interactions with Pompeius against the backdrop of general Arsacid policy, one sees that the attempt at instating Tigranes the Younger on the Armenian throne is grounded in the Arsacid strategy of expansion, for which numerous other examples may be mentioned:

[975] See above, 187.

[976] See appendix, 417.

[977] On their coinage, their names in genitive are written as: *Βασιλέως Καμνισκείρου καὶ βασιλίσσης Ανζάζη*; see Alram, *Nomina propria*, 143–144, pl. 15, nos. 454–455; also Le Rider, *Suse*, 397–398, pl. 72, nos. 11–12; more recently, see van't Haaff, *Elymaean Coinage*, 63–67.

[978] Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*, vol. III, no. –77 B 'rev' 13'–14' (= 502–503).

[979] See Alram, *Nomina propria*, 144.

[980] Among the names of foreign kings whom Pompeius had claimed to have conquered, a list of which, as reported by Appian (*Mith.* 119), was carried during his triumph, the name of a certain Dareios the Mede (*Δαρεῖος Μῆδος*) is to be found, but no mention of the king of Elymais is made, which could suggest that he either did not rebel a second time, or was swiftly replaced by Frahād III.

Demetrios II; Kammaškiri the Younger; not the least, Tigranes the Elder himself.[981] Arsacid expansion was usually preceded by the *hostage policy*—although it does not pertain to the case of Tigranes the Younger—and the *matrimonial policy*, which aimed at strengthening the bonds between client princes and the Arsacid royal house,[982] and which is well attested for the younger Tigranes, as he was married to Frahād III's daughter prior to his restoration campaign.[983] It is, hence, likely that the Arsacid plan to establish Tigranes the Younger was not part of the Arsacid and Roman accord,[984] albeit probably considered all along by the Arsacids, who had found an opportune occasion to dispose of their former client Tigranes the Elder. This scenario might explain why Frahād III was unwilling personally to continue the siege of Artaxata, as he ought to have expected some Roman reaction, which he might have thought best to confront in Parthia. This explanation may also account for Pompeius' decision to suspend his pursuit of Mithridates and undertake the Armenian campaign, but also for his aggressive and unyielding stance against the Arsacids thereafter. Furthermore, Pompeius' unwillingness fully to endorse the cause of Tigranes the Younger was not only due to the ingenious coup of Tigranes the Elder, which he seems to have premeditated for some time,[985] but was also founded in the Roman reluctance to rely on a prince supported by the Arsacids, and beholden to them by matrimonial bonds; a defeated Tigranes, fallen out with the Arsacids, promised to be a more trustworthy Roman ally. Once the prospects of establishing Tigranes the Younger was irremediably foiled following the latter's imprisonment, Frahād III swiftly invaded Armenia, and was willing to compromise on the extent of his demands—recovering Mesopotamia and Adiabene, while relinquishing Gordyene—by yielding to an arbitration sponsored by Rome.[986] What is more, upon reaching an agreement with Tigranes the Elder and Pompeius, the Arsacids deserted Tigranes the Younger who met his fate in Roman bondage, which again is not without striking parallel in past Arsacid conduct: a case in point being the abandonment of prince Timotheos

[981] See above, 74–75, 91–93, 113–114.

[982] On these policies, see Shayegan, "Demetrius II," 97.

[983] D.C. 37.6.4; Plu. *Pomp.* 33.6.

[984] See Lerouge, *L'image des Parthes*, 58–59: "Phraate cependant . . . s'avança en Arménie beacoup plus loin que cela été prévu avec Pompée."

[985] The refusal by Tigranes the Elder to grant refuge to Mithridates, while he was pursued by Pompeius (D.C. 36.50.1; Plu. *Pomp.* 33.9), may be an indication that Tigranes, by dissociating himself from Mithridates, may have been intent on submitting to Pompeius, and thereby sought to thwart Arsacid efforts to replace him with his son.

[986] See Magie, *Roman Rule*, vol. I, 361–362; Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, 223–225; Schippmann, *Parthische Geschichte*, 35–36; and Wolski, *L'empire*, 125–127.

of Characene, who was returned from being a state-hostage to his father Hyspaosines—who put his conspiring[?] son to death—when the latter came to terms and turned from foe to Arsacid ally.[987]

Another intriguing and much debated question, to which we have alluded above, remains Pompeius' refusal to address Frahād III with the title of "king of kings," instead reserving it for Tigranes.[988] The latter's adoption of this title is irrefutably shown by numismatic evidence to have taken place only *after* his reinstatement by Pompeius,[989] although there are reports of Tigranes being thus called already at the outset of the Syrian invasion,[990] or in the course of Lucullus' campaign,[991] which are probably retrojections into earlier times of realities that occurred under Pompeius, for there is good reason to presume that Pompeius' personal ambitions had a direct bearing on Tigranes' assuming the imperial title.

Here are some of the reasons. Pompeius' infatuation with Alexander the Great (as well as the literary topicalization thereof) is well established:[992] his *imitatio*,[993] which was apparently taken to unprecedented heights, included, among other things, the adoption of the title *magnus*, his wearing of a shabby cloak (*χλάμυδιον*) allegedly belonging to Alexander at his triumph in Rome,[994] his musing about a Parthian (= eastern) campaign,[995] his passion and fervor (*ἔρως καὶ ζῆλος*) for advancing to the Persian Gulf and reaching the ocean,[996] and his foundation of new (old) cities, such as *Μαγνόπολις* (formerly Eupatoria) in Pontos, and *Πομπηιόπολις* (formerly Soli) in Cilicia.[997] In this light, his refusal to refer to the Arsacid ruler with the proper title "king of kings," instead bestowing it on Tigranes upon his submission, or on Tigranes the Younger, when humiliatingly conducted in the triumph procession, are clear consequences of Pompeius' *imitatio*, which meant not only to discount the Arsacid claim to imperial

987 See above, 113–114.

988 See Plu. *Pomp.* 38.2. Cassius Dio (37.6.2) has a twist on the topic: Pompeius refused Frahād III the title "king of kings," for he allegedly reserved it for Tigranes the Younger, whom he intended to display as his captive during the triumph in Rome.

989 See table 12.

990 App. *Syr.* 48.

991 Plu. *Luc.* 14.5; Memnon of Herakleia (*FGrH* III, no. 434, 31 = Phot. *Bibl.* 224).

992 Plu. *Pomp.* 2.1–2; 46.1; Maurenbrecher, *Sallusti Historiarum reliquiae* (3.88); and McGushin, *Sallust* (3.84): *sed Pompeius a prima adulescentia sermone fautorum similem fore se credens Alexandro regi facta consultaque eius quidem aemulatus erat.*

993 On Pompeius' *imitatio*, see Weippert, "Alexander-imitatio," 65–82; and more recently Wendt, *Sine fide*, 31–33.

994 App. *Mith.* 117.

995 D.C. 37.7.1.

996 Plu. *Luc.* 38.2.

997 App. *Mith.* 115.

dignity, but also to indicate the subordination of the "king of kings," conveniently equated with Tigranes the Elder/Younger, to Roman might. This is not to say that Tigranes himself, upon his disenfranchisement from Arsacid tutelage, some time around 70 BCE, did not aspire to such dignity, but, if his coinage is a reliable gauge of when this title first made its appearance, then one is compelled to place its adoption in the aftermath of the Armenian submission to Rome, at a time when Tigranes had the least pretenses to imperial dignity. If he was, nonetheless, at that particular juncture incited to assume the imperial title, it could mean that Pompeius' *imitatio* required of him to be equated with the vanquished Achaemenids, so that Alexander's triumph over the East might be re-enacted.

The examination of Arsacid and Roman relations from the first diplomatic encounter in 96 or 92 BCE up to the end of the third Mithridatic war reveals a consistent picture of Arsacid western strategy, which was defined by a cautious, but resolute, extension of Parthian influence. Arsacid imperialism consisted of an infinitely subtle web of matrimonial alliances and dependencies, intent on maintaining on the empire's (western) boundaries foreign potentates in a state of dependency, who, when called upon, could serve as the agents of (further) expansion, thereby eliminating the empire's need to resort to direct rule.[998] Arsacid indirect rule was therefore not necessarily a sign of the empire's inability to impose its political will, but a major tenet of its strategy—including the *hostage* and *matrimonial policies*—which perceived expansionism not merely in terms of conquest, but as the projection of Arsacid influence by dint of clientage and alliances.

Within the confines of Arsacid and Roman relations, we could first observe elements of this strategy under the reigns of Mihrdād II, Gōdarz I, and Urūd I, in the veiled attempts to gain influence in Cappadocia and Syria through the agency of Tigranes the Elder. However, with the disenfranchisement of Tigranes from Parthian tutelage, and his investment of Arsacid territories, the empire's impetus came to a halt, and its focus shifted from expansion to the recovery of lost regions. For this reason, the Arsacids considered Lucullus' intervention and the widening of the conflict to include Armenia to be a propitious moment to regain possession of the disputed provinces and redress the loss of prestige they had endured. Thus, despite the long-term danger to Arsacid interests presented by Roman presence in Asia Minor, the more imminent threat to the empire seemed to emanate from Tigranes. But, even in the long term, the

[998] See similarly Arnaud, "Guerres parthiques," 20, 22.

recovery of former Arsacid territories from Armenia and the assumption of the title "king of kings" allowed the Arsacid state considerably to strengthen its position for the inevitable confrontation with Rome, for it allowed it to eliminate the only antagonist (Armenia) capable of contesting Arsacid hegemony in the East and provided the Arsacid state with the ideological tools required to sustain the claim to co-regency as Rome's equal.

It is not surprising that Pompeius, despite his accord with Frahād III, once the latter threatened to instate his own client and son-in-law Tigranes the Younger on the Armenian throne and resume the Arsacid expansionist policy,[999] not only confirmed Tigranes the Elder's rule, but also, by attempting to preserve the disputed regions for him, sought to establish a buffer zone against Parthian imperialism. It is in this light that we ought also to evaluate Pompeius' creation of the province of Syria: as long as it remained subject to incessant Seleucid disputes, it offered opportunities for the Arsacid realm to interfere and cast its shadow over Syria;[1000] Roman direct rule over Syria brought Parthian aspirations to naught.[1001] Both Arsacid and Roman imperialism make it improbable that the Euphrates was accepted as anything but a floating *de facto* frontier between the two empires in the first century BCE.[1002]

From all this it is clear that, in the first half of the first century BCE, the Arsacid empire pursued a twofold policy towards Rome: on the one hand, it used Roman intervention in Asia Minor as a pretext to recover territorial losses it had suffered, and to regain its supremacy in the region; and, on the other hand, it employed its regained preeminence to strengthen its position *ideologically* by resuming the title of "king of kings," and *politically* by

[999] See similarly Will, *Histoire*, vol. I, 503–504.

[1000] See Zyromski, "Relations," 110: "[a]lthough the Romans won the competition for occupying the remains of the Seleucid state, the Arsacids, in spite of their defeat never gave up hope concerning Syria."

[1001] Already Mommsen, *Geschichte*, 137–149, had suggested that Syria was made into a Roman province primarily as a preemptive measure against Arsacid expansion; more nuanced views, which, nonetheless, see in the Arsacid danger a determining factor for the provincialization of Syria, are represented in modern scholarship by Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy*, 213, 225: "[t]he importance of the Parthian factor in the decision of Pompeius to make northern Syria and lowland Cilicia Roman provinces under direct military control should now be clear. If Pompeius left Syria without an effective government and a strong military presence, the Arsacids were likely to intervene in pursuit of their traditional policy of westward expansion"; also Arnaud, "Guerres parthiques," 22–23; and Frézouls, "Relations," 483. Against the Parthian threat as a decisive factor for the creation of the Syrian province, compare traditionally Dobiaš, "Rapports," 239–256; more nuanced, Will, *Histoire*, vol. I, 506, 508, 511: "[l]a suppression des Séleucides et la création de la province de Syrie répondent donc, semble-t-il, à des mobiles fort complexes, dont celui que l'on invoque le plus volontiers, le danger parthe, fut sans doute le moins réel"; more recently, Ehling, *Untersuchungen*, 272–273; and Lerouge, *L'image des Parthes*, 59–62.

[1002] See Wheeler, "*Völkerrecht* or Power Politics," 290–291; and "Rethinking," 506–507 and 509.

re-establishing its authority over Adiabene and most of Mesopotamia for the inevitable encounter with Rome.

V. THE ARSACID "ACHAEMENID PROGRAM"

It is on this note that we now return to our initial inquiry: (1) could Achaemenid reminiscences as part of an Arsacid political program be accounted for in the first century BCE; and if so, (2) could the threat of Roman expansion in Asia Minor have triggered the alleged Achaemenid revival; and, finally, (3) could Mithridates Eupator's political propaganda against Rome have served as a stimulus for the definition of the Arsacid political ideology?

(1) Although we cannot answer our first inquiry unequivocally, the fact that the Iranian tradition reflected in the *Šāhnāme* illustrates a binary reference to the Achaemenid and Hellenistic legacies, comparable to Justin's account of Mithridates Eupator and Tacitus' account of Ardawān II, seems to indicate that this rationale was, even if originally part of the Pontic propaganda, at one time adopted by the Arsacids for *their* political ideology. Therefore, even if we assume that the binary reference to the Achaemenid and Hellenistic empires originated in the Pontic propaganda, its presence within the Iranian oral epic tradition bears witness to the embrace of this motif by the Arsacids.

(2) Because the adoption of the title "king of kings" by Mihrdād II does not by itself prove the existence of an Achaemenid program, we have no reason to believe that the rise of an "Achaemenid consciousness" among the early Arsacids coincided with the reign of Mihrdād II. Rather, the stimulus for an Achaemenid revival must have come from the long-term threat that Roman expansionism posed to the Arsacid sphere of influence in Asia Minor, a threat that probably impelled the Arsacids to define their political ideology by highlighting their historically inherited right to supremacy in Asia. The binary reference to the Achaemenid and Seleucid predecessors was meant not only to emphasize the historically legitimate claims of the Arsacids in Asia Minor, but also—through the inclusion of the Hellenistic heritage—to establish their succession to the Seleucid polity, whose *poleis* they had inherited, and whose citizens were serving in the ranks of their aristocracy and military.

(3) The similarities between Mithridates VI Eupator's rationale in his warfare against Rome, as reported by Justin, and that of Ardawān in his confrontation with Tiberius, as recounted by Tacitus, can be explained variously: either (a) the Arsacids adopted the Pontic rationale, which

undoubtedly provided an ideological source of emulation in their confrontation with Rome; or (b) Tacitus attributed an ideological rationale, which belonged to the Mithridatic propaganda and was captured by Pompeius Trogus, to the Arsacids.[1003]

We may conclude that the Achaemenid reminiscences we observe under the early Arsacids are not to be attributed to the perseverance and longevity of Iranian traditions that were resuscitated in an act of self-consciousness, as a means to define the Arsacid dominion in light of a newly re-discovered "Iranism," but to the adoption by the Arsacids of memories that cultures exposed to the Iranian civilization had preserved from their own (Iranian) past. Indeed, the Achaemenid reference recorded by Tacitus is not a tribute to the invariably alleged continuity of Iranian history, but is due to the constancy of the Babylonian literary tradition,[1004] which, by preserving and conferring upon the Arsacids the Achaemenid title "king of kings" provided the *form*, and to the strength and permanence of the Iranian element in the Pontic kingdom, which by safeguarding the memory of its Achaemenid heritage furnished the *substance* of what was to become the Arsacid political ideology.

We can now turn our attention back to the question of the Achaemenid renaissance under the Sasanians.

[1003] See the striking similarity between the formula used to recount Mihrdād II's virtues and his drive to emulate his ancestors in Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus and the accounts of subsequent authors, notably, Ammianus Marcellinus:

[Iust. 42.2.3]
huic Mithridates filius succedit cui res gestae Magni cognomen dedere quippe claritatem parentum aemulatione virtutis accensus animi magnitudine supergreditur

"He [Artabanus] was succeeded by his son Mithridates, to whom his achievements gave the name the Great; for being fired with the desire to emulate the merit of his forebears, he surpassed their renown by the vast powers of his mind."

[Amm. Marc. 17.5.5–6]
ad usque Strymona flumen et Macedonicus fines tenuisse maiores imperium meos, antiquitates quoque vestrae testantur; haec me convenit flagitare (ne sit arrogans quod affirmo) splendore virtutumque insignium serie, vetustis regibus antistantem

"that my forefathers' empire reached as far as the river Strymon and the boundaries of Macedonia even your own ancient records bear witness; these lands it is fitting that I should demand, since (and may what I say not seem arrogant) I surpass the kings of old in magnificence and array of conspicuous virtues."

[1004] On the identity of the Babylonian scholars, see Sherwin-White, "Seleucid Babylonia," 28; Oelsner, *Materialien*, 47; also McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 15–24, and concluding remarks on 183–190.

CHAPTER 4

Imitatio veternae Helladis *and* imitatio Alexandri *in Rome*

We have seen that the only notable difference between the accounts of Tacitus, on the one hand, and Dio/Herodian and Ammianus, on the other hand, consists in the absence of Alexander from the narratives of the latter authors. We could, therefore, argue that in the same way as the *presence* of Alexander in the account of Tacitus provided an argument for assuming an Achaemenid revival under the Parthians, his *absence* from the reports of Dio/Herodian and Ammianus—which at first glance could suggest the independence of these narratives from Tacitus' account—could similarly be an argument in favor of an Achaemenid renaissance under the early Sasanians. In the following, however, we shall argue that the absence of Alexander from the narratives of Dio/Herodian and Ammianus, who otherwise follow almost slavishly the story of Tacitus, does not constitute a gauge for an Achaemenid revival under the Sasanians. On the contrary, the absence from the accounts of Dio/Herodian and Ammianus of Alexander as a constituent of the Sasanian political ideology suggests that, at the dawn of the Sasanian empire, the appropriation of the Alexander symbolism by Rome, a gradual process that had already begun in the late Republic, had advanced to such an extent as to prohibit any (positive) association of the powerful Alexander myth with the perceived Persian political rationale. In other words, the importance of the Alexander symbolism for Roman political conceptions and propaganda excluded the possibility of its serving as a conceivable referent for any Eastern (Sasanian) ideological construct. Thus, once confronted with the aggressive expansionist policy of the Sasanians, Roman writers had recourse to literary precedents, which in the past had readily supplied expedient rationales for the Arsacid foreign policy, and superimposed it upon their conflicts with the Sasanian realm, this time, however, by excluding the appropriated Alexander, leaving the Sasanians only with their own *maiores*.

Above we have argued for the substance of an "Achaemenid revival" under the Arsacids through Babylonian and Pontic intermediaries, but we shall now investigate the image of the Arsacids in Roman literary discourse.

Recent studies on how the Arsacids were perceived in Roman literature and art have not only demonstrated that the Romans equated the Arsacids with their illustrious predecessors, the Achaemenids, but have also revealed the reasons and mechanisms prompting such an identification. These observations can lead to several conceivable conjectures: (1) the association of the Arsacids with the Achaemenids in Rome emerged out of Roman ideological exigencies, but was in return strengthened by the simultaneous and independent rise of the "Achaemenid revival" in the Arsacid empire; (2) the association (of the Arsacids with the Achaemenids) originated in Rome and ignited the "Achaemenid revival" of the Arsacids; or finally, (3) the association (of the Arsacids with the Achaemenids) within the Roman literary discourse derived from the political ideology of the Arsacids claiming their Achaemenid past.

The second and third possibilities have to be dismissed for several reasons. First, we have established that the *impetus* for an "Achaemenid revival" in the Arsacid empire is to be found in Babylonia and Pontos, not in Rome. Second, the exhaustive study of Holger Sonnabend has sufficiently ascertained that the association of the Parthians with the Achaemenids prior to the Augustan era was a consequence of Rome's scanty knowledge of the Arsacids, to remedy which Rome had recourse to the readily available inventory of "Oriental" archetypes and images that an abundant classical literature provided on the Achaemenids.[1] Thus, whatever Rome lacked in her apprehension of the Parthians was supplied by classical accounts of the Achaemenids, whose contents were projected upon the Arsacid reality. Consequently, it is inconceivable that Rome's association of the Achaemenids with the Arsacids emanated *primarily* from its knowledge of the Arsacid political ideology.

Thus, the first of the three scenarios is the likeliest, namely, that the identification of the Arsacids with the Achaemenids in Rome was concurrent with, and initially independent of, the rise of an "Achaemenid revival" in the Arsacid empire itself, albeit, subsequently, it was affected by the tenor of the Arsacid ideology. In the following, I shall review succinctly the Roman perception of the Arsacids, relying to a large extent on the works of Sonnabend, Antony Spawforth,[2] and Rolf Michael Schneider.[3]

[1] Sonnabend, *Fremdenbild und Politik*.

[2] Spawforth, "Persian-Wars Tradition," 233–269.

[3] Schneider, *Bunte Barbaren*, 19–30; "Faszination des Feindes," 95–127; pl. 19; "Orientalism," 241–278; "Friend *and* Foe," 50–86. See also Landskron, *Parther und Sasaniden*, 102–151, and conclusions 203–210, for a survey and discussion of the perception of Parthians in Roman visual arts in the Augustan and post-Augustan periods; as well as Rose, "Parthians," 21–75. Also most recently, see Canepa, *Two Eyes*, 34–39. For an interesting study of the coinage of five Arsacid rulers, whose

I. THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PARTHIANS IN THE AUGUSTAN AGE

According to Sonnabend, we can distinguish two stages in the Roman perception of the Parthians: before *and* after the Augustan Parthian policy.

Before Augustus' official renunciation of a war of conquest against the Arsacids and the ensuing ideological consequences, Rome's perception of the Parthians was initially led by the idea of a rich and lucrative "Oriental" realm beyond the Euphrates, where abundant spoils could be gained, but where Roman uncertainty about the people and the land also imperiled the success of military offensives.[4] Of interest to the present discussion, however, are the changes that occurred in the Roman perception of the Parthians after the Augustan policy shift in 20 BCE. The increasing importance of the Arsacid realm in Roman foreign policy, especially after the defeat of Crassus at Carrhae, seems to have produced a variegated, but stereotyped, literature on the Arsacids that compensated for Rome's lack of genuine knowledge of the Parthians by associating them with the Achaemenids as known to the Romans from the Greek tradition, as well as with images of an Orient plagued by luxury and decadence.[5] Augustus' adoption of a policy of co-existence with the Arsacid empire paved the way for the elaboration of a new political ideology, which could account for Rome's relinquishment of the idea of world dominion without suffering any loss of prestige and without any fundamental changes to the prevailing image of the Parthians in Rome.[6] Augustus' ingenuity, according to Sonnabend, did not consist in his mere acquiescence in the balance of power (*Machtdualismus*) between Rome and Parthia, that is, the reality of the *divisio orbis* between the two empires,[7] but in his decision officially to recognize the division by rendering it the bedrock of his political ideology.[8] Thus, Augustus

rules were contemporaneous with that of Augustus, and possibly showing (partially) Roman influence, see Richter, "Angesicht des Feindes," 271–296, with conclusions on 292–293.

4 Sonnabend, *Fremdenbild und Politik*, 162, 167–168. Compare also Campbell, "Rome and Parthia," 216–220. See also, Shayegan, "Philostratus's *Heroikos*," 285–315, for an earlier version of the present discussion.

5 Sonnabend, *Fremdenbild und Politik*, 198–199.

6 *Ibid.*, 200.

7 *Ibid.*, 202–203.

8 *Ibid.*, 209–210: "Der Machtdualismus Rom-Parthien war keineswegs eine 'Erfindung' der Kaiserzeit. Die augusteische Lösung war vielmehr die Konsequenz aus jahrzehntelanger politischer und militärischer Parthererfahrung. Doch der Gedanke der 'divisio orbis' taucht in republikanischer Zeit nirgendwo auf, obgleich man doch etwa nach Carrhae allen Grund zur einer solchen Auffassung gehabt hätte und manche Zeitgenossen dies vielleicht auch so empfunden haben. Aber

created the concept of another world (*alter orbis/alius orbis*), a decadent and uncivilized (Parthian) world, against which the Roman world (*orbis Romanus*) was determined to protect itself.[9] This (Oriental) world was characterized in the Augustan propaganda by decadence (*degeneratio*)—despotism, luxury, and polygamy among other commendable virtues—the causes of which were readily ascribed, through the Roman reception of Greek thought, to the ancient Persians, the Achaemenids. Indeed, since they regarded the Arsacids as the new occupants of the geographic expanse once held by the ancient Persians,[10] the same inventory of (often pejorative) attributes the Greeks used in order to characterize their former adversaries, the Achaemenids, was also applied to the Arsacids. The Arsacid military might, however, which, after its repeated victories over the Romans, did not fit the picture of the "degenerate Oriental," was explained as a remnant of the Arsacids' Scythian descent, but even this feature was deemed to have been exposed to the process of degeneration once the Arsacids became the hegemons of the Orient and heirs to the ancient Persians.[11]

Thus, Sonnabend's exhaustive study demonstrates that after Augustus' policy shift towards the Arsacid empire, the Arsacids, who were deemed to be invincible in their own realm, were cast out from the "civilized world" (= *orbis Romanus*), where Rome ruled supreme, into another "parallel world," the *alter orbis*, where Roman dominion was considered to be neither possible nor desired, for it ran the danger of succumbing to the degeneration plaguing the East.[12] Encouraged by Rome's reception of

keiner hat es ausgesprochen—dies war erst unter Augustus der Fall . . . [d]ie 'divisio orbis' war von Augustus gewollt und in die Wege eingeleitet; die 'Zwei-Welten-Theorie' war nicht das Produkt von zur Reflexion fähigen Zeitgenossen, sondern wird von Augustus selbst vertreten und irgendwie publik gemacht worden sein."

[9] *Ibid.*, 211–221; also Schneider, "Friend *and* Foe," 60.

[10] Sonnabend, *Fremdenbild und Politik*, 264–272.

[11] *Ibid.*, 273–288; especially 277–281, where (280–281), Sonnabend states: "Es war also allem Anschein nach die Auffassung vom Skytisch-nomadischen Charakter der Parther, mit der sich die Römer die besondere Lebensweise der Fremden, vor allem deren 'unorientalische' Kampfkraft, erklärten. Dies war jedoch nur die eine Seite des römischen Partherbildes, die primäre Hypothek der Parther war, wie gezeigt, ihre Rolle als Repräsentanten des Orients. Augustus hatte mit dem Hinweis auf den dekandenten Charakter der Orientalen die Distanzierung von einem Eroberungsprogramm im Osten begründet. Die Ethnographie hat diesen Gedanken aufgenommen und einen Prozess der Degeneration von 'Skythen' zu 'Medern' konstruiert, dem die Parther ausgesetzt gewesen sein sollten. 'Medien' bzw. 'Persien' hatte aber im Bewußtsein der Römer einen festumrissenen geschichtlichen Stellenwert: Es war dies das Reich der Achämeniden und Alexanders. Die Parther wurden als aktuelle politische Führungsmacht in eben diesem geographisch-historischen Raum erlebt, so daß die gedankliche Verbindung zu Medern und Persern quasi auf der Hand lag."

[12] The substrate of the Augustan propaganda against Antonius, whom Augustus accused of "degeneration" and "orientalization" was, similar to the essence of his foreign policy vis-à-vis

Greek thought and her lacunary knowledge of the Parthians, the causes of Arsacid degeneration were sought by *literati* in the Arsacid past, in the Achaemenid empire, with which Parthia, from this time on, became increasingly associated.[13] It is, therefore, not surprising that poets of the Augustan Age referred to Parthians as *Persae* or *Medi*, and occasionally as *Achaemenii*.[14] In a striking passage in one of Horace's Odes, the throne of the Arsacid king Frahād IV (ca. 40 BCE to 3/4 CE)—which he defended successfully against Tiridates, the pretender backed by Rome—is described as that of Cyrus (*Cyri solium*), so as to establish unmistakably the link between the Parthians and the Achaemenids:[15]

[Hor. *Od.* 2.2.17–21]
redditum ***Cyri solio*** *Phraaten*
dissidens plebi numero beatorum
eximit virtus populumque falsis
dedocet uti ocibus . . .

"although Phraates has been restored to the **throne of Cyrus**, yet *virtus*, at variance with the populace, will bar (him) from the number of the happy, and teaches the people to employ false words . . . "

Moreover, having indicated his dissatisfaction with the recovery of the Arsacid throne by Frahād, Horace, in an ode to his patron Maecenas, expresses his anxiety about the consequences of Frahād's superiority for

the Arsacid realm, also based upon the notion that the opposition between East and West ought to be preserved, as suggested by Kienast, "Augustus und Alexander," 446: "Die Propaganda Oktavians war also auf den Ost-West-Gegensatz abgestellt. Oktavian sollte als der Retter Roms und Italiens vor der Bedrohung durch den Osten erscheinen."

[13] See also the important study of Fowler and Hekster, "Imagining Kings," 9–38, especially, 34–38.

[14] Some passages illustrating this phenomenon are: Hor. *Od.* 1.2.21–24: *audiet civis acuisse ferrum / quo graves Persae melius perirent / audiet pugnas vitio parentum / rara iuventus*; 1.2.49–52: *. . . hic magnos potius triumphos / hic ames dici pater atque princeps / neu sinas Medos equitare insultos / te duce Caesar*; 1.21.13–16: *hic bellum lacrimosum hic miseram famem / pestemque a populo et principe Caesare in / Persas atque Britannos / vestra motus aget prece*; 2.16.5–8: *otium bello furioso Thrace / otium Medi pharetra decori / Grosphe non gemmis necque purpura venale necque auro*; and 3.5.1–9: *Caelo tonantem credidimus Iovem / regnare praesens divus habebitur / Augustus adiectis Britannis imperio gravibusque Persis // milesne Crassi coniuge barbara turpis maritus vixit et hostium / . . . / consenuit socerorum in armis // sub rege Medo . . .* ; Ov. *A.A.* 1.223–226: *hic est Euphrates praecinctus harundine frontem / cui coma dependet caerula Tigris erit / hos facito Armenios haec est Danaeia Persis / urbs in Achaemeniis uallibus ista fuit.* See also Sonnabend, *Fremdenbild und Politik*, 244–246; 255–258; 268–274; 280–288; 304; Schneider, "Faszination des Feindes," 106; 110–111; see also 111, n. 121 for a very useful and succinct list of passages—pertinent to the works of Virgil, Propertius, Horace, and Ovid—where Parthians are referred to as Medes, Persians, and Achaemenids (the reference to Virgil's *populi Parthorum aut Medes Hydaspes* should be emended to Verg. *Geor.* 4. 211, instead of 5.211; and that to Horace's *Achaemenium* to Hor. *Od.* 3.1.44, instead of 2.12.21); and "Friend *and* Foe," 70. See also Wiesehöfer, *Iraniens, Grecs et Romains*, 119–120; and Merriam, "Either with us or against us," 64. For references to Achaemenid Persia in Horace and Ovid see also Wisseman, *Parther in Dichtung*, 71, 122–123; for a discussion of the different articulations of the Parthian Wars motive among Augustan poets, see Merriam, "Either with us or against us," 59–70.

[15] See Sonnabend, *Fremdenbild und Politik*, 255; also Wisseman, *Parther in Dichtung*, 68–69; and Schneider, "Faszination des Feindes," 111.

Parthian–Roman relations; in this ode, the Parthian dominion is described as *regnata Cyro Bactra* "Bactra (once) ruled by Cyrus":[16]

[Hor. *Od.* 3.29.25–28]
tu civitatem quis deceat status
curas et urbi sollicitus times
quid Seres et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent Tanaisque discors

"you look to what condition is proper for the state, and, troubled for the city, you fear what the Sereans (=Chinese) and **Bactra (once) ruled by Cyrus** will comply with, as well as the rebellious (people) on the Tanais."

The consequence of this Roman equation between Arsacids and Achaemenids was that, to the extent the Parthians became heirs to the Persians in the Augustan propaganda, the Romans themselves were eventually identified with the ancient Greeks. The most remarkable manifestation of this identification consisted in the staged re-enactment of episodes from the Persian Wars.[17] Significantly, the Roman emulation of past battles, or other events from the Persian Wars, was first introduced under Augustus with the re-enactment of the Salaminian *naumachia* in 2 BCE, which took place in an arena by the Tiber excavated for that purpose.[18] The occasion for the staged sea battle of Salamis, in which the Athenians were triumphant, was the inauguration of the temple of Mars Ultor at the Forum Augustum,[19] where captured Roman standards were deposited after the peace treaty of 20 BCE between Rome and Parthia. It is probable, as mentioned by Ovid,[20] that the *naumachia* was prompted by the imminent departure of Augustus' grandson and adoptive son Gaius Caesar for an eastern campaign aiming at re-imposing Roman suzerainty over Armenia,[21] where the Arsacids—in violation of the treaty of 20 BCE that had placed Armenia under the protectorate of Rome[22]—had interfered,

[16] See Wisseman, *Parther in Dichtung*, 69.

[17] See Spawforth, "Persian-Wars Tradition," 237–243; and Schneider, *Bunte Barbaren*, 63–67; "Faszination des Feindes," 112–113; "Friend *and* Foe," 70–75.

[18] See Spawforth, "Persian-Wars Tradition," 238; and Schneider, "Friend *and* Foe," 70–71.

[19] On the temple of Mars Ultor see Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 86–89; also Ganzert, *Mars-Ultor-Tempel*; and Rose, "Parthians," 22.

[20] Ov. *A.A.* 1.171–172.

[21] On the *naumachia* and its significance, see Spawforth, "Persian-Wars Tradition," 238; Schneider, "Faszination des Feindes," 113; Schäfer, *Spolia et signa*, 100; and Rose, "Parthians," 45–47. On Gaius Caesar's Armenian campaign (and *expeditio Arabica*), see Bowersock, "Augustus and the East," 171–172; Dąbrowa, "*ostentasse*," 276–277; and Luther, "*Medo nectis catenas*," 171–175, in particular, 175: "[g]ut vorstellbar wäre . . . daß die *expeditio Arabica* des C. Caesar eine Strafaktion gegen die Küstenbewohner Nordarabiens darstellte, ausgelöst möglicherweise durch . . . nabatäische Piraterie."

[22] On the treaty of 20 BCE. and its implications for Rome and the Arsacid empire, see Ziegler, *Beziehungen*, 45–52; on the establishment of the *status quo ante* in an encounter between Gaius Caesar and Frahād V on the banks of the Euphrates, see *ibid.*, 53–57.

in order to facilitate the accession of their own candidates, Tigranes II's children Tigranes III and his sister Erato.[23]

The re-enactments of the Persian Wars initiated by Augustus with the Salaminian *naumachia* of 2 BCE and continued by later emperors have been exhaustively surveyed by Spawforth and Schneider; in the following we shall be referring to their works.

Augustus' motives for having recourse to the symbolism of the Persian Wars on the eve of an eastern campaign are intriguing. Indeed, one would expect that Augustus, faced with an eastern foe who was increasingly associated with the ancient Persians, would make use of the same symbolism that the triumvirs of the Republic—Pompeius, Caesar, and Antonius—had utilized,[24] namely, the Alexander myth. But, despite his well-attested reverence for Alexander,[25] Augustus exploited the Persian Wars parallelisms. There are several reasons why Augustus adopted the Persian Wars motif in his ideological discourse: (1) the presence of Alexander in the Arsacid political ideology may have diminished the appeal of Alexander as the champion of the "West" against the "Eastern" Arsacids; but more importantly, (2) the reference to Alexander would have forcibly evoked the notions of world conquest and world monarchy, both of which were irreconcilable with the princeps' political solution of the year 20 BCE: the *divisio orbis*.[26] The notion of *degeneratio*, of which the Parthians were

[23] On the Armenian problem, see Chaumont, "L'Arménie," 76–82; see also Campbell, "Rome and Parthia," 222–228.

[24] On the Alexander imitation of Pompeius, Caesar, and Antonius, see Michel, *Alexander als Vorbild*, 35–135.

[25] On Augustus' *imitatio Alexandri*, see especially Kienast, "Augustus und Alexander," 430–456; Kienast suggests that Augustus' youthful emulation of Alexander after Actium was principally intended to win him the support of the Greek elites, as his ostentatious visit to the Alexander tomb in Alexandria seems to illustrate; Kienast states: "Er [Oktavian] wußte, daß er seinem Sieg und seiner Herrschaft nur Dauer geben konnte, wenn er im Osten sowohl bei den Massen wie vor allem bei der griechisch-hellenistischen Führungsschicht Unterstützung finden würde. Dazu aber mußte er den hellenistischen Vorstellungen entgegenkommen, ohne jedoch das römisch-italische Empfinden allzusehr zu verletzen. Als Herrscher über den Westen *und* den Osten mußte Oktavian-Augustus bestrebt sein, Hellenismus und Romanismus miteinander zu versöhnen, konnte das aber nur, indem er die Eingenart der hellenistischen Welt anerkannte und gelten ließ . . . [v]or allem aber gab der Erbe Caesars vor, nicht als Unterdrücker, sondern als Befreier in den Osten zu kommen . . . [a]ls Befreier des Griechentums von der Tyrannei des Antonius aber mußte der junge Sieger Oktavian . . . die Erinnerung an den großen Vorkämpfer des Griechentums, an Alexander, heraufbeschwören"; Kienast, *ibid.*, 446–448. See similarly Ceauşescu, "Double image," 167–168; for the phenomenon of Alexander imitation in the early Republic, see recently the two case studies by Tisé, *Imperialismo romano*, 23–43; and 47–64.

[26] According to Kienast, the notion of Alexander as a source of emulation lost its appeal for Augustus after the treaty of 20 BCE, that is, following the realization of the concept of the *divisio orbis*; see Kienast, "Augustus and Alexander," 453; see also Ceauşescu, "Double image," 167, who says: "[l]a politique *nationale* inaugurée par Auguste et *l'imitation* d'Alexandre étaient donc irréconciliables."

accused, not only made their conquest undesirable, but also rendered inconceivable the idea of Roman world dominion through fusion of the two empires. While the symbolism of the Alexander imitation was fraught with consequences, the Persian Wars motif implied neither the indispensable conquest of the East nor any fusion with it, *but rather the successful defense of the West against Eastern aggression.*[27]

Now we must recall that the Armenian succession, which had progressed contrary to Rome's interests with the unsanctioned accession of Tigranes III and his sister Erato after Tigranes II's death (ca. 6 BCE),[28] was probably perceived by Rome as the direct result of tacit Arsacid support for the Armenian pro-Parthian fraction.[29] The *naumachia* of the year 2 BCE could therefore have been Augustus' response to covert Parthian assistance to the accession of Tigranes III and his sister, although incontestable evidence for Arsacid intervention in the Armenian succession emerged only after the enthronement of the new Arsacid king Frahād V (ca. 3–2 BCE),[30] who at that time began openly to support Tigranes III and his sister against Augustus' attempt to instate his own candidate Artavades with an escort of Roman troops (ca. 1 BCE).[31] Therefore, Arsacid backing for the pro-Parthian faction in Armenia could have been perceived as a violation of Roman suzerainty and could consequently be paralleled with the Persian (=Achaemenid) attempt to subdue Athenian sovereignty by war.

The battle of Salamis, in which the Athenians had triumphed,[32] provided not only a historical precedent with which to compare the present aggression of the Arsacids against Roman sovereignty, but, more importantly, was envisaged as a response to the Arsacid aggression: a moderate and limited military intervention aimed only at re-establishing the *status quo ante* in Armenia, without the inconvenience of a war of conquest required by the *imitatio*.

To sum up:

(1) following the treaty of 20 BCE between Rome and the Arsacid empire, which led to the recognition of the Euphrates as the border between the two realms and the acknowledgment of Roman suzerainty over

[27] See Spawforth, "Persian-Wars Tradition," 240.

[28] See Chaumont, "L'Arménie," 76–77; also Schippmann, *Parthische Geschichte*, 48.

[29] See Dąbrowa, *Politique*, 43.

[30] On the chronology of Frahād V's accession, see Le Rider, *Suse*, 418–419.

[31] On this episode, see still Magie, *Roman Rule*, vol. I, 481–485.

[32] D.C. 55.10.7–8: "*καὶ ναυμαχία ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι σημεῖά τινα αὐτῆς δείκνυται Περσῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐποιήθη· ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ναυμαχοῦσιν ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐνίκων καὶ τότε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.*"

Armenia, Augustus initiated a new eastern policy by renouncing the aggressive stance of his predecessors;

(2) the ideological foundation for this renouncement rested on the new definition of the Arsacid realm as an *alter orbis*, a degenerate world, whose conquest was undesirable for Rome;

(3) the equation of the Parthians with the ancient Persians, an equation deemed to be the source of Arsacid degeneration, prepared the way for the identification of Romans with the former champions of the West: ancient Hellas, and/or Alexander;

(4) the Salaminian *naumachia* of 2 BCE illustrates that the symbolism of an *Alexander redivivus*—notwithstanding Augustus' continued veneration for the Macedonian—was substituted with, or at least supplemented by, another one more in line with the exigencies of Augustus' eastern *Realpolitik*. The *imitatio Alexandri* with its inevitable call for eastern conquest was fundamentally at odds with the Augustan conception of a *divisio orbis*. In anticipation of an impending eastern campaign, Rome, through the symbolism of the Persian Wars, as illustrated by the staged battle of Salamis, not only acquiesced to the reality of an eastern power capable of endangering Roman interest, but, more importantly, also set the limit for the military riposte when faced with Arsacid aggression: under Augustus, Rome's military campaigns would aim at preserving Roman suzerainty to the extent stipulated by the treaty of 20 BCE and, whenever infringed, it would re-establish the *status quo ante*, like the Athenians who preserved their sovereignty against the Persians in the sea battle at Salamis.

In conclusion, we can say that the equation of the Arsacids with the Achaemenids, which was prompted by Roman political exigencies and possibly inspired by the simultaneous Achaemenid reminiscences within the Arsacid empire, led to the identification of the Romans with the ancient Greeks. The equation of *the Arsacids with the Achaemenids* can be observed in literary and artistic productions of the Augustan era, whereas the equation of *the Romans with the ancient Greeks* was first illustrated in the Salaminian *naumachia* of year 2 BCE.

II. *IMITATIO ALEXANDRI* AND THE SASANIAN "ACHAEMENID REVIVAL"

We can now, finally, turn to the Sasanians and the main issue of our investigation: What did the Sasanians know about the Achaemenids? Can we assume that the equations of the Augustan era lasted until the advent

of the Sasanians, who then replaced the Arsacids as the successors of the Achaemenids in the Roman imaginary? In order to answer this question, I shall first address the striking revival in Rome of the Alexander symbolism at the turn of the second to the third century, in the decades immediately preceding the advent of the Sasanians.

What we can see during these decades, when, as eloquently worded by Alfred Heuss, "Alexander von einer erregenden Gegenwärtigkeit [war],"[33] is not so much that Arsacids and Achaemenids, Romans and Greeks of old, were equated—although there were occasional allusions to the Persian Wars under Caracalla (214) and Gordian III (235)[34]—as an increasing urgency to imitate Alexander.

The advent of the Severans gave rise to a renewed interest in Alexander in Rome. Despite Septimius Severus' considerable expansion of the *limes* beyond the Euphrates,[35] following the short-lived success of Trajan and the re-affirmation of the Augustan policy by Hadrian and his successors,[36] the Alexander myth was undoubtedly *not* the cause of Severus' eastern campaign,[37] in spite of his veneration for the Macedonian.[38] The same, however, cannot safely be assumed with respect to the eastern campaigns of his successors Caracalla and Alexander Severus.

[33] Heuss, "Alexander der Große," 98. See also Shayegan, "Rationale," 119–121.

[34] See Spawforth, "Persian-Wars Tradition," 239–240.

[35] On the eastern campaigns of Septimius Severus (195 and 197 CE) and the creation of the provinces of Osroene and Mesopotamia, see Magie, *Roman Rule*, vol. I, 672–675, and vol. II, 1543–1545, n. 26; also Angeli Bertinelli, "Romani oltre l'Eufrate," 34–41; Schippmann, *Parthische Geschichte*, 68–69; Dąbrowa, "Le programme," 155–157; Birley, *Septimius Severus*, 129–131; and Schmidt, *Römische Außenpolitik*, 69–72; see also Ziegler, *Beziehungen*, 129–132.

[36] On Hadrian's eastern policy, see Magie, *Roman Rule*, vol. I, 611–629; Ziegler, *Beziehungen*, 105–110; Thornton, "Hadrian," 435–437; Schmidt, *Römische Außenpolitik*, 63–64. On Lucius Verus' successful Parthian campaign, which led to minor territorial gains and the military penetration of Osroene and possibly also of Adiabene, although the Euphrates continued to constitute the boundary between the two realms, see Magie, *Roman Rule*, vol. I, 660–662; also Angeli Bertinelli, "Romani oltre l'Eufrate," 30–31, where (30) the author states: "[i]n base alle scarne notizie sulla situazione dei territori oltre l'Eufrate dopo il 166 d. C., si può soltanto dedurre che fu in pratica riconosciuto e affermato il principio dello *status quo ante* [italics mine]"; also Schippmann, *Parthische Geschichte*, 67; Dąbrowa, "Le programme," 153–154; and Schmidt, *Römische Außenpolitik*, 65–68; a different opinion in Ziegler, *Beziehungen*, 114.

[37] Septimius Severus' first Parthian campaign in 195 was essentially motivated by the desire to re-establish Roman authority in Osroene and possibly extend it onto the Parthian vassal-state of Adiabene; Roman authority was conceivably shaken after the Parthian provocation during Severus' power struggle with Pescennius Niger. The second Parthian campaign of Severus in 197 followed upon an Arsacid counter-offensive that led to the conquest of Adiabene and the thwarted siege of Nisibis, which was abandoned as the Roman forces approached; see Ziegler, *Beziehungen*, 130–131; Schippmann, *Parthische Geschichte*, 68–69; Wolski, *L'empire*, 188–190.

[38] On Severus' Alexander imitation, see still Bruhl, "Souvenir d'Alexandre," 218–219; and Birley, *Septimius Severus*, 135–136.

Caracalla's *imitatio*, which has been reported by Cassius Dio[39] and Herodian[40] and which manifested itself variously,[41] could have constituted the stimulus for his Parthian campaign, since the Arsacids had provided no *casus belli*. Already in an article published in 1974, P. Ceauşescu put forth the thesis that the sum of Caracalla's political measures—such as the bestowal of Roman citizenship on the entire population of the empire, as reflected in the *constitutio Antoniniana* and in Cassius Dio's account, as well as Caracalla's reported offer to marry king Artabanus' daughter—could suggest that the *imitatio Alexandri* was a decisive force that strongly determined the emperor's course of political actions.[42] These actions could have been animated by the illusive hope of a world-monarchy through fusion of the two realms, for which the *constitutio Antoniniana* and the marriage proposal to the Arsacid king Artabanus constituted the prelude.[43] Although there may have been numerous other motivations for introducing the *constitutio Antoniniana*,[44] and although Caracalla's marriage proposal could be viewed as a mere pretext to wage a war of conquest with the Arsacid realm,[45] or even an invention,[46] the fact remains that Caracalla's policy towards the Arsacids, his willingness to provoke an unjustified war of *conquest*, or *fusion*, was governed by the exploits of Alexander the Great.[47]

[39] D.C. 78.7.1–8.3; 22.1–2; 79.1.1–2; on Dio's judgment of Caracalla, see Bering-Staschewski, *Zeitgeschichte*, 77–92, especially 83–84. For a comparative summarized table of classical reports on Caracalla's alleged Alexander imitation, see Espinosa, "Alejandrofilia de Caracala," 40–41.

[40] Hdn. 4.8.1–2; 4.8.6–7, 9; 4.9.3–5; 4.10.1–5.

[41] On Caracalla's *imitatio Alexandri*, see Bruhl, "Souvenir d'Alexandre," 214–218; Heuss, "Alexander der Große," 99–100. On Caracalla's "Alexandrophilia," on the other hand, see Espinosa, "Alejandrofilia de Caracala," 37–51; also Christol, *L'empire romain*, 40–41. On other manifestations of Caracalla's Alexander imitation, notably the horde of elephants that reportedly accompanied him on his itinerary (D.C. 78.7.4: *καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ἐλέφαντας πολλοὺς συμπεριήγετο*), see Guey, "Les éléphants de Caracalla," 248–273, especially 268–273; "Animaux célestes," 128–130.

[42] Ceauşescu, "Double image," 142, who states: "Abundant contemporary evidence makes perfectly clear that Caracalla's imitation of Alexander was no superficial whim, but the determining factor in his actions as Emperor. It is surely relevant also to his historic proclamation that the entire population of the Empire should become Roman citizens." See also Vogt, "Pausanias und Caracalla," 306–307.

[43] Hdn. 4.2–4; see Ceauşescu, "Double image," 166; also Ziegler, *Beziehungen*, 133. On the marriage proposal, see also Vogt, "Tochter des Großkönigs," 72–80; "Pausanias und Caracalla," 303–308.

[44] For a recent and succinct review of various interpretations of the *constitutio*, see Christol, *L'empire romain*, 38–39; for a survey of past scholarship up to 1972, see Walser and Pekáry, *Krise*, 11–12; and *Walser*, "Severer in der Forschung," 627–628.

[45] D.C. 79.1.1.

[46] See Timpe, "Heiratsplan Kaiser Caracallas," 470–495; in his concluding remark on 494, the author states: "[d]er Heiratsplan ist als Fabel aus der Geschichte sowie der Ebene der Vorgänge wie der Gedanken und Motive zu streichen." Compare also the convincing criticism of Timpe's thesis by Vogt, "Pausanias und Caracalla," 303–306.

[47] See Vogt, "Pausanias und Caracalla," 306–307. On the chronology of Caracalla's campaign of 216–217 against Parthia, see Maricq, "Chronologie," 27–32; on the campaign itself, see Chaumont,

The *imitatio* of Alexander Severus (Bassianus Alexianus), the main source for whom remains the *Historia Augusta* (*HA*), is absent from the account of Herodian and is more ambiguous than the one documented for Caracalla. The fact that Herodian does not mention any instance of *imitatio* for Alexander Severus, and, more importantly, the fact that the composition of the *HA* in general and that of the *vita Alexandri Severi* in particular are commonly ascribed to the late fourth century CE[48]—when, due to the revival of the Alexander myth,[49] the *vita* evolved into a treatise of good government, rather than a historical biography[50]—do not support the veracity of the Alexander imitation that the *vita* attributes to Alexander Severus. Indeed, aside from the account of the *HA*, there is little evidence to validate Severus' *imitatio*; in contrast to Caracalla, there are no allusions in Severus' inscriptions and on his coins to Alexander the Great,[51] and, intriguingly, against the testimony of *HA*,[52] Severus seems to have neither carried the title of *magnus*,[53] nor the victory title(s) *Parthicus/ Persicus (maximus)*,[54] which, according to Panitschek, "im gegebenen Rahmen der Kaiseridee am ehesten das Bindeglied zum realpolitischen Alexandermythos hätten darstellen können."[55] Despite the lack of direct evidence for Severus' *imitatio*, there is still sufficient indication that the emperor consciously embraced the Alexander myth either on his own initiative or encouraged by his entourage. The fact that Severus (Bassianus Alexianus) was named "Alexander" when adopted by his predecessor,

"L'Arménie," 152–156; Schippmann, *Parthische Geschichte*, 71–72; Dąbrowa, "Le programme," 158–159; and Wolski, *L'empire*, 192.

48 See Bertrand-Dagenbach, *Alexandre Sévère*, 76–80.

49 See Cracco-Ruggini, "Sulla cristianizzazione," 4–56; and "Mito di Alessandro," 79–89.

50 See Bertrand-Dagenbach, *Alexandre Sévère*, 120: "[l]e récit de la vie et du règne d'Alexandre Sévère est indubitablement empreint d'une idéologie qui reflète la pensée politique, sociale et religieuse de l'aristocratie sénatoriale de la fin du IV^e^ siècle et la *Vita*, par son contenu, fait davantage figure de traité du bon gouvernement que de biographie. L'Alexandre Sévère de l'*HA* . . . est bien loin éloigné de la réalité historique mais, plus qu'un reflet déformé de l'histoire, il est, à la manière d'Alexandre le Grand dans la renaissance de sa légende au IV^e^ siècle, l'empereur modèle." See also Blázquez, "Alejandro Magno," 35.

51 See Blázquez, "Alejandro Magno," 35, who states: "La no alusión a Alejandro Magno en las inscripciones y en las monedas y en Herodiano, nos parece fundamental *para negar esta imitación* [italics mine]."

52 SHA *Alex.* 11.2: *si Antonini nomen repudiasti, Magni praenomen suscipe*; 56.9: *adclamatio senatus: Alexander Auguste, di te servent. Persice Maxime, di te servent. vere Parthicus, vere Persicus* . . .

53 For a discussion of the historicity of the title *magnus* for Alexander Severus, see Gascou, "Énigme épigraphique," 231–240; and Dareggi, "Severo Alessandro," 848–858, especially 855; also Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*, 177.

54 See Kneißl, *Siegestitulatur*, 167–168; also Panitschek, "Achaemenidennachfolge," 465; also Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*, 178; a different opinion in Christol, *L'empire romain*, 76. For a more nuanced view, see Winter, *Sāsānidisch-römische Friedensverträge*, 60–62.

55 Panitschek, "Achaemenidennachfolge," 464.

Elagabalus,[56] and, later, was proclaimed Caracalla's son,[57] means that Severus was consciously associated with Alexander the Great, probably in order to strengthen in the public eyes his affinity with Caracalla, whose infatuation with the Macedonian was well known.

The episode of Severus' adoption by Elagabalus under the name of "Alexander" is reported by Cassius Dio, who associates this event with the account of the short-lived insurrection of a pseudo-Alexander.[58] Dio mentions that the adoption and naming of Severus by Elagabalus came about by some divine arrangement (*ἐκ φείας τινὸς παρασκευῆς*),[59] for which he (Dio) provides two foregoing omens: the first of these was, as Dio reports, a statement made to Elagabalus that an Alexander should come from Emesa to succeed him (*Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξ Ἐμέσης ἐλθὼν αὐτὸν διαδέξεται*),[60] and the second, which occurred before the adoption of Severus by Elagabalus, was the successful crusade of a pseudo-Alexander,—literally a *δαίμων* "soul" claiming to be Alexander of Macedonia—who throughout his itinerary via Moesia and Thrace as far as Byzantium did not encounter any resistance either from the officials or from the populace. What is more, the communal officials in Thrace, far from opposing the *δαίμων*, provided for him at public expense.[61] This Pseudo-Alexander, according to Dio, finally vanished after having performed sacred rites by night in Chalcedony.[62] It follows from Dio's passage that the conferral of the name "Alexander" on Severus (Bassianus Alexianus) bore out the general belief that Severus was identical with the awaited Alexander from Emesa[63] and possibly, as Dio's report or our understanding of it seems to suggest, was the resurrection/continuation of the very *δαίμων* that had so mysteriously vanished. An inscription found in Moesia at the end of the last century and convincingly interpreted by Edmund Groag in 1909 seems to confirm the historicity

[56] See Jardé, *Études critiques*, 1–3; Bruhl, "Souvenir d'Alexandre," 218–219.

[57] Initially Alexander Severus was adopted by Elagabalus, who himself was proclaimed Caracalla's son, see Kettenhoffen, *Syrische Augustae*, 25–28, and 36–37, but after his own ascension, Alexander Severus eliminated all reference to Elagabal, becoming himself directly Caracalla's son: see Kettenhoffen, *ibid.*, 36–37; also Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*, 177–178; and Christol, *L'empire romain*, 49, 51–52, 67, nn. 10–11.

[58] D.C. 80.17.1–18.3. On this episode see the important contribution of Gagé, "L'horoscope de Doura," 151–168, especially 164–166.

[59] D.C. 80.17.3.

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] D.C. 80.18.1–2.

[62] D.C. 80.18.3.

[63] The family of the Syrian *Augusti* Elagabalus and Severus Alexander had its roots in the Syrian city of Emesa, where the cult of the Elagabal divinity, as whose high priest emperor Elagabalus was groomed, was exercised; on the Elagabal cult of Emesa, see Frey, *Untersuchungen*, 45–71, especially 45–49.

of Dio's account.[64] It is dedicated to a group of divinities by a certain Epityncha nus, slave of Furius Octavianus, a well-known senator under the Severan emperors Caracalla, Elagabalus, and Alexander Severus, who had estates in Moesia (*Epityncha nus servus Furi Octavi clarissimi viri*).[65] The divinities comprise Jupiter (Jove) and Juno, but also a male and a female serpent, as well as an Alexander (*Jovi et Junoni et dracconi et draccenae et Alexandro . . . posuit*). Groag interpreted the *dracco* and *draccena* of the inscription as elements of the Moesian popular cult,[66] but he identified *Alexander* with the same *δαίμων* who, operating in Moesia and Thrace, claimed to be the resurrected Alexander of Macedonia shortly before Severus' adoption by Elagabalus. Thus, Epityncha nus, who made his dedication possibly stimulated by the deeds of the *δαίμων*, also ensured the benevolence of the *δαίμων* by including him with Roman and Moesian divinities in his dedication.[67]

That the Alexander symbolism held a vigorous sway over people's imagination under the Severans is illustrated by yet another circumstance. Among the Greek graffiti discovered during the excavations of Dura Europos and estimated to date back to the years 230–235 CE, the horoscope of a certain Alexander Macedon (*Ἀλέξανδρος Μακεδών*), born December 11, 218 CE, is of special interest.[68] While the name "Macedon" was commonly used as a personal name during the Empire, as other examples bear witness,[69] its occurrence in association with another Greek name, "Alexander," led the editors of the horoscope to believe that "Macedon" was in reality an ethnic designation.[70] Jean Gagé, however, whose views have been embraced

[64] See Groag, "Alexander," 252–255, whose interpretation I have followed. See also Gagé, "L'horoscope de Doura," 166.

[65] See Groag, "Alexander," 251–253.

[66] *Ibid.*, 255: "[d]emnach wird man in dracco und draccena am wahrscheinlichsten Gestalten des mösischen Volksglaubens erblicken dürfen."

[67] *Ibid.*, 255: "[e]s läßt sich auch begreifen, daß der Sklave, der für den abwesenden Herren in Scupi die Geschäfte führte, vor dem rätselhaften Alexander und seinem Gefolge Besorgnisse hegte und ihn durch die Weihung eines Altars günstig zu stimmen suchte, in dem der Name des Gottkönigs neben olympischen Göttern und Wesen dämonischer Art genannt war."

[68] On the graffiti in general see Welles, "Graffiti," 79–177; on the horoscope in particular see item 232, 105–110; see also Gagé, "L'horoscope de Doura," 151–168, to whose views I subscribe. The complete text and translation of the horoscope, as provided by Welles, "Graffiti," 107, are as follows:

Ἔτους λφ', μηνὸς Αὐδιέου θ'
κατὰ σελήνην ε', ἡμέρᾳ Κρόνου, περὶ γ'
ὥρ(ας) ἡμερινῆς, ἐγενήθη Ἀλέξαν(δρος) Μακεδών
Ἀπολλωνίκου· ἐν Ἰχθυδίῳ ὡρ(οσκόπος) Ὑδροχοῦς.

"In the year 530, on the ninth of the month Audnaeus and on the fifth day of the moon, Saturday, about the third hour of the day, was born Alexander Macedonius son of Apollonicus; in the constellation of Pisces; Aquarius was rising on the horizon."

[69] Welles, "Graffiti," 110.

[70] *Ibid.*: "Μακεδών was common under the empire as a personal name . . . [t]he double name,

here, proposed some time ago that *Μακεδών* should be regarded as a personal name; according to him, "Alexander Macedon" could well be the personal name of an inhabitant of Dura Europos named after the Great Macedonian, because the stellar constellation of his birth recalled that of Alexander. What is more, the reason for bestowing so illustrious a name on a private citizen in December 218 CE—that is, shortly after the rise of Elagabalus and over two years before the occurrence of a pseudo-Alexander in Moesia—resided, according to Gagé, in the growing importance of the Alexander legend among the empire's Oriental population.[71] One other aspect of the horoscope needs to be discussed. While there is a plausible reason for naming a private citizen "Alexander Macedon" in 218 CE, the appearance of *his* horoscope as graffiti in the years 230–235 CE requires an explanation. The recurrence of the horoscope over a decade following its genesis can only be attributed to the emerging danger to which the rise of the Sasanians and the aggressive campaigns of king Ardaxšīr in the years 230–233 CE[72] had exposed the eastern boundaries of the Roman empire, notably Dura-Europos. In such circumstances, Gagé argues, it was not surprising that the expectations for the appearance of a *novus Alexander*, which had been stirred up by the deliberate association of Severus with Alexander the Great already at his adoption by Elagabalus, who could preempt the Sasanian menace, grew stronger as the emperor committed himself to a Persian campaign in 232.[73] Thus, while the horoscope was originally made to celebrate the birth of a certain Alexander Macedon of

however, Alexandros Macedon, offers difficulties. Double names are common where the first is non-Greek, especially with Roman citizens . . . [b]ut double Greek names ran counter to the principles of ancient nomenclature, and it is probably better here to take Macedon as an ethnic. It is not impossible that at Dura as generally in Mesopotamia there was a social class which called its members *Μακεδόνες* . . ."

[71] Gagé, "L'horoscope de Doura," 156: "A Doura, et sous le règne des Sévères, quatre ans avant l'avènement de Sévère-Alexandre, le dernier de la dynastie, pourquoi ne pas admettre simplement que le citoyen né en décembre 218 reçut les noms caracteristiques d'Alexandre le Grand? La chose paraît exorbitante, car il est vrai que la légende du héros connaissait alors un succès extraordinaire dans l'Empire romain, mais il me semble que, pour la même raison, l'"imitation' d'Alexandre ait été réservée aux seuls empereurs. Nous croyons que l'Alexandre de Doura a joui d'une exception, et justement pour une raison astrologique: parce que les signes stellaires de sa naissance avaient reproduit de façon frappante ceux sous lesquels passait pour être né le fils de Philippe et d'Olympias."

[72] On Ardaxšīr's Roman campaign in general, see Wiesehöfer, "Ardašīr I," 371–376, especially 372–374; on Ardaxšīr's first confrontation with the Roman empire in the years 230–233 CE, see Winter, *Sāsānidisch-römische Friedensverträge*, 45–68.

[73] Gagé, "L'horoscope de Doura," 166–167: "[n]ous pouvons donc tenir pour vraisemblable que, lorsque Mammaea fit prendre à son fils le nom d'Alexandre, elle ne se contenta pas de répondre au vœu des soldats, qui voulaient saluer comme un nouveau ***Magnus*** celui qu'ils considéraient, après Elagabal, comme un autre fils d'"Antoin le Grand,' c'est-à-dire de Caracalla, mais *prétendit encourager les espérances de la Syrie et, en général, des provinces d'Orient, qui sans doute attendaient avant tout de l'authentique retour d'Alexandre une défense victorieuse contre le nouveau péril qui surgissait le long de l'Euphrate* [italics mine]."

Dura, whose claim to fame was the similarity the stellar constellation of his birth displayed with the one ascribed to Alexander the Great, when it recurred on a wall a decade later it was meant to celebrate both the Macedonian hero, whom the horoscope recalled, and his incarnation Alexander Severus.[74]

A final source for Alexander Severus' *imitatio* is provided by Jacques Gascou's relatively recent interpretation of two inscriptions from the north African town of Giufi.[75] According to these inscriptions, the city of Giufi became a free town (*municipium*) some time between December 228 and March 235 CE,[76] with the impressive title of *municipium Aurellium Alexandrianum Augustum Magnum Giufitanum*[77] after Alexander Severus' imperial appellation *Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurel(l)ius Severus Alexander Augustus*.[78] Gascou demonstrated beyond doubt that the adjective *magnum*, although not otherwise attested for Alexander Severus on epigraphic and numismatic material,[79] referred in this context to him.[80] The inclusion of the title *magnus* in the inscriptions of Giufi was interpreted by Gascou as a deliberate attempt, possibly by the municipal authorities, to flatter the emperor by associating him with Alexander of Macedonia, either before or during Severus' Persian campaign or upon his return or even during the celebration of his triumph in Rome. Whether or not the emperor knew about, or approved of, the honor bestowed upon him by Giufi's authorities is of no consequence; important is solely the fact that they (the town's authorities) used the *epithet of Alexander the Great* in order to flatter him.[81]

[74] *Ibid*, 168: "[l]'horoscope de Doura nous semble confirmer que la Syrie entra très tôt avant dans ce mouvement, et *qu'elle se passionna pour l'aspect astrologique de la légende d'Alexandre* [italics mine]. Ce n'est pas par hasard, en tout cas, qu'il a été griffonné sur les murs d'une maison de cette forteresse de l'Euphrate, selon toute vraisemblance entre le passage encore offensif de Sévère-Alexandre et de ses troupes en 232 et la première menace, en 239, d'une occupation de l'ancienne colonie macédonienne par les Perses."

[75] See Gascou, "Énigme épigraphique," 231–240.

[76] *Ibid.*, 232; see also Duncan-Jones, "Patronage and City Privileges," 12–16.

[77] Gascou, "Énigme épigraphique," 233.

[78] *Ibid.*; also Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*, 177.

[79] Gascou, "Énigme épigraphique," 239.

[80] *Ibid.*, 233–234: "l'épithète *Magnum* ne paraît pas, à première vue, entrer dans la suite des épithètes impériales, puisque jamais Sévère Alexandre n'est appelé Magnus sur les inscriptions"; and 235: "il ne reste qu'une possibilité: c'est qu'il [*Magnum*] ait quelque rapport avec Sévère Alexandre lui-même et que, au même titre que les trois épithètes qui le précèdent, il renvoie au fondateur du municipe"; also 236: "[o]n ne peut donc pas exclure que l'adjectif *Magnum* qui suit *Augustum* s'explique par le choix qui ait été fait d'une titulature développée au maximum et renvoie, lui aussi, à Sévère Alexandre."

[81] *Ibid.*, 230: "[n]ous proposerons donc une solution de l'énigme épigraphique qui avait été le point de départ de cette recherche: nous supposons que Giufi a été transformé en municipe à une époque qui a coïncidé soit avec les préparatifs de la guerre contre Ardascher (230), soit avec les débuts de la campagne orientale de Sévère Alexandre (231), soit seulement avec sa prétendue victoire de 232 ou son triomphe de 233. L'adjectif *Magnum* aurait été ajouté aux épithètes tirées de la titulature

However, an important point distinguishes the *imitatio* of Alexander Severus from that of Caracalla: Severus' eastern campaign was a direct response to Sasanian aggression in Mesopotamia, and it is unclear whether it ever intended, beyond the recovery of wrested Roman territory, to penetrate deep into the Sasanian realm in an effort to subdue eastern lands.[82] The Persian campaign of Alexander Severus, despite being depicted as an ill-fated expedition by Herodian,[83] seems nonetheless to have resulted in a temporary cessation of hostilities with the Sasanians and in the re-establishment of the territorial *status quo ante*.[84] The very fact that Severus Alexander did not exhibit any particular predisposition for an offensive warfare during his military venture in Germany either, and was, according to Herodian, who accuses him of being a coward (*ἀνάνδρος*),[85] far more disposed to conclude peace with the Germans[86] (and to fortify his defensive positions against Persians[87]) than to cross the Rhine, could indicate that Alexander was as a matter of policy rather inclined towards defensive warfare, rather than a campaign of expansion, which could have been expected from a *novus Alexander*. And here lies the ambiguity of Alexander Severus' ideological foundation and *Realpolitik*: On the one

de Sévère Alexandre—qui furent alors conférées à Giufi—*par pure flatterie, pour souligner un rapprochement auquel beaucoup pensaient ou feignaient de croire . . . entre les noms et les personnes des deux Alexandre* [italics mine]. Certes, cette épithète n'eut aucun caractère officiel puisqu'on ne la retrouve jamais dans la titulature de Sévère Alexandre . . . Il n'est donc pas nécessaire d'imaginer que l'empereur, ou les services palatins, à Rome, aient attribué au municipe de Giufi les épithètes *Aurellium Alexandrium Augustum Magnum* au moment où fut prise la décision de transformer la *ciuitas* en municipe. Ce sont probablement les autorités mêmes du nouveau municipe qui prirent l'initiative d'ajouter l'épithète *Magnum* à la titulature normalement tirée des dénominations de Sévère Alexandre, *établissant ainsi entre le prince et Alexandre de Macédoine une assimilation qu'elles pensaient devoir être agréable au premier et à laquelle la guerre contre les Perses conférait, croyaient-elles, à la fois actualité et vraisemblance* [italics mine]."

82 For a succinct description of Alexander Severus' eastern expedition, see Magie, *Roman Rule*, vol. I, 695–696, and vol. II, 1560–1561; also Christol, *L'empire romain*, 75–76.

83 See Hdn. 6.5.1–6.6.3.

84 See Hdn. 6.6.4–6.7.1. Compare also SHA *Alex.* 15.1–17.

85 Herodian accuses Alexander Severus in several passages of cowardice; during his campaign against the Persians (Hdn. 6.5.9): *ἔσφηλε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μήτε εἰσαγαγὼν τὸν στρατὸν μήτε εἰσελφών, ἢ διὰ δέος, ἵνα μὴ δὴ αὐτὸς κινδυνεύοι ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς . . .* ; again while depicting the despair of the Illyrian soldiers at the announcement of the German raid into Illyria, they (the soldiers) are reported to have ascribed their misfortunes in the war against the Persians, as well as the devastation of their homes, to Alexander's cowardice (Hdn. 6.7.3); and finally, in his description of Maximinus' plot against Alexander, Herodian contrasts the soldiery's admiration for the courage of the former with its contempt for the cowardice of the latter (Hdn. 6.8.3); see also Hdn. 6.9.5. In contrast, the *Historia Augusta* (SHA *Alex.* 19.5) reports that the mutiny against Alexander was triggered by his excessive severity: *verum Gallicanae mentes ut sese habent durae ac retorridae et saepe imperatoribus graves severitatem hominis nimiam et longe maiorem post Heliogabalum non tulerunt.*

86 See Hdn. 6.7.9.

87 See Hdn. 6.7.5.

hand, he clearly sought to emulate the great Macedonian, for all the above reasons; on the other hand, however, his policy is a measured military response in the best Augustan tradition, a policy that follows the paradigm of the Salaminian *naumachia*, that is, a policy inspired by the fifth-century Athenians who defended their territories against invading Persian armies.

These tensions within Alexander Severus' political ideology and policy are unmistakably reflected in Flavius Philostratus' *Heroikos*, which, in my opinion, simultaneously captures and resolves the dichotomy of Severus' ideological representation(s) and foreign policy. We shall therefore briefly discuss the *Heroikos* in view of Severus' policy vis-à-vis the Persian empire of the Sasanians.

III. PHILOSTRATUS' *HEROIKOS*

The *Heroikos*, which has been the subject of intense studies in recent years,[88] is a dialogue between a local Greek vineyard worker in charge of the gardens and the vineyard surrounding the tomb of the hero Protesilaos and a Phoenician merchant waiting for more favorable winds to set forth on his journey. The setting is Elaious, a southern city on the Thracian Chersonesus on the European side of the Hellespont. The vineyard worker is an intimate of Protesilaos, the first Achaean to fall in Troy, who relates to the Phoenician merchant the hero's account of the Trojan war and his discussion of Homer's poems. Ellen Aitken and Jennifer Berenson Maclean have eloquently described Protesilaos' retrospective musings in the introduction to their new *Heroikos* edition:

> the dialogue is dedicated to a discussion of the heroes, but not simply as a retelling of Homer. Protesilaos is, after all, a more trustworthy witness not only of the events prior to landing at Troy (when he died), but also of those that occurred afterward, since he is 'free from the body and diseases' and thus can 'observe the affairs of mortals' (*Her.* 7.3). From this privileged vantage point, Protesilaos the hero is both reader and critic of Homer.[89]

Two aspects of the *Heroikos* make it invaluable for the purposes of the present study: on the one hand, (1) the fact that Philostratus belonged to the Second Sophistic (with its reception and exaltation of the Hellenic past),[90] was included in Julia Domna's Circle (κύκλος), and closely associ-

[88] See Rossi, *Filostrato Eroico*; Beschorner, *Helden und Heroen*; Aitken and Berenson Maclean, *Heroikos*; and Grossart, *Heroikos von Flavius Philostrat.*

[89] Aitken and Berenson Maclean, *Heroikos*, xxxviii.

[90] On the Second Sophistic, its ethos, affected archaism, and yearning for the Hellenic past, see Anderson, *Second Sophistic*, 1–12; 86–100; 101–143; and 234–246; Bowie, "Greeks and their Past," 3–41; also de Blois, "Third Century Crisis," 358–377; and "Emperor and Empire," 3391–3404.

ated with the Severan court,[91] at least until Julia Domna's demise in 217;[92] all reasons that suggest the *Heroikos* could reflect, if not the official Severan political ideology under Alexander Severus, at least some of the tensions that characterized the late Severan imperial policy vis-à-vis Sasanian Iran. On the other hand, (2) *Heroikos*' chief heroes, Protesilaos and Achilles, these "watchful defenders of all that is Greek from all that is not"[93] in after-death, reflect the defensive (but ideologically dilemmatic) character of Alexander Severus' campaign against Sasanian expansionism: while both heroes are depicted in the *Heroikos* as "protective guardians" of Hellas, yet Achilles' more aggressive disposition differs markedly from Protesilaos' more defensive nature. Thus, their juxtaposition in the *Heroikos* closely mirrors the tensions and contradictions in Severus' policy between the *ideological* imperative to emulate Alexander's act of conquest and the *Realpolitik* need to lead a more contained eastern campaign.

Let us first turn our attention to the second point. Aitken and Berenson Maclean, in their introduction to the *Heroikos*,[94] and Aitken separately,[95] have placed the composition of the *Heroikos* in the early years of Alexander Severus. Indeed, considering the Trojan War motif and the preeminence of Protesilaos in the *Heroikos*, the hero, with whose revenge upon the Persian governor of Chersonesus the final *logos* of the Herodotean cycle on the *Persian Wars* concludes,[96] we see that everything in the *Heroikos* seems to hint at the reign of Alexander Severus, when the Roman empire was faced with the reality of invading Persian armies and ideologically in need of recalling heroes and events of the past, whose projection into the present presaged a successful outcome for Rome's defense. It is thus possible that the *Heroikos* was written "around the time of Alexander Severus' Persian campaign in order to promote Greek (and hence Roman) identity and piety, by recalling not only the memory of the preeminent heroes of the Trojan War but most notably that of Protesilaos."[97]

[91] For a more detailed description of Philostratus' life, see Anderson, *Philostratus*, 1–22; also Flinterman, *Power, Paideia and Pythagoreanism*, 15–28. On Julia Domna's Circle, see in particular Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, 101–109.

[92] We do not know much about Philostratus' association with the Severan court after the death of Julia Domna in 217, but it is not unlikely that he might have been involved indirectly with Elagabalus and Alexander Severus; see Anderson, *Philostratus*, 7; Flinterman, *Power, Paideia and Pythagoreanism*, 26–27; and Aitken and Berenson Maclean, *Heroikos*, lxxxvii. On the present chapter, see Shayegan, "Philostratus's Heroikos," 285–315.

[93] Aitken and Berenson Maclean, *Heroikos*, lviii.

[94] *Ibid.*, xliv–xlv; lxxxv–lxxxvi.

[95] Aitken, "Why a Phoenician?," 275.

[96] Aitken and Berenson Maclean, *Heroikos*, lxxxv: "[i]n order to understand the particular valence Protesilaos may have had in this political situation, it is instructive to recall Herodotus' use of Protesilaos as the protector of Greece against the Persians."

[97] *Ibid.*, lxxxv–lxxxvi.

Let us once more recall the last *logos* of Herodotos' *Historiae*, which is indispensable for understanding the strategies of the *Heroikos*:[98] here, Protesilaos, the first of the Achaeans to fall during the Trojan war, is vindicated for the past outrage of Artauktes, the Persian administrator of the Chersonesus. Artauktes, who ruled this region in the manner of a tyrant (*ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξεω ὕπαρχος Ἀρταύκτης*), is accused of having deceived king Xerxes with the intent to seize the riches (*χρήματα*) attached to Protesilaos' precinct (*οἶκος*). Accordingly, he requested from Xerxes the ownership of Protesilaos' precinct by presenting it as the "house" (*οἶκος*)[99] of a Greek man who had made war against the king's land and has died deservedly:[100]

[Hdt. 9.116]

*ὃς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξηπάτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλεω τοῦ Ἰφίκλου χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ὑπελόμενος. ἐν γάρ Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν, ἔνθα ἦν χρήματα ... τὰ Ἀρταύκτης ἐσύλησε βασιλέος δόντος. λέγων δὲ τοιάδε Ξέρξην διεβάλετο. **δέσποτα, ἔστι οἶκος ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆρ σὴν στρατευσάμενος δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανε· τούτου μοι δὸς τὸν οἶκον, ἵνα καί τις μάθῃ ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ σταρτεύεσθαι.** ταῦτα λέγων εὐπετέως ἔμελλε ἀναπείσειν Ξέρξην δοῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἶκον, οὐδὲν ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐφρόνεε. ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν βασιλέος στρατεύεσθαι Πρωτεσίλεων ἔλεγε νοέων τοιάδε· **τὴν Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἑωυτῶν εἶναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος.***

"he deceived the king marching towards Athens, he stole away the riches from Protesilaos, son of Iphiklos. There is in Elaious in the Chersonesus the tomb of Protesilaos and a precinct about it, where the riches were ... that Artauktes carried away by the king's gift. He thus misled Xerxes by false accounts: '**master, there is a house belonging to a Greek man who had made war against your land. Getting his just deserts, he had died. Give me this man's house, so that everyone may learn not to make war against your land.**'[101] It was to be thought that this plea would easily persuade Xerxes to give him a man's house, having no suspicion of Artauktes' meaning, whose reason for saying that Protesilaos had invaded the king's territory was, that **the Persians believe all Asia to belong to themselves and whosoever is their king.**"

[98] See also Boedeker, "Protesilaos," 30–48.

[99] On this entire passage and the double meaning of *οἶκος* in Herodotos' *logos*, see Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 268–269, where the author states: "At least Xerxes was led to believe that Artauktes was to occupy the house of 'a Greek man'. The story is actually being told by Herodotus in a mode analogous to that of an ainos, in that double meanings abound. To begin with, the 'house' of the 'Greek man' is really the sacred precinct of the hero Protesilaos, a cult center filled with riches supplied by the hero's worshippers (9.116.2)."

[100] Artauktes' denunciation of Protesilaos obviously refers to him being the first Achaean who died attacking Troy (Hom. *Il.* 2.700–702); see also *Her.* 12.3–4.

[101] The translation of the passage in bold from *δέσποτα* to *σταρτεύεσθαι* is taken from Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 269.

After looting Protesilaos' precinct, Artauktes continued violating Protesilaos' cult by having intercourse with women in the hero's sanctuary (*αὐτός τε ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγετο*).[102]

In the aftermath of the successful Athenian offensive in the Chersonesus and the siege of Sestos, Artauktes was then captured and executed by the Athenian forces for the wrongs he had perpetrated against Protesilaos and the responsibility that he, the official representative of the Persian authority in Chersonesus, was symbolically bearing for the bridging of the Hellespont by king Xerxes.[103] Before the execution of Artauktes, however, Protesilaos came back to life through the agency of dried fish (*τάριχοι*)—which, being miraculously restored to life, leapt off the fire while being roasted by an Athenian—to announce his vengeance and exact retribution from Artauktes, who addressed his frightened Athenian captor as follows:

[Hdt. 9.120]
ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὼς καὶ τάριχος ἐὼν δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι.

"Athenian Stranger, do noy be frightened of this portent (*τέρας*). For it was manifested not for you. Rather, Protesilaos—the one who abides in Elaious—is making a sign (*σημαίνει*) to me that, even though he is dead—and a *τάριχος*—**he has the power (*δύναμις*) from the gods to exact retribution from the one who comits wrongdoing.**"[104]

Nagy describes this episode as follows:

In the narrative of Herodotus, the dead hero Protesilaos "gives a sign" (σημαίνει) to the living . . . [t]hrough a "power" (δύναμις) given to Protesilaos by the gods, the hero can uphold justice by punishing the unjust—just as surely as he can give a mystical sign, as narrated immediately beforehand: an Athenian is roasting τάριχοι ("preserved fish"), and the dead fish suddenly come back to life . . . So also Protesilaos is now being called a τάριχος: even though he is dead, and thus a τάριχος, he still has the power to intervene in the world of the living . . . By implication, Protesilaos has mystically come back to life, just like the preserved fish.[105]

The importance of this passage[106] resides in the fact that Protesilaos, the first Achaean to die in the Trojan War, the hero who could not prove himself in the world of the living, is offered a *comeback as revenant* in

[102] Hdt. 9.116.
[103] Hdt. 9.116–120.
[104] The translation of this passage is taken from Nagy, "Sign of the Hero," xvii.
[105] *Ibid.*, xvi–xvii; and Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 269–270.
[106] See also discussion by Boedeker, "Protesilaos," 41.

the final *logos* of Herodotos' *Historiae* on the origins of the antagonism between Asia and Europe, in order to inflict punishment upon Artauktes, not only because of the wrongs he committed against the hero, but also because of those his master, king Xerxes, inflicted upon Hellas by bridging the Hellespont.[107] There is perfect symmetry in this *logos* between the actions and reactions of Artauktes and Protesilaos, Asians and Hellenes: Protesilaos' precinct fell prey to looting only because he was presented as a Hellene who dared attack Asia; Artauktes was executed on the very spot where Xerxes had crossed over to Europe because the king dared attack Hellas. Thus, already in the Herodotean *logos*, Protesilaos as *revenant* appears as the champion of the Hellenic cause against the Persian invader, fulfilling the promise that the living hero had failed to meet at Troy.[108]

Now let us return to the *Heroikos*.

Reactivating the Herodotean perspective, Philostratus depicts the *revenant* Protesilaos as the guardian of Hellas in tandem with Achilles. In analogy to Herodotos, who had recourse to the Trojan War motif in his depiction of the Persian Wars,[109] Philostratus, confronted with the prospect of a looming conflict between Rome and Persia, actualizes both themes and projects the tenor of these hereditary conflicts upon the reality of his own age.

In the *Heroikos*, Achilles, the vanquisher of Troy *par excellence*, is juxtaposed to Protesilaos the *revenant*—a Herodotean re-invention of the hero, whereupon Philostratus seems to have edified his own narrative[110]—and

[107] See Berenson Maclean and Aitken, *Flavius Philostratus*, liv–lv: "[n]ot only has the Persian governor offended Protesilaos personally by looting his sanctuary and having sex within its boundaries, but Protesilaos also takes revenge upon him as a representative of Xerxes, the Asian invader, for all the Persian offenses against the Greeks."

[108] Contrast the following passage of the *Heroikos*, where the vineyard worker renders Protesilaos' own judgment of his deeds in Troy (*Her.* 12.4): *ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὁλοφύρεται μηδὲν ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐργασάμενον, ἀλλὰ πεσόντα ἐν γῇ ἧς οὐδὲ ἐπέβη* "[h]e grieves that he accomplished nothing at Troy, and how he fell in a land that he had not even assaulted"; all translations of the *Heroikos* are taken from the edition of Berenson Maclean and Aitken.

[109] See Boedeker, "Protesilaos," 42: "Within the framework of division and hostility between the two continents, the Protesilaos-Artayktes story develops a special connection between the Trojan and the Persian Wars—with an ancient hero linking past and present, as often in Herodotus"; and 47–48: "More than just providing a structural framework for the *Histories*, rounding off the work with references to the division between Asia and Europe, the Protesilaos *logos* bridges the temporal boundaries between the two greatest transcontinental invasions. At the same time it proposes, by setting forward suggestive parallels for a perceptive audience, that just as the Trojans were long ago punished by the gods for great injustices, so too perhaps were the Persians within recent memory. With subtle but insistent metonymy, Herodotus sets the vengeance of Protesilaos—or better, his restoration of balance—against the background of the whole invasion of Xerxes."

[110] See Anderson, *Philostratus*, 249: "As Pan at Marathon repels the first Persian invasion, so Protesilaos takes the final vengeance of Greek over Persian by bringing about the crucifixion of the Persian desecrator Artayctes. Much of Philostratus' *mise-en-scène* could have been deduced,

presented as Hellas' defender against all foreign (Persian/Asian) foes. In spite of the fact that, unlike Protesilaos, whose *heure de gloire* follows his manifestation as *revenant*, Achilles' exploits are extensively celebrated in the *Iliad*, yet, in the *Heroikos*, he too experiences a second career as *revenant*; as such, Achilles like Protesilaos is depicted guarding Hellas against foreign (eastern) invaders, as the story of Achilles' annihilation of the Amazons illustrates.[111] By depicting the lives and exploits of Achilles and Protesilaos in the after-life, that is through the artifice of resurrecting them as *revenants*, Philostratus is able not only to invest these heroes with attributes more fitted to reflect the urgencies of his own time, but also to make them more alike: whatever Protesilaos lacks in exploits in the *Iliad*, he acquires as *revenant* by being the avenger of Hellas against the Persians; and Achilles, from the wrathful destroyer of Troy, the aggressor of Asia, becomes the—still irate—defender of Hellas against foreign (Asian) invaders. The overwhelming similarities between the two heroes,[112] despite the differences they exhibit, seem to symbolize those prevailing between another "couple," that is, Alexander Severus and the object of his emulation Alexander of Macedonia.

Here, we must recall that the two ideological tenets upon which Alexander Severus' legitimacy and imperial policy were grounded were incompatible, even antinomic, and called for harmonization. On the one hand, Severus' legitimacy was based upon his filiation from Caracalla, whose imitation of Alexander of Macedonia is well attested: hence the imperative for Severus and his entourage to maintain and promote the cult of Alexander (despite its perilous implications for foreign policy). On the other hand, as the Persian campaign had barely re-established the *status quo ante*, without any territorial gain for Rome, possibly as a consequence of the emperor's defensive posture, but most importantly as a result of the limitations imposed upon Roman legions by the formidable Sasanian war machinery, the image of a vanquishing *novus Alexander* was hard to maintain.

developed or reconstructed from this passage." Contrast also the following passage of the *Heroikos*, which refers in a striking manner to the Herodotean *logos:*

[Philostr. *Her.* 9.5]
τὸ δέ γε ἱερον, ἐν ᾧ κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας ὁ Μῆδος ὕβριζεν, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ τὸ τάριχος ἀναβιῶναί φασι, τοῦτο, ᾧ ξένε· καταλείπεται δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁρᾷς ὡς ὀλίγα.

"[c]onsider this sanctuary, my guest, where the Mede committed a sacrilege in our forefathers' time. It was because of this they say even the preserved fish came back to life. You see how much of the sanctuary is left."

[111] *Her.* 56.1–57.1.

[112] For a discussion of the heroes' similarities, see Boedeker, "Protesilaos," 36–37; and Berenson Maclean and Aitken, *Flavius Philostratus*, lvi–lx.

It is difficult to gauge to what extent Severus' defensive posture in the face of Sasanian expansionism was cognizant of, or tributary to, the Augustan political doctrine of the *divisio orbis*, which owed its existence to circumstances comparable to those affecting Severus. The policy of the *divisio orbis* emerged out of the realization that the eastern foe was invincible in its own realm, hence the imperative to deal with its occasional aggression via a moderate and (in scope) limited military response. This is precisely why Rome, on the eve of Gaius Caesar's eastern expedition, felt compelled to resort to the Persian Wars symbolism, in order to justify her campaign against the perceived Arsacid aggression in Armenian affairs, for it best illustrated Rome's defensive posture.

Equally difficult to assess is the part of the Second Sophistic in inspiring, with its exalted Hellas reception, the emperor's actions vis-à-vis the Sasanians; or, in the absence of such inspiration, to appraise the share of the Second Sophistic in adorning Severus' pragmatic foreign policy with references to Hellas' "heroic" exploits of the past. Suffice to say that whatever the motivations of Severus' measured foreign policy may have been, they were at odds with the emperor's Alexander emulation.

Philostratus seems to have countered this predicament by altering and rendering less forceful the drive to conquest inherent in the Alexander symbolism itself, by turning the archetypal hero/conqueror Achilles from the aggressor of Troy into the guardian of Greeks against foreigners (as *revenant*). Consequently, in the same fashion as the impetus of conquest was counterpoised in the *Heroikos*, by casting Achilles' aggressive force into a protective bellicosity, the defensive posture of Severus' policy was sanctioned through the protective characterization of yet another reinvented *revenant*. In this function, Protesilaos, although vengeful and formidable, very much symbolized the defensive character of Roman policy: a measured military action in the defense of the territories, rather than a war of conquest.

Thus, the resurrection of Protesilaos and Achilles as *revenants* served several purposes: (1) as guardians of Hellas against "foreigners," they came to represent Rome's defensive stance against the Sasanian empire; (2) to the extent that the two heroes were equated to each other in the *Heroikos*—albeit, Protesilaos displayed a more pronounced affinity with Alexander Severus, as did Achilles with Alexander of Macedonia—they helped bridge (and cloud) in fiction the divide between their respective historical counterparts, that is, Severus and his source of emulation, Alexander of Macedonia; finally, (3) the projection of the harmonized image of Protesilaos and Achilles upon the relationship of Severus and

Alexander enabled the former (or those in charge of his memory) to reconcile the two antinomic principles of his rule: the simultaneous emulation of the Macedonian and the urge to eastern conquest inherent to the *imitatio* with his own policy of defensive posture towards the Sasanian East.

Let me illustrate in greater detail some of the parallels between *Heroikos'* heroes Achilles/Protesilaos and the rulers Alexander/Severus:

(1) Both Achilles and Alexander were the vanquishers of Asia: Troy would not have fallen without Achilles, not the Persian empire without Alexander. Both Protesilaos and Alexander Severus perished, their promises unfulfilled, during or following their attack upon/campaign against Asia unlike Achilles and Alexander, who completed the cycle of conquest, paying with their lives for their victory.

(2) Although both Protesilaos and Achilles are depicted as the *guardians* of all that is Greek, there is a particularly bellicose quality to Achilles, best captured in the episode of Achilles' active pursuit of the last descendant of king Priam, whom he dismembers alive.[113] Through the agency of the merchant charged with bringing the Trojan maiden to Leuke, Achilles, *actively* and without provocation, aggresses anew against Ilion and, thereby, Asia, and by dint of the maiden's gruesome killing, re-enacts the destruction of Troy/Asia. This offensive attitude towards Asia calls to mind the drive to conquest and desire for revenge in Alexander of Macedonia, who laid waste Persepolis to exact retribution for the burning of Athens at Persian hands. In contrast, Protesilaos' deeds are always in *reaction* to offenses or insults to which he has been subjected. He is resurrected in order to punish Artauktes;[114] he wreaks vengeance upon *Xeinis*, the former owner of his precinct;[115] and he chastises with a dog-bite the adulterer(s) in his sanctuary (reminiscent of Artauktes' sacrileges).[116] In this respect he provides a perfect heroic model for Severus' defensive campaign in *response* to Persian aggression.

(3) Moreover, the location of the heroes' tombs may allude to the two historical rulers. Achilles' tomb on the Asian shore of the Hellespont is not only a reminder of his true identity as the vanquisher of Troy who found death in Asia, but also seems to hint at Alexander, the conqueror of Asia, who died in Babylon. By contrast, Protesilaos' tomb is located on the European shore of the Hellespont, "a memorial at the extreme edge of

[113] *Her.* 56.6–10.
[114] *Her.* 9.5.
[115] *Her.* 4.2.
[116] *Her.* 16.3–4.

Europe to a Greek hero who never gained a foothold across the strait,"[117] but also an implicit reference to Severus' decision not to (or failure to?) gain new territories in the East.

Returning now to the first point raised above, is the *Heroikos* an official representation of the Severan political ideology under Alexander Severus, or does it reflect Philostratus' independent attempt at capturing (and interpreting?) the tensions that characterized the late Severan imperial policy vis-à-vis the Sasanian empire? The question can obviously not be answered in full, but, were the association of Alexander Severus with Protesilaos to prove correct, then one might surmise that the *Heroikos* was written *after* Alexander Severus' demise as a posthumous justification of the emperor's cautious and defensive policy, as it seems unlikely that the identification of the emperor with Protesilaos, the hero with the house half-built (*δόμος ἡμιτελής*),[118] could have occurred during his lifetime. Intriguingly, we encounter, in the Indian episode of Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii*—the "romanticised biography of Apollonios, a first-century Pythagorean philosopher and miracle-worker who was born in Cappadocian Tyana"[119]—written at the behest of Julia Domna, some of the themes that also occur in the *Heroikos* as justification of Severus Alexander's defensive policy.

In his journey beyond the Indus River, Apollonios is received by Phraotes, the philosopher-king of India, who exalts the virtues of a (foreign) policy that seeks to turn foes into friends by paying them off (*ὑποποιοῦμαι τουτοισὶ τοῖς χρήμασι* "I subject them (the barbarians) to myself with money").[120] It is, indeed, difficult not to see in this policy an implicit allusion to Alexander Severus' intended disbursements to the Germans in exchange for peace (*πάντα τε ὑπισχνεῖτο παρέξειν ὅσων δέονται, καὶ χρημάτων ἀφειδῶς ἔχειν* "he promised to grant all they (the Germans) required and to have ample of money").[121] What is more, Philostratus reports the encounter between Apollonios and the leader of

[117] See Boedeker, "Protesilaos," 37.

[118] Hom. *Il.* 2.701.

[119] Flinterman, *Power, Paideia and Pythagoreanism*, 1.

[120] See Philostr. *VA.* 2.26: "*καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς,*" *ἔφη,* "*κοινωνῶ τοῦ πλούτου. τοὺς γὰρ ἀεί ποτε διαφόρους τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ βαρβάρους προσοικοῦντας καὶ καταδρομαῖς χρωμένους ἐς τὰμὰ ὅρια ὑποποιοῦμαι τουτοισὶ τοῖς χρήμασι, καὶ δορυφορεῖταί μοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα, καὶ οὔτε αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰμὰ φοιτῶσι τούς τε ὁμόρους αὐτοῖς βαρβάρους ἀνείργουσι, χαλεποὺς ὄντας.*"

[121] See Hdn. 6.7.9: *πλὴν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ πρεσβείαν πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης διαλέγεσθαι. πάντα τε ὑπισχνεῖτο παρέξειν ὅσων δέονται, καὶ χρημάτων ἀφειδῶς ἔχειν. τούτῳ γὰρ μάλιστα Γερμανοὶ πείθονται, φιλάργυροί τε ὄντες καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀεὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους χρυσίου καπηλεύοντες ὅθεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπειρᾶτο ὠνήσασθαι μᾶλλον τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς σπονδὰς ἢ διὰ πολέμου κινδυνεύειν.*

the Indian Sages, Iarchas, who, during their conversation, compares the legendary Indian king Ganges with Achilles.[122] In contrast to Achilles, whose motives in the Trojan War Iarchas questions, and whose deeds, which led to the destruction of numerous cities, he denounces (*αὐτὸν δώδεκα μὲν πόλεις ἐκ θαλάττης ᾑρηκέναι πεζῇ δὲ ἕνδεκα* "he [Achilles] took twelve cities by sea and eleven on land"), the sage praises the Indian hero-king Ganges for having founded new cities (*πόλεων μὲν τοίνυν ἑξήκοντα οἰκιστὴς ἐγένετο* "he [Ganges] accordingly became the founder of sixty cities"). More importantly, Philostratus, by the intermediary of the Indian sage Iarchas, seems to sanction Ganges' defensive posture in the face of invading foreign (Scythian) enemies, in contrast to Achilles' capture of Troy that led to the city's subjugation (*τὸ δὲ ἐλευθεροῦντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γῆν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν φαίνεσθαι πολλῷ βέλτιον τοῦ δουλείαν ἐπάγειν πόλει* "it is by far more fitting to become a good man by setting free your country than to bring slavery to a city").[123] Ganges' much-admired

[122] See Philostr. *VA.* 3.20: *ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα Ὅμηρος ἄγει μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἑλένης ἐς Τροίαν, φησὶ δὲ αὐτὸν δώδεκα μὲν πόλεις ἐκ θαλάττης ᾑρηκέναι, πεζῇ δὲ ἕνδεκα, γυναῖκά τε ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφαιρεθέντα ἐς μῆνιν ἀπενεχθῆναι, ὅτε δὴ ἀτεράμονα καὶ ὠμὸν δόξαι, σκεψώμεθα τὸν Ἰνδὸν πρὸς ταῦτα· πόλεων μὲν τοίνυν ἑξήκοντα οἰκιστὴς ἐγένετο, αἵπερ εἰσὶ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν τῇδε—τὸ δὲ πορθεῖν πόλεις ὅστις εὐκλεέστερον ἡγεῖται τοῦ ἀνοικίζειν πόλιν οὐκ ἔστι—Σκύθας δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Καύκασόν ποτε στρατεύσαντας ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν γῆν ἀπεώσατο. τὸ δὲ ἐλευθεροῦντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γῆν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν φαίνεσθαι πολλῷ βέλτιον τοῦ δουλείαν ἐπάγειν πόλει, καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ γυναικός, ἣν εἰκὸς μηδὲ ἄκουσαν ἡρπάσθαι.*

[123] Already Schtajerman, *Krise der Sklavenhalteordnung*, 250–266, and 278–281, based herself on this passage (and a Marxist interpretation of the *VA)* to demonstrate that Philostratus' advocacy of a defensive foreign policy (as reflected in this passage) was part of a wider program aimed at rallying the municipal aristocracy—with whom Julia Domna's Circle was associated. On the above-cited passage, the author states (262): "Die indischen Weisen schätzte Apollonius am höchsten, zumal nach ihrer Meinung selbst die berühmten Heldentaten der Griechen im Trojanischen Krieg nur wenig zu achten waren. Viel höher als Achill achteten sie den indischen König Ganges, der keine Städte zerstörte, sondern neue gründete. Mutig wies er die in sein Land einfallenden Skythen zurück; deswegen verdiene er höchstes Lob, da es bedeutend ehrenvoller sei, seine Heimat zu schützen, als eine fremde Stadt zu überfallen. Philostrat ist nicht zufällig so friedliebend, und wir werden noch sehen, daß die Frage der Außenpolitik einer der Punkte war, in denen die sozialen Gruppen veschiedener Meinungen waren." In his critique of Schtajerman, Flinterman, *Power, Paideia and Pythagoreanism*, 223, not only questions the alleged political and programmatic nature of Philostratus' *VA*, but also draws attention to the topicality of the aforementioned passage: "Schtajerman's presentation of Philostratus as an advocate of a peace policy is also hazardous. She bases it on two passages in the Indian episode: the reference to payments to barbarians (2.26), an allusion which is indeed accompanied by a positive assessment of such a policy; and Iarchas' comparison between the legendary Indian king Ganges and Achilles, which prefers the Indian as the founder and defender of cities to the Homeric destroyer of cities (3.20). Even when viewed together, these passages hardly seem sufficient to back up Schtajerman's conclusion. The comparison between Achilles and Ganges is part of an extensive tirade by Iarchas against the excessive cult of the Homeric heroes by the Greeks. Even if the 'barbarian' criticism of Greek customs in the *VA*, of which this tirade is a specimen, is to be taken seriously—which is doubtful enough—it should be understood as a form of cultural criticism rather than as a political allusion. *The practice attributed to Phraotes of buying off barbarian attacks probably is a topical political allusion* [italics mine],

protective policy against invading Scythians is undeniably reminiscent of the Athenian stance against invading Achaemenid armies—especially as Scythians were often equated with Persians—as the destructive and belligerent depiction of Achilles is evocative of Alexander of Macedonia. On another level, Ganges' policies call to mind Severus' prudent guiding principle towards the Sasanians—who could equally be referred to as the "Scythian" enemies; in contrast, Achilles' deeds may well have alluded to Caracalla's ill-fated policy of expansion,[124] from which Severus' course of action departed. Another similarity between the hero-king Ganges and Severus is their respective end at their subjects' hands, which sets off a time of broad decay (Ganges) and political turmoil (Severus) leading in both cases to the violent demise of the murderers and the re-establishment of the troubled order. In the case of Ganges, the sacrifice of the king's murderers ended the cycle of unnatural calamities that had befallen the lands, and in that of Severus, the establishment of Gordian III closed the chapter of anomaly that the advent of Maximinus appears to have represented.[125]

Thus, both the *Heroikos* and the *vita Apollonii* seem to allude to Alexander Severus' reign and, although one might be in agreement with Jaap-Jan Flinterman in assuming that Philostratus did not have a consistent set of political beliefs,[126] it is, nonetheless, probable that his writings did not merely capture the political beliefs of the late Severan court, but also expressed his adherence to a broadly defined defensive foreign policy, best epitomized by Alexander Severus.

The purpose of the preceding discussion was not only to illustrate the extent of Severan infatuation with Alexander, but also to underscore the ubiquity of two concomitant, at times contrasting, currents of thought

and the love of peace displayed by the king of Taxila certainly is judged extremely positively by Apollonius, but this does not mean that this judgement reflects Philostratus' own point of view. It should not be forgotten that this passage concerns a philosopher's appreciation of the policy of a philosopher king."

[124] On Caracalla's honouring Achilles with sacrifices and races about his tomb, following the crossing of the Hellespont, see D.C. 78.17.7; similarly also Hdn. 4.8.4–5.

[125] On the rise of Maximinus, his murder, and the advent of Gordian III, see Christol, *L'empire romain*, 79–91; on Herodian's severe judgment of Maximinus, see Hdn. 7.1.1–4.

[126] See Flinterman, *Power, Paideia and Pythagoreanism*, 227: "the positive evaluation of the allusion to the buying off of barbarian invasions no doubt indicates that Philostratus was aware to a certain extent of the problems connected with the defence of the borders; after all, he had followed Caracalla's operations on the Rhine and Danube border from the imperial headquarters. As Schtajerman suggested, he perhaps had a certain preference for a low-profile military policy, but it would be going too far to credit the author of the *VA* with a *consistent set of views on the financial and military aspects of imperial government* [italics mine] on the basis of a policy ascribed to an Indian philosopher king . . . [t]here simply is no evidence to support the assumption that he was genuinely interested in such matters."

in the late second and early third centuries CE: the *imitatio Alexandri* and the Sophistic glorification of things Greek. It was in a climate filled with "Alexandromania" and pervaded by the Second Sophistic's reception and veneration of the Hellenic past that the Sasanians rose to power and Ardaxšīr set out for his campaigns of expansion against Rome.[127] Confronted with an aggression that evoked Xerxes' assault on Hellas, Severus succeeded in preserving the eastern *limes*, but was unwilling or unable to wrest new territories from the Sasanians. His conscious or imposed defensive posture, although in the best Augustan tradition, was, however, at odds with his *imitatio*, the very principle of his legitimacy. The author of the *Heroikos* seems to have attempted to solve this discrepancy within the imperial ideology by superimposing upon the Trojan War narrative the Herodotean *logos* on the Persian Wars, by turning the two fallen hero-aggressors of Troy into the two *revenant*-guardians of Hellas, following in whose footsteps Severus was to become a *novus Alexander*, not by an act of conquest, but by safeguarding the empire against a new Xerxes.

All this leads us to ask whether the Achaemenid reminiscences ascribed to the early Sasanians by the classical authors are not a reflection of the Severan ideological manipulations, rather than the imprint of a bygone reality. Indeed, I believe that while propagating the image of Severus Alexander as a *novus Alexander*, the Roman propaganda resurrected the image of Alexander's former formidable adversaries, the Achaemenids, in order to complete the cycle of the *imitatio*. Hence, the portrayal of the Sasanians as heirs to the Achaemenids could have existed only as an intrinsic part of the Roman *imitatio*, which not only sought to prove the historical continuity of the Greco-Roman world by vindicating Alexander's legacy, but also to bestow a similar perception of permanence upon the history of Iran by depicting the Sasanians as cognizant heirs of the Achaemenids. This projection of continuity onto the history of Iran was not purposeless; inasmuch as one side of the *imitatio* was about the *exaltation of the Roman emperor* by equating him with *Alexander*, the other side was about the *debasement of the adversary* by associating him with the *vanquished Achaemenids*. As, however, Severus' campaign did not fulfill the promise of a *novus Alexander*, and the Sasanians, the newly baptized neo-Achaemenids, proved to be more akin to Xerxes' army of aggressors, rather than the victims of a new Alexander, the very impetus of conquest that constituted the basis of the Alexander imitation was altered. Alexander

[127] See also Wiesehöfer, "Ardašīr I," 373: "It is noteworthy that the Sasanian evocation of the traditional view of Alexander as the great wrecker of Iran was matched by a contemporary Roman emphasis on the idea of *imitatio Alexandri*"; and "Zum Nachleben," 392.

of Macedonia, trailing Achilles' metamorphosis from hero-conqueror to *revenant*-guardian, was made into Rome's champion against Asia and the defensive Roman emperor, indeed, into a *novus Alexander*.

I have tried to show in the discussion above that there is no conclusive evidence for an "Achaemenid revival" under the early Sasanians in the Sasanian epigraphic corpus, and in the accounts of Dio/Herodian and Ammianus Marcellinus, which were modeled after Tacitus' report on early Arsacid territorial revendication. It seems that what has been described as a Sasanian *imitatio Achaemenidorum* is in reality nothing but the byproduct of the *imitatio Alexandri*, which not only resurrected the Achaemenids for the sake of its own inner logic and coherence, but did so by having recourse to the early Arsacid political rationale and used it as the principal basis for the elaboration of the fictitious Sasanian political program.

IV. A NOTE ON JULIAN THE APOSTATE

Scholarship evaluates Julian's campaign diversely:[128] in terms of *Realpolitik*, it may be deemed as a re-enactment of more assertive Roman policies of the past—notably, by such emperors as Trajan, Lucius Verus, and Septimius Severus[129]—this time, possibly, aiming at regime change in Iran, by instating upon the Sasanian throne the exiled Persian prince Ōhrmazd;[130] or it may be perceived as an ill-inspired war of conquest,[131] possibly fuelled by Julian's self-aggrandizement[132] and animated by the precedent of Alexander,[133] but with a limited vision of the campaign's strategic purposes beyond the capture of Ctesiphon.

[128] For an excellent review of the motivations and ambitions of Julian's campaign, see Mosig-Walburg, *Römer und Perser*, 297–304, with a full discussion of older literature. Also recently, Kettenhoffen, "Julian."

[129] See Hunt, "Julian," 73.

[130] Blockley, "Warfare and Diplomacy," 424, thinks the instatement of Ōhrmazd unlikely; equally critical is Kettenhoffen, "Julian"; compare also Renucci, *Idées politiques*, 500 (and 503): "[l]e projet de promouvoir Hormisdas n'était évidemment pas nouveau, mais il revêtait chez Julien une importance toute particulière, dans la mesure où sa réalisation aurait permis, en portant un coup fatal à la 'révolution nationale' et antihellénique des Sassanides, de jeter les bases d'un renouveau de l'hellénisme dans l'antique royaume séleucide."

[131] See Blockley, *Foreign Policy*, 25–26, 138, who is uncertain, and calls Julian's campaign an "apparent war of conquest." See also note 130.

[132] See Hunt, "Julian," 74: "much more to the point was the emperor's own ambition for a glorious and 'traditional' war."

[133] Isaac, "Eastern Frontier," 439; Seager, "Eastern Frontier Policy," 263; Rosen, *Julian*, 360, is open to the notion of *imitatio*; very critical as to the reality of an Alexander emulation with a full discussion of the source material, see Fox, "Itinerary," 247–252; also Bringmann, *Julian*, 169–170: "Julian war ... kein Welteroberer, sondern ein defensiver Imperialist." Similarly, see Mosig-Walburg, *Römer und Perser*, 298: "[a]uszuschließen ist in jedem Fall die Vorstellung, der Kaiser habe in der Nachfolge Alexanders des Großen das persische Reich erobern wollen."

Whatever the true political intentions of the campaign (or the lack thereof) may have been, ideologically, Julian's *anabasis* distinguished itself from the past. Undoubtedly, there are instances of *imitatio* reported also for Julian, but what is intriguing in the contemporary sources recounting his campaign, or within his own orations and letters, is the depiction of the Sasanian foe.

In numerous passages, the Sasanians and Šābuhr II are identified with the Parthians. That this is no gratuitous equalization by Julian and the *literati* of his entourage ought to be assumed. Beyond matters of style, the first reason that comes to mind for this association is an attempt at diminishing the prestige of the Sasanians by attaching them to an *ethnos* (Parthian) so often linked in the past with the Scythians, the inhabitants of an *alter orbis* unworthy of conquest, and hence to portray them, in the best tradition established by Augustus, as plagued by *degeneratio*, and inferior to Rome.[134] This seems adequately supported by a passage of Julian's *Second Oration,* the second panegyric dedicated to Constantius, wherein yet another motive for linking the Sasanians with the Parthians is provided:

[Jul. *Or.* 2.62–67]
Ἐνταῦθα κοσμεῖ τὴν στρατιὰν τὸν Περσικὸν τρόπον. διασώζουσι γὰρ καὶ ἀπομιμοῦνται τὰ Περσικὰ οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Παρθυαῖοι νομίζεσθαι Πέρσαι δὲ εἶναι προσποιούμενοι. ταῦτά τοι καὶ στολῇ Μηδικῇ χαίρουσι. καὶ ἐς μάχας ἔρχονται ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις ὅπλοις τε ἀγαλλόμενοι τοιούτοις καὶ ἐσθήμασιν ἐπιχρύσοις καὶ ἁλουργέσι. σοφίζονται δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀφεστάναι Μακεδόων ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχαίου βασιλείαν προσήκουσαν.

"Thereupon he [Sapores] arrayed the besieging army in the Persian fashion. For they keep up and imitate Persian customs, I suppose, because they do not wish to be considered Parthians, and so they pretend to be Persians. That is surely why they prefer the Median manner of dress. And when they march to battle they look like them, and take pride in wearing the same armor, and dress adorned with gold and purple. By this means they try to evade the truth and to make it appear they have not revolted from Macedon, but are merely resuming the empire that was theirs of old."

By associating the neo-Persian power with the Arsacid realm, Julian's discourse clearly implies that the Sasanians ought to be regarded as subjects of Macedonia, and by consequence, with Rome assuming the Seleucid heritage, of Rome. What is more, it suggests that the Sasanian imitation of the Persians of old was merely an artifice aimed at concealing

[134] See above, 335–340.

the dynasty's true (Parthian) origin, in order to evade its due allegiance to Rome. Thus, it seems that the identification of the Sasanians with the Arsacids was construed as a means to represent the former as *rebels* against Rome, whereas their association with the Achaemenids was perceived as bestowing legitimacy upon their claim of "resuming what was theirs of old."

The Macedonian antecedent is explicitly illustrated in a passage reported by Zonaras, on the occasion of a diplomatic exchange between Constantius II and Šābuhr II:

[Zonar. 13.9.25–31]
τῷ μέντοι Κωνσταντίῳ ἀναζευγνύντι ἀπὸ τῶν ἑσπερίων καὶ ἐπανιόντι πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐξ τῶν Περσῶν πρέσβεις περὶ τὸ Σίρμιον συνηντήκασιν ἐσταλμένοι παρὰ Σαπώρου ἀπαιτοῦντος ἀπαδοθῆναι Πέρσαις τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν ἵν' οὕτω παύσαιντο Ῥωμαίοις μαχόμενοι· ταύτας γὰρ τὰς χώρας ἀνέκαθεν ἐκ προγόνων αὐτοῖς διαφέρειν· εἰ δ' οὐ πείθοιτο δηλοῦντος τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ὑπὸ τῷ Ἄρει δικαστῇ ποιήσασθαι τὴν τῆς ὑποθέσεως ζήτησιν. πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντεπέστειλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Κωνστάντιος θαυμάζειν εἰ ἐπελάθετο ὅτι Πέρσαι Μακεδόσιν ἐδούλευσαν καὶ ὅτι Μακεδόνων Ῥωμαίοις ὑποταγέντων καὶ οἱ ἐκείνοις δουλεύοντες ὑπήκοοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐγέοντο.

"When, however, Constantius was marching from the West and returned to Byzantium, envoys from the Persians met him around Sirmium. They were sent by Sapores, who demanded that Mesopotamia and Armenia should be returned to Persia, that they might put an end to the war with Rome, for these territories had been a source of problems to them since the time of their ancestors. But, if he [Constantius] did not comply, he [Sapores] made it clear to the emperor that he would appeal to Ares to judge the outcome of the war. On this matter, Constantius sent back the reply that he was amazed that he seemed to have forgotten that **the Persians were once enslaved to the Macedonians. When the Macedonians became subject to Romans, those who were in servitude to them became subject to the Romans.**"

Despite the perceivable endeavor to dissociate the Sasanians from the Achaemenids, there are still sundry passages, wherein allusions to the Achaemenids are made, but they are more nuanced than in the past. For one, Xerxes has a prominent position within Julian's discourse, surely because he is the main aggressor against Hellas, with whom Sābuhr II, and his aggressive stance against Rome, could easily be identified, but also, unexpectedly, because Xerxes' crossing of the Hellespont was deemed a military feat, against which the exploits of Roman *Augusti*—here: Constantius—could be measured (with all the hidden nuances that any juxtaposition with Xerxes may entail):

[Jul. *Or.* 1.42]
καίτοι Ξέρξην μὲν ἀκούω τὸν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξαναστήσαντα χρόνον ἐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσονα δέκα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκεῖνον παρασκευάζεσθαι εἶτα ἐπαγαγεῖν πρὸς ταῖς χιλίαις τριήρεσι διακοσίας ἐκ τούτων αὐτῶν οἶμαι τῶν χωρίων ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις μησὶ δέκα ναυπηγησάμενος ἦγειρας τὸν στόλον πλήθει νεῶν ἐκεῖνον ὑπερβαλλόμενος. τῆς τύχῃ δὲ οὐδὲ ἄξιον συμβαλεῖν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις.

"and yet I am told Xerxes, when he mustered all Asia against the Greeks, spent no less than ten years in preparing for that war. Then he set out with twelve hundred triremes, from the very spot, as I understand, where you gathered your fleet together, having built it in rather less than ten months, and yet you had more ships than Xerxes. But neither his fortune nor his achievements can properly be compared to yours."

When comparing Xerxes with Šābuhr II, Julian not only evokes the traditional *topos* of Xerxes' ultimate defeat being induced by free-born Greeks, whose wisdom (σοφία) and strength (ῥώμη) prevented them from being overwhelmed by luxury (τρυφάς) and enslaved,[135] but also alludes to Šābuhr II's inability to match even Xerxes' partial success, that is, the seizure and burning of Athens, whereas Nisibis, intensely besieged by Šābuhr II, did not fall. Thus, the association between the two Iranian rulers in Julian's discourse may have also served the purpose of emphasizing the inadequacy of any comparison between the Persians of old and the Sasanians,[136] were it not for their analogous aggression against, and (expected) defeat by, the West:

[Jul. *Or.* 1.28]
ὁ δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ἐκείνου καταδεέστερος ἔμπληκτος δὲ μᾶλλον . . . ἐπαφιεὶς δὲ ποταμῶν ῥεύματα καὶ τὰ τείχη διαλύσας οὐδὲ ἀτειχίστου τῆς πόλεως περιγενόμενος ἔσχεν ἐφ' ὅτῳ σεμνύνηται καθάπερ ὁ Ξέρξης ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐμβαὼν τὴν φλόγα.

"he [Sapores], although inferior in armaments (means) to him [Xerxes], was even more foolish . . . he released the currents of the rivers against its [Nisibis'] walls and undermined them, but even when the city had lost its walls he could not succeed in taking it, so that he had not even that triumph to boast of, as Xerxes had when he set fire to Athens."

That the association of Šābuhr II with Xerxes was already commonplace under Constantius is suggested by a letter of Libanios to a certain Modestus, Constantius' *comes orientis*. Therein, Libanios, while referring to Šābuhr II's crossing the Euphrates in the year 359, cannot refrain from alluding to the invasion of Hellas by Xerxes, whom he expressly identifies as the ancestor

[135] Jul. *Or.* 1.28.
[136] Compare Renucci, *Idées politiques*, 493–495.

(*πρόγονος*) of the present king, as well as to Šābuhr II's aggression as an enterprise expected to suffer the same fate as that of his ancestor:

[Lib. *Ep.* 49.3 (= 41.3)]
εἰ δὲ τὸ πλέον ἰσχυρότερον ἦν ἔδει δήπου τὸν τούτου πρόγονον κτήσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. νῦν δὲ οἶσθα ὡς ἐστράτευσε μὲν ἐκείνης ἐπιθυμῶν φεύγων δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπεθύμει σωθῆναι.

"if numbers always won the day, then surely **his** [Sapores'] **ancestor would have gained possession of Greece for himself.** As it is, you know that he took the field coveting her [Hellas], but while fleeing from there he (merely) desired to be kept alive."

Again, some years later, during Julian's initially successful Persian expedition, Libanios, in a letter to Aristophanes, states that the descendants of Dareios and Xerxes (*οἱ ἀπόγονοι Δαρείου καὶ Ξέρξου*)—both held responsible for the Persian Wars—namely, the Sasanians are being punished for the crimes perpetrated by their ancestors by witnessing the demise of their own cities by fire:

[Lib. *Ep.* 1402.1 (= 109.1)]
*εἰ δ' οὖν οὔπω ἦκει εἰς ὑμᾶς λόγος ἀλλ' ἴστωσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ὅτι αὐτοῖς δίκην διδόασιν **οἱ ἀπόγονοι Δαρείου καὶ Ξέρξου** πυρὶ τὰς αὑτῶν πόλεις ἀπολλυμένας ὁρῶντες οἱ προπέρυσι τὰς ἡμετέρας κατασκάπτοντες.*

"Anyhow, even if the story has not yet come your way, Greeks ought still to know that **the descendants of Dareios and Xerxes** are being punished by the very same while seeing their own cities being destroyed by fire, when two years ago they utterly destroyed ours."

With the Sasanians being equated with the Parthians, and the Achaemenids being alluded to mainly from the perspective of the Persian Wars, which might have been construed to evoke the defensive posture established by the Augustan policy (followed by Constantius II), one may wonder how the Alexander image, and its more aggressive stance, could have fitted in this context.

There are few instances in Julian's own writings where Alexander is mentioned, albeit not invariably in laudatory terms, the sum of which has been magisterially discussed more recently by Lane Fox.[137] Some of the most pertinent allusions to Alexander are to be found in the *Caesars*, a short satire penned by Julian while in Antioch in 362, on the eve of his Persian expedition, wherein he passes judgment on his illustrious Roman

[137] Fox, "Itinerary," 239–252, in particular, 249–252. See also more recently Renucci, *Idées politiques*, 495–496.

predecessors, including Alexander.[138] Intriguingly, the latter, much like subsequent conquerors such as Caesar, Augustus, and Trajan, is diminished, and his character deemed to be wanting; Constantine's lot is no less enviable, and his treatment may be deemed to be among the harshest,[139] paving the way for the wise Marcus Aurelius to be declared the winner of the contest.[140] Of interest to us, however, is Julian's lucid recognition of Alexander's shortcomings,[141] and vanity that is fully on display while dueling with Caesar for preeminence in the presence of the gods.[142] In the same vein is the tenor of a letter addressed to Themistios, wherein Julian mentions how Alexander, infatuated by the favors bestowed upon him by τύχη, had become more vicious and impertinent than Dareios and Xerxes, whose empire he had conquered.[143] In yet another letter to Nilus also sent from Antioch, Alexander's drunken fury and the murder of his companions are mentioned.[144]

Julian's own critical testimonies on Alexander differ substantially from those of Libanios, whose work points to Julian's infatuation with Alexander, to the extent of determining the emperor's actions. In spite of justifiable reserve vis-à-vis Libanios' possible rhetorical exagerations,[145] the theme is too recurrent, and examples abundant, to dismiss them as mere literary fabrications.

Not only does Libanios make mention of Julian's admiration for Alexander as the cause of his sleepless nights—

[Lib. *Or.* 18.17]
ἦκεν εἰς τὴν μεγάλην Ἀντιόχου πόλιν ἢ εἰ βούλει γε Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ φίλου τε αὐτῷ καὶ οὐκ ἐῶντος καθεύδειν.

"and he came to this capital city of Antiochos, or if you would have it so, of **Alexander who was dear to him and did not allow him to sleep.**"

—but on another occasion, he also speaks of the emperor's desire, while in the midst of the Persian expedition, to pass through Arbela, in order to retrace Alexander's itinerary. Following the thwarted siege of Ctesiphon,

[138] *Ibid.*, 251; on the Caesars, still Baldwin, "Caesares," 449–466; Pack, "Notes on Caesars," 151–157. More recently, see the introduction by Müller, *Die beiden Satiren*, 37–48.
[139] Jul. *Caes.* 328D–329D; 335A–B; 336A–B.
[140] *Ibid.*, 335C.
[141] *Ibid.*, 318C; 330A–331C.
[142] *Ibid.*, 319D–325C.
[143] Jul. *Ep.* 257A–B.
[144] *Ibid.*, 446A.
[145] Fox, "Itinerary," 252, rightly points out that: "[t]hese speeches are highly rhetorical and were composed extravagantly after Julian's death: Libanius is not evidence for the emperor's inner motives."

even the desire to strive for the Persian territories, as far as Hyrcania and India, is expressed:

[Lib. *Or.* 18.260]
ἐπεθύμησε μὲν Ἄρβηλα καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ διελθεῖν ἢ ἄνευ μάχης ἢ καὶ μαχεσάμενος ὥστε μετὰ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου νίκης τῆς αὐτόθι καὶ ταύτην ὑμνεῖσθαι καὶ γνώμην δὲ εἶχεν ἐπιβῆναι πάσης ὅση Πέρσαις ὁρίζει τὸ κράτος μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὁμόρου.

"he [Julian] sat his heart upon seeing and passing through Arbela, either with or without battle, so that his victory would be celebrated along with that won by Alexander there; and he also formed the plan of setting foot **on all the territories of which the Persian empire is composed and upon the adjacent countries too.**"

And:

[Lib. *Or.* 18.261]
καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ὑρκανίαν ἔτεινε τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἰνδῶν ποταμούς.

"he [Julian] extended his view even on **Hyrcania and the rivers of India.**"

Finally, Libanios seems to suggest that, in analogy to Alexander's campaign, the purpose of Julian's expedition was the conquest of the Persian heartland, and the subjugation of its people, who are once projected as waiting upon Roman troops feasting in Susa—

[Lib. *Or.* 12.100]
*ταῦτα αἰτῶ καὶ προσέτι **τὴν ἡμετέραν στρατίαν ἐν Σούσοις δειπνῆσσαι Περσῶν οἰνοχοούντων.***

"This is my prayer, and that **our army may feast in Susa with Persians waiting upon them.**"

—and another time as expected to become part of the Roman empire, by adopting its *mores* and language:

[Lib. *Or.* 18.282]
*ἡμεῖς μὲν ὠόμεθα **τὴν Περσῶν ἅπασαν μέρος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἔσεσθαι καὶ νόμοις τοῖς ἡμετέροις οἰκήσεσθαι καὶ ἀρχὰς τὰς δέξεσθαι καὶ φόρους οἴσειν καὶ γλῶτταν ἀμείψειν καὶ στολὴν μετακοσμήσειν καὶ κερεῖν κόμας καὶ σοφιστὰς ἐν Σούσαις Περσῶν παῖδας ἐκκροτήσειν ῥήτορας.***

"**We imagined the whole of Persia to become part of Rome,** to be conducted according to our laws, receive its magistrates from us, pay us tribute, change its language, refashion their garments, cut their hair, and that sophists in Susa would turn Persian children into orators."

The notion that the expedition ought to have led to the captivity of Šābuhr II, and the instatement of the exiled prince Ōhrmazd (Hormisdas) by the grace of Rome,[146] is also expressed as one of the campaign's aims:

[146] On prince Ōhrmazd, see Mosig-Walburg, "Flucht des Hormizd," 69–109.

[Lib. *Ep.* 1402.3 (= 109.3)]
ἐλπίς τε ἦξειν τὸν βασιλέα τὸν μὲν νῦν ἄρχοντα ἄγοντα παραδόντα δὲ τῷ φεύγοντι τήν ἀρχήν.

"and we held the hope that he [Julian] would lead the way with the present king [Sapores] carried off as a captive, after handing over the kingdom to the one having gone into exile [Hormisdas]."

Although the message conveyed by Libanios may seem fantastic, and the image of a war of conquest and assimilation severely at odds with some of Julian's own symbolism,[147] which depicts Rome as defending herself against another Xerxes, Libanios' work may still have captured some of the tensions prevailing in Julian's political projections. These tensions are certainly reflected on the one hand in the aggressive stance advocated by Libanios, and, on the other hand, in the more defensive posture adopted by the emperor; but another element may lend credence to the presence of these frictions in Julian's own writings as well. The equation of the Sasanians with the Parthians, who as former subjects of the Seleucids were also deemed to be subordinate to Rome, probably illustrates how Julian's perceptions may have vacillated between the notion of securing Rome against a new Xerxes, and subduing the Sasanians (= Parthians) under the guise of their historical servitude to the Seleucid realm that was then part of the *orbis Romanus*. Thus, the act of conquest was not linked with a new Alexander, but presented as the recovery of what had historically belonged to Rome.

That these conflicting *stimuli*, which are not dissimilar to what we have observed in the case of Alexander Severus, may have led to difficulties executing a coherent Persian campaign may be hypothesized,[148] although the extent of the dialectics between ideology and *Realpolitik* here remains unknown.

[147] Compare Chauvot, *Opinions romaines*, 251–252.
[148] On the poorly executed campaign, see Mosig-Walburg, *Römer und Perser*, 302; also Kettenhoffen, "Julian."

Conclusions

The Achaemenid revival under the early Arsacids was a response to the increasing engagement of Rome in the East and was probably inspired in *substance* by the Pontic political ideology and in *form* by the imperial title of "king of kings," which the Babylonian literary tradition had preserved from the Iranian past. As Augustus inaugurated a new era of Roman foreign policy in the East by establishing the concept of an impenetrable and undesirable parallel world, the *alter orbis*, the Arsacids, as a result of Roman political imperatives, but also under the influence of the concurrent "Achaemenid revival" in the Arsacid realm, were equated with the Achaemenids in Roman representation. On the occasion of the Salaminian *naumachia* of 2 BCE, on the eve of Gaius Caesar's departure on an eastern campaign, the symbolism of the Persian Wars was applied to establish the same parity between Hellas and Rome that hitherto had only prevailed between the Achaemenids and the Arsacids, thus placing the outcome of Rome's campaign in the East under the aegis of Hellas' past triumphs.

In contrast, the alleged "Achaemenid revival" under the Sasanian empire resulted from the Sasanians' vigorous engagement in the West. While in the Augustan Age the assimilation of the Achaemenids with the Arsacids gave rise to the equation of Rome and Hellas, under the Severans it was the identification of the emperors (Caracalla and Severus Alexander) with Alexander that, confronted with Sasanian bellicosity, prompted the parity between Sasanians and Achaemenids. Although the link between the Achaemenids and the Sasanians was forged in order to enhance the historical importance of the Severan emperors and to complete the cycle of the *imitatio*, yet the unexpected strength of the Sasanian war machine produced the opposite effect. The military successes of the early Sasanians and their victories over the Romans probably strengthened the idea that they were heirs to the Achaemenids in the Roman consciousness, but not in the sense the Roman propaganda apparatus may have anticipated,

namely, as a new, worthy Oriental adversary to be conquered by a *novus Alexander.* Instead they found that the new adversary was indeed equal to the Achaemenids in might. Instead of instilling in their adversary the awe before a new Alexander, the Romans themselves were forced to respect and even fear their Oriental neighbor. It is thus not surprising that the next Roman emperor who, after Severus Alexander, again committed Roman soldiers against the Sasanian empire, Gordian III (238–244), had anew recourse, after the frenzy of the Alexander imitation under the later Severans, to the symbolism of the Persian Wars instead of the *imitatio,* hereby advertising once more "Rome as the champion of Hellas"[1] in the defense of the West, rather than as Alexander in the conquest of the East.[2] We have to wait for the accession of Julian for the projection of a war of conquest, in conflict with the simultaneous desire to maintain a defensive posture, to be executed under the guise of recovering what had belonged to Rome, by dint of her Seleucid conquest.

[1] See Syme, *Roman Papers,* vol. III, 922.

[2] On Gordian III's staged Greek agonistic festival in Rome see Spawforth, "Persian-Wars Tradition," 239–240; and Christol, *L'empire romain,* 96–97.

Epilogue

In this study dedicated, as the title indicates, to the early Sasanian political ideology, we have investigated what we expected to be its antecedents, but beyond the discussion of Arsacid and Pontic political ideologies and all that the Sasanian political ideology *was not*, we have not indicated *what it was.* This for several reasons: despite recent interpretations conceiving the early Sasanian political ideology to be the continuation of the Arsacid ideology, a view to which we hitherto subscribed, we now have come to believe that the early Sasanian political program, especially vis-à-vis Rome, was driven by stimuli and a rationale unique to the Sasanian dynasty. In order to expose the intricacies of this program, however, we have to place it within the context of an entire *epoch*, an epoch that we hitherto have deliberately—and vaguely—called *early Sasanian.* In a publication of a programmatic nature, in which we have submitted our attempt at periodization of the Sasanian history, what we here so inadequately have called 'early Sasanian' bears a more suitable name, and would constitute the first of the four ages that define the entire Sasanian history, that is, the *Šāhānte*, the *Kayānte*, the *Abzōnate*, and the *Xwarrah Abzūd* periods.[1]

It is only following the submission of this treatise that we will endeavor to expose the nature of the "early" Sasanian political ideology, but this is yet another story. . .

[1] Shayegan, "Approaches," 363–384.

Appendix

*Chronological table of published Arsacid cuneiform documents**

Mihrdād I
(171[?]–early 133[?] BCE = ?–178[?] SE = ?–114[?] AE)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
[a]	[107]	[a]	[a] *[A]ršakam šarru*		**AD 3–140**
1.i.171		12/13.iv.141	[b] *[A]ršakâ šarru*		**= LBAT 416–18**
[b]		[b]	[c] *Aršakâ "šarru"*		• Sachs–Hunger *AD* 3, no. 140 [a] A obv.′ 1 (= 130–131); [b] A ′rev. 7′ (= 134–135); [c] A ′rev. 8′; [d] A ′rev. 10′ (= 136–137); [e] A upper edge 2 (= 138–139); [f] upper edge 3.
22. iii.171		1/2.vii.141	[d] *Aršakâ šarru*		
[c]		[c]	[e] *Aršakâ "šarru"*		
24.iii.171		3/4.vii.141	[f] *Aršakâ šarru*		
[d]		[d]			• Sachs, *LBAT*, xvii; 92, no. 418, [b] rev. 6′; [c] rev. 7′; [d] rev. 9′; [e] upper edge 2; [f] upper edge 3.
1.iv.171		9/10.vii.141			
[e–f]		[e–f]			• Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 442 [b–d].
iv.171		9/10.vii–7/8.viii.141			• Kugler, *Moses bis Paulus*, 338–341 [b–d].
					• Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 26–29 [b–c].
					• Del Monte, *Testi*, 243–244 [b–d].

7.vii.171	107	12.x.141	*Arisakâ šarru*	VS 15 37 =VAT 8548 • Schroeder, *Kontrakte*, viii, 49, no. 37, rev. 37. • Rutten, *Contrats*, 20, n. 1. • Oelsner, *ZA* 56 (=NF 22), 270. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 29. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 244.
15.ix.171– 15.ix.199	[107– 135]	19.xii.141– 10.xii.113[?1]	[*Aršaka/-â šarru?*]	CT 46 30? = BM 35174 • Lambert-Millard, *CT* 46, pl. 33, no. 30, 48–50. • Wiseman, "Gilgamesh," 133–134, 9′–11′.[2] • Oelsner *ZA* 56 (=NF 22), 262–274. • Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 148, ll. 5–7. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 206, 448, n. 759.
171–172	107– 108	141/140– 140/139	*(no title)*	AD 5 82 = LBAT 1409 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 5, no. 82, iii 16′, 22′ (= 352–353). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxx–xxxi. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 184 (5).

Notes:

* Not all references pertinent to Arsacid rulers, which appear in Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts*, vol. III, have been incorporated in the following tables, as their sum has already been indicated above in table 11. However, those testimonies that are of chronological relevance (first/last attestation(s) of a sovereign's rule) or bear witness to the title of "king of kings," or to rare and unusual titles, as is the case with Gōdarz and Urūd, have been included. Also, the evidence of *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts*, vols. V and VI has been fully incorporated.

[1] See Oelsner, *ZA*, 56, 264, n. 8, and 272–273.

[2] Wiseman, "Gilgamesh Fragments," 123–135.

Chronological table (cont.)

Mihrdād I (*cont.*)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
172	108	140/139	*Aršakâ šarru*		LBAT 1038 = Sp (1) 173+221 • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxii; 157, no. 1038, rev. left edge. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 446 (1), 533–534; Erg. 3, 374, pls. 13–14. • Kugler, *Moses bis Paulus*, 343. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 245.
173	109	139/138	*Arisaka šarru*	BRM 2 52 • Clay, *BRM II*, 12–13; pls. 47–48, 52, rev. 26′. • Oelsner, *ZA*, 56 (=NF 22), 270. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 147; 411–412, n. 578. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 244–45.	
[173]	[109]	138/137	[*Aršak*]*â* ˹*šarru*˺		AD 6 57 = LBAT 1272 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 57, obv.′ 8 (= 224–225). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi.

[173]	[109]	138/137	*[Aršak]⌜â⌝ šarru*
174	110	138/137	*Arša?⌜k⌝[a/-â] â*
175 (174)	27.ii.111	23.v.137	*Aršakâ šarru*
1[75]	111	137/136	*Ar[šakâ šarru]*
175	[111]	137/136	*A[ršaka/-â šarru]*

AD 6 83
= LBAT 1258
- Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 83, flake 2′ (= 332–333).
- Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi.

LBAT 1273
= Sp 2 373
- Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi; 195, no. 1273, 8′.
- Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 446 (2).

Sp (1) 131
- Epping–Strassmaier, *ZA* 6, 228, Sp I 131; 241–244, 244, rev. 58–59.
- Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 449, l. 12.
- Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 137, ll. 4–5.
- Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 30, n. 14.
- McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 188.
- Neugebauer, *ACT* I, 5, n. 6.
- Oelsner, *Materialien*, 227; 463, nn. 840–841.

AD 6 55
= LBAT 1271
- Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 55, 'rev.' 8′–9′ (= 222–223).
- Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi; 195, no. 1271, rev. 11′.

AD 6 91
= LBAT 1301
- Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 91, obv.′ 1 (= 352–353).
- Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi.

Chronological table (cont.)

Mihrdād I (*cont.*)					
Date			**Cuneiform Documents**		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
175	[III]	137/136	*A*'[*ršaka šarru*]		SBH 5 • Reisner, *SBH* 5, vii, 11–12, rev. 18'–21'. • Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 147, l. 5 (A). • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 44. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 246, n. 465.
175'	III	137/136	*Aršaka šarru*		? = Sp (1) 131? • Strassmaier, *ZA* 8, III, ll. 10–12. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 449, ll. 25–26. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 30, n. 14.
176	II2	136/135	*Aršaka šarru*		? • Strassmaier, *ZA* 8, III, ll. 12–15.
1[76]	II2	136/135	[*Aršak*]*a šarru*		AD 6 60 = LBAT 1275–76+1316 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 60, obv.' 6 (= 232–233). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi–xxvii. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 446 (?). • Kugler, *Moses bis Paulus*, 323, 328.

[176]	[112]	136/135	[*A*]*ršakâ šarru*	AD 6 81 = LBAT 1294 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 81, 'obv.' 9' (= 324–325). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi.
17[7]	[113]	135/134	[*Aršaka/-â šarru*]	AD 6 61 = LBAT 1335+1344 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 61, 'obv. 4' (= 234–235). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvii.
177	[113]	135/134	*Aršakam šarru*	AD 6 86 = LBAT 1296+1297 = Sp(1) 149+Rm 678 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 86, obv. 27 (= 340–341). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi. • Epping–Strassmaier, *ZA* 5, 359, Abt. d, l. 1; *ZA* 6, 228–231 (d:1). • Kugler, *Moses bis Paulus*, 324.
[178]	114	134/133	*Aršakâ* [*šarru*]	SBH 35 • Reisner, *SBH* 35, viii, 65, rev. 19–20. • Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 147, l. 5 (K). • Del Monte, *Testi*, 246, n. 465.
17[8]	[114]	134/133	*Aršakâ šarru*	AD 6 62 = LBAT 1277–79 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 62, obv.' 5 (= 240–241). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi.

Chronological table (cont.)

Frahād II
(early? 133–mid? 127 BCE = 179–184? SE = 115–120? AE)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
1.i.179?	115	14.iv.133	*Aršakâ šarru*		LBAT 1135 = Rm 4 429 • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiii; 171, no. 1135, rev. 8′. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 446 (7).
8.ii.179	115	20.v.133	*Aršakam šarru*		21–7–88 9 • Strassmaier, *ZA* 6, 221 (d), l. 17. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 446 (6).
4.iii.[179]	115	15.vi.133	*Arsaka šarru*	BibMes 24 44 =Chicago A3690 • Weisberg, *BibMes* 24, 16; pls. 108–109, no. 44, rev. 13′. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 30, n. 14. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 245, n. 461; 246, n. 465.	

5.ix.179	115	10.xii.133	*Aršakâ šar mātāti*	SH 81–7–6 122 • Strassmaier, *ZA* 8, 111, ll. 17–20. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 446 (8) 448, 2b (2). • Minns, "Parchments," 34 (e). • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 31, n. 15. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 275, n. s. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 245, n. 463.	
[179]	[115]	133/132	*Aršakâ šarru*		AD 6 63 = LBAT 1280–81+1322 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 63, obv.′ 7 (= 246–247). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi–xxvii.
179	115	133/132	*Aršakam šarru*		AD 6 82 = LBAT 1295 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 82, obv.′ 17 (= 328–329). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi.
v.180	[116]	31.vii.–29.viii. 132	*Arsaka u Ri*[. . .]*nu ummašu šarrāni*	BRM 2 53 • Clay, *BRM II*, 13; pl. 48, no. 53, rev. 28. • Minns, "Parchments," 34 (d). • Krückmann, *BRVT*, 23, n. 2. • Oelsner, *ZA* 56 (= NF 22), 270, n. 28. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 30–31, n. 14. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 147; 275, n. s; 408, n. 570; 411–412, n. 578. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 245–246.	

Frahād II (*cont.*)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
181	**117**	131/130	*Aršakâ*		? • Strassmaier, *ZA* 8, 111, l. 21. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 448 2 b (3). • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 31 (1).
[181]	**117**	131/130	[*Ar*]*šakâ šarru*		**AD 6 57** **= LBAT 1272** • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 57, colophon 1–2 (= 228–229). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi; 195, no. 1272, rev. 11′–12′. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 546. • Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 91, n. 196. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 31 (2). • Del Monte, *Testi*, 246, n. 465; 247. • Boiy, *Babylon*, 172–173.

[181]	30.?.117	131/130	*(no title)*	SBH 60 • Reisner, *SBH* 60, ix, 114–115, rev. 37–39. • Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 147, l. 5 (Q). • Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 91, n. 196. • Unger, *Babylon*, 321, no. 53. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 31–32 (3); 45, fig. 5. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 275, n. s. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 246, n. 465. • Boiy, *Babylon*, 173.
181	[117]	131/130	*Ar šarru*	AD 6 72 = BM 42777 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 72, rev.′ 7′ (= 282–283).
13.viii.183	119	5.xi.129	*Aršakâ šarru*	AD 5 21 = LBAT 1441 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 5, no. 21 obv. 1–2 (= 64–65); pl. 7, no. 21 obv. 1–2. • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxxiii; 227, no. 1441, obv. 1–2. • Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 91, n. 200. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 32 (2). • Del Monte, *Testi*, 248.[3] • Boiy, *Babylon*, 173, n. 163.

[3] Del Monte inadvertently refers to LBAT 1441, as LBAT 1241, and erroneously attributes it to the year 184 SE. The date of LBAT 1441, however, can be precisely computed, due to the lunar eclipse it records, as 13.viii.183 SE. The same inaccurate datation is also offered by Oelsner and Fischer.

Chronological table (cont.)

Frahād II (*cont.*)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
i.184	120	18.iv.–17.v.128	*Arsaka šarru u Ubulna*[. . .]	**BibMes 24 43 =Chicago A3689** • Weisberg, *BibMes* 24, 16; pls. 106–107, no. 43, rev. 10′. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 32 (3), n. 22. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 276, n. u. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 245, nn. 461–462; 248. • Boiy, *Babylon*, 174, 176.	
184	[120]	128/127	*Arša*[*ka*/-*â šarru*]		**LBAT 1048** • Sachs, *LBAT*, xii; 159, no. 1048, left edge. • Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 91, n. 199. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 32 (1). • Del Monte, *Testi*, 249. • Boiy, *Babylon*, 174, 176
184	120	128/127	[*A*]*ršakam šarru*		**AD 6 68 = LBAT 1284** • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 68, 'obv.' 4′ (= 258–259). • Sachs, LB*AT*, xxvi.

Antiochos VII Sidetes

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
22.ii.183	—	20.v.129	*Antiuksu šarru*[4]		**SBH 25** • Reisner, *SBH* 25, viii, 50–51, rev. 27′/29′. • Oelsner, *ZA* 56 (= NF 22), 271. • Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 147, l. 5 (G). • Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 91, n. 197. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 32 (1), n. 21. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 276, n. t; 506 (308).[5] • Del Monte, *Testi*, 247–248, nn. 468–470. • Boiy, *Babylon*, 173–174.

[4] In SBH 25 and possibly in VAT 1746, *šarru* 'king' is written with the characters 𒈗𒀭 = EŠ5.MAN.

[5] Oelsner, who originally had opted for the year 182 SE in *ZA* 56, 271 and *AoF* 3, 32, by basing himself on Reisner's collation (51), rather than on the latter's mention of the year 183 SE in his catalogue (viii), has come to embrace the year 183 SE having failed to find a confirmation of the year 182 SE following a new collation: "Die Kollation des Datums hat ergeben, daß gegen die Kopie (J. 182) die Jahreszahl als 183 SÄ zu lesen ist. Für 182 SÄ (130/29 v.u.Z) stehen damit keine keilschriftlichen Datierungen zur Verfügung"; *Materialien*, 506, n. 308.

Chronological table (cont.)

Antiochos VII Sidetes (*cont.*)					
Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
183	—	129/128	*Antiuk ˹su šarru˺*		**LBAT 1137** • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiii; 171, no. 1137, rev. 16. • Oelsner, *ZA* 56 (= NF 22), 271. • Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 91, n. 198. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 32 (2), 33. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 248. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 21, comments 9. • Boiy, *Babylon*, 173.
160+?	—	152/151+?	[*Antiu*]*ksu šarru*		**VAT 1746?** • Reisner, *SBH*, xiv. • Oelsner, *ZA* 56 (= NF 22), 271, n. 31. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 32–33, n. 23. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 308, n. 108. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 248, n. 470.
23.xii.183?	—	10/11.iv. 128?	*(no title)*	**CT 49 142?** • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 32, no. 142, obv. 3. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," 208, n. 31. • Oelsner, *ZA* 61, 166, l. 13. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 33; 35.[6]	

Ardawān I

(mid$^{?}$ 127–mid$^{?}$ 125 BCE = 185$^{?}$–186 SE = 121–122 AE)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
1[85]	[121]	127/126	[*Aršaka/-â šarru*]		AD 6 61 = LBAT 1335+1344 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 61, colophon (= 238–239). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvii.
185$^{-?}$–192$^{+?}$	[121$^{-?}$–128$^{+?}$]	127/126$^{-?}$–120/119$^{+?}$	*(no title)*	CT 49 149?[7] • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 34, no. 149, obv. 2. • Oelsner, *ZA* 61, 164 (7). • McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 26. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 86, n. 163. • Spek, "Šatammus," 439–440 (7).	

[6] Despite Van der Spek's assertion that CT 49 142 is dated 23.xii.173 SE =2.iv.138 BCE ("Raḫiemesu", 208, n. 31), thus tacitly belongs to the reign of Mihrdād I, a glance at Kennedy's (pl. 32, no. 142, obv. 3) collation (𒀸𒈫𒌋𒁹𒌋 =MU 1 ME 60+20+3) confirms Oelsner's reading (*ZA* 61, 166, l. 13 and *AoF* 3, 33) that the document's date is 23.xii.183 SE =10/11.iv.128 BCE, which in turn may place it under the rule of Antiochos VII Sidetes, but also, under that of Hyspaosines of Characene.

[7] The *šatammus* named in CT 49 149 is a certain *Bēl-lūmur*, who is otherwise known to us from two further documents: BOR 4 132, 7 (24.ii.185 SE =30.v.127 BCE), which belongs to the reign of king Hyspaosines of Characene, and *AD* 3 –119 B 'obv.' B_1 11' (= 310–311; i.192 SE = 20.iv.–19.v.120 BCE), wherein the *šatammus'* name is written as ^{m}U.IGI, and which dates to the reign of Mihrdād II. Thus, the presence of the *šatammus Bēl-lūmur* in documents dated 185–192 SE suggests that CT 49 149 is to be attributed to the reigns of Ardawān I or Mihrdād II. As the earliest mention of *Bēl-lūmur*'s predecessor *(Marduk-zēra-ibni)* and successor *(Marduk-šuma-iddin)* are to be found respectively in *AD* 3 –137 D rev.' 23 (= 172–173; 6.x.174 SE = 6.i.137 BCE) and in 81–6–25 507 (216' SE =96/95' BCE), *Bēl-lūmur* could have served as the *šatammus* of Esagila during the years 174–216' SE =137–96/95' BCE, that is, during the reigns of Frahād II, Ardawān I, or Mihrdād II; accordingly CT 49 149 can be ascribed to the reigns of any of them.

Chronological table (cont.)

Ardawān I (*cont.*)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
10.xii².186	122	26.iii.125	*Aršakâ šarru*	**CT 49 143** • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 33, no. 142, rev. 10–13. • McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 152. • Van der Spek, "Raḥiemesu," no. 1, rev. 10–13. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 249, n. 471.	
10.xii².186	122	26.iii.125	*Aršakâ šarru*		**81–7–6 22** • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 446 (10). • Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 92, n. 202.
186	[122]	126/125	[*Aršaka/-â šarru*]		**AD 6 62** **= LBAT 1277–79** • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 62, colophon 2–3 (= 244–245). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi. • Strassmaier, *ZA* 8, 111, ll. 21–22 (?). • Kugler, *Moses bis Paulus*, 323, 328. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 249, n. 471.

18[6]	[122]	126/125	[*Aršaka/-â*] *šarru*	AD 6 69 = LBAT 1285 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 69, obv. 8 (= 264–265). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi. • Kugler, *SSB* I, 24; II, 539, n. 4 (b); 540, 543. • Kugler, *Moses bis Paulus*, 323, 326, 329. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 30, n. 12. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 246, n. 465.
[18]6	[122]	126/125	*Aršakâ šarru*	AD 6 88 = LBAT 1300 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 88, 'obv. 16' (= 346–347). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 29–30, n. 12.

Chronological table (cont.)

Mihrdād II (mid' 125–fall/winter' 91 BCE = 187–221 SE = 123–157 AE)					
Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
187	123	125/124	*Aršakâ ʿšarruʿ*		AD 6 63 = LBAT 1280–81+1322 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 63, colophon 1–2 (= 248–249). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi–xxvii. • Kugler, *Moses bis Paulus*, 323. • Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 92, n. 205. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 249, n. 471. • Boiy, *Babylon*, 178.
188	124	124/123	*Aršakâ šarru*		LBAT 1051–1052 = Sp (1) 175+2 777 +Sp 2 61+2 782 • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxii; 160–61, nos. 1051–1052; no. 1051, rev. 27′. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 532–533; 533, ll. 20–21; Erg. 3, 371–373. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 249, n. 471. • Boiy, *Babylon*, 179.

189	125	123/122	*Aršakâ šarru*
190	126	122/121	*Aršakam [šarru]*
190	[126]	122/121	*Aršakâ šarru*
190	126	122/121	*Aršakam šarru*

LBAT 1055
= Sp (1) 129

- Sachs, *LBAT*, xxii.
- Epping, *Astronomisches*, 152–153; pls. 1–3; pl. 3, rev. 75.
- Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 446 (12).
- Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 29–30, n. 12.
- Oelsner, *Materialien*, 455, n. 804.

LBAT 1144
= 81–7–6 263

- Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiii, 171, no. 1144, rev. 5′.
- Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 446 (14).
- Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 38, n. 40.

AD 6 71
= LBAT 1287+1325

- Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 71, 'obv. 3′ (= 278–279).
- Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi.
- Kugler, *Moses bis Paulus*, 323, 334.

AD 6 86
= LBAT 1296+1297
= Sp(1) 149+Rm 678

- Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 86, obv. 20 (= 338–339).
- Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi.
- Epping–Strassmaier, *ZA* 5, 357, Abt. c, l. 1; *ZA* 6, 228–231 (c:1).
- Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 446 (13).
- Kugler, *Moses bis Paulus*, 323, 334.

Chronological table (cont.)

Mihrdād II (*cont.*)					
Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
190	126	122/121	*(no title)*		? • Strassmaier, *ZA* 8, 111, l. 22.
[191]	127	121/120	*[Ar]šakâ šarru*		AD 6 67 = LBAT 1283 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 67, 'rev. 1'–2' (= 256–257). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi.
14.ii.192	128	1.vi.119	*Aršakam šarru*		AD 5 22 = LBAT 1442 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 5, no. 22 obv. 1–2 (= 64–65); pl. 8, no. 22 obv. • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxxiii; 227, no. 1442, obv. 1–2. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 446 (15). • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 450–452, n. 779.
[192]	128	120/119	*[Aršakam] ˹šarru˺*		AD 6 68 = LBAT 1284 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 68, colophon 1–2 (= 262–263). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi.

15.x.193	129+?	15.i.118	*(no title)*	CT 49 144 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 33, no. 144. • Oelsner, *ZA* 61, 164. • McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 18–21. • Van der Spek, "Babylonian Temple," 551–552.	
194	130	118/117	*Aršakama*[8] *šarru*		LBAT 1057 = Sp 2 250+353+410 + 82–7–4 101 • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxii; 162, no. 1057, obv. left edge. • Strassmaier, *ZA* 8, 111, ll. 22–24. • Kugler, *SSB* I 100–104; 103, ll. 33–35; pl. 6, no. 8, Seitenrand (only Sp 2 250+ 353); II (2:b), 447 (16) (only Sp 2 250 + 353). • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 38, n. 40. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 244, n. 460.
194	[130]	118/117	*Aršakâ šarru*		AD 6 69 =LBAT 1285 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 69, colophon (= 274–275). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi. • Kugler, *SSB* I, 24; II, 539, n. 4 (b); 540, 543. • Kugler, *Moses bis Paulus*, 323, 326, 329.
28.vi.196	132	29.ix.116	*[Ar]šaka š[ar šarrāni]*	AB 247 • McEwan, "Arsacid Temple," 140–141; 139, fig. 2, no. AB 247, rev. 17. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 196 (k).	

[8] The only other occurrence of *Aršakama* for Arsaces is to be found in *AD* 3 –107 C obv.′ 1.

Chronological table (cont.)

Mihrdād II (*cont.*)					
Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
197	133	115/114	*Aršakâ šarru*		LBAT 1147 = 81-7-6 123 • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiii. • Kugler, *SSB* I, 211; II (2:b), 447 (17).
[197]	[133]	115/114	*Aršakâ šarru*		AD 6 75 = BM 45993 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 75, 'obv.' 3′ (= 298–299).
198	134	114/113	*Aršakâ šarru*		AD 6 88 = LBAT 1300 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 88, 'obv. 21′ (= 346–347). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi.
17.i.199	[135]	19.iv.113	*A*[*ršaka šarru*]		SBH 10 • Reisner, *SBH* 10, vii, 21–24, rev. 69–71. • Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 147, l. 5 (B). • Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 55. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 44.

20.i.199	[135]	22.iv.113	*Arš[aka šarru]*
6.?.[199]	135	113/112	*Aršaka šarru*
6.ii.199	135	8.v.113	*Aršaka šarru*
[1]99	[135]	113/112	*Aršakam šarru*
199	[135]	113/112	*Aršakam šarru*

SBH 45

- Reisner, *SBH* 45, viii, 79, rev. 19–21.
- Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 147, l. 5 (L).
- Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 56.

SBH 15

- Reisner, *SBH* 15, vii, 34, rev. 13′–16′.
- Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 147, l. 5 (C).
- Unger, *Babylon*, 321, no. 54.
- Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 44.

SBH 19

- Reisner, *SBH* 19, vii, 38–39, rev. 30–32.
- Oelsner, *ZA* 56, 272.
- Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 147, l. 5 (E).
- Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 57.
- Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 44.

AD 6 77
= LBAT 1291

- Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 77, obv. 4 (= 304–305).
- Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi.

AD 6 78
= LBAT 1292

- Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 78, 'obv.' 3′ (= 314–315).
- Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi.
- Kugler, *Moses bis Paulus*, 324.

Chronological table (cont.)

Mihrdād II (*cont.*)					
Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
199	[135]	113/112	*ʳAr*ʳ*[ša]*ʳ*kâ*ʾ *šarru*		AD 6 88 = LBAT 1300 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 88, ′obv. 6′ (= 344–345). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi.
26.xii.200	136	28.iii.111	*Aršakâ š[ar šarrāni]*	CT 49 145 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 34, no. 145, rev. 3–6. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 2, rev. 3–6.	
200[?+?]	[136[+?]]	112/111[?+?]	*[A]ršakâ š[ar šarrāni]*	81–6–25 680 • Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," no. 21, 6′–7′.	
10.xii[?]. 200[+?]	[136[+?]]	112[+?]	*(no title)*		SBH 28 • Reisner, *SBH* 28, viii, 55, 20′–23′. • Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 147, l. 5 (I). • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 44.
[200]	[136]	112/111	*Aršakam šar šarrʳāniʾ*		AD 6 93 = BM 33533 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 93 flake 3′ (= 360–361).

v–vi.201	[137]	6/7.viii–5/6.x.111	*[Aršakâ ša]r šarrāni*
201	137	111/110	*Aršakâ šarru*
201	[137]	111/110	*Aršakam <šarru>*
202	[138]	110/109	*Aršakâ šarru*
i–vi 203	[139]	16/17.iv–11/12.x.109	*Aršakâ šar šarrāni*

AD 3 –110
= Sp 2 217+267

- Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 3, no. –110 'rev.' 1' (= 346–347).
- Del Monte, *Testi*, 250.

LBAT 1059
= Sp (1) 128

- Sachs, *LBAT*, xxii.
- Epping, *Astronomisches*, 160–167; 167, ll. 23–24; pls. 4–6, l. 72.
- Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 447 (18).
- Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 30, n. 12; 36, n. 33.
- Oelsner, *Materialien*, 455, n. 804.

AD 6 92
= BM 33522+33569
+33580+33814

- Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 92, obv. 11 (= 358–359).

?

- Strassmaier, *ZA* 8, 111, ll. 24–25.
- Minns, "Parchments," 34 (f).

AD 3 –108
= LBAT 466–67+469–70

- Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 3, no. –108 B upper edge 1 (= 360–361).
- Sachs, *LBAT*, xvii, 97, nos. 466–67, 470.
- Del Monte, *Testi*, 250.

Mihrdād II (*cont.*)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
203	139	109/108	*(no title)*	W 18586 • Kessler, *BaM* 15, 273–281. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 245, n. 462.	
vi.204	[140]	3.ix.–2.x.108	[*Aršakaⁱ-â*] *šar šarrāni*		AD 3 –107 = LBAT 754 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 3, no. –107 B upper edge 1 (= 366–367). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xx, 127, no. 754, upper edge.
vii–xii.204	140	3.x.108–28.iii.107	[a] *Aršakama šar šarrāni* [b] *Aršakam šar šarrāni*		AD 3 –107 = LBAT 472–474 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 3, no. –107 [a] C obv.′ 1 (= 366–367); [b] upper edge 2 (= 370–371). • Strassmaier, *ZA* 8, 111–112, ll. 26–29–1 [b]. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 447 (19) [b]. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 35–36, n. 33; 38, n. 40.
i.206	[142]	17.iv.–15.v.106	[*Aršakaⁱ-â šaⁱ*]*r šarrāni*		AD 3 –105 = LBAT 591 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 3, no. –105 C upper edge 1 (= 396–397). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xix, 111, no. 591, upper

[207]	143	105/104	[*Aršakam šar*] *šarrāni*		AD 6 77 = LBAT 1291 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 77, colophon 1–2 (= 312–313). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 250, n. 474.
[207]	1[43]	105/104	*Aršakam* ⌜*šar šarrāni*⌝		AD 6 78 = LBAT 1292 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 78, colophon 1–2 (= 316–317). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi. • Kugler, *Moses bis Paulus*, 324.
209	[145]	103/102	*(no title)*	CT 49 146 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 34, no. 146. • Strassmaier, *ZA* 3, no. 3; 143–144. • Kohler–Ungnad, *Hundert Rechtsurkunden*, no. 95. • Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 59. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 195 (b). • Van der Spek, "Raḥiemesu," no. 3.	
209	[145]	103/102	⌜*Ar*⌝[*šaka/-â šar šarrāni?*]		LBAT 1152 = Rm 4 197 • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxii, 172, no. 1152, rev. 10′. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 250, n. 474.

Mihrdād II (*cont.*)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
209	145	103/102	*Aršakâ šar šarʾrāniʾ*		LBAT 1153 = Sp (1) 138 • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxii, 173, no. 1153, rev. ii′. • Strassmaier, *ZA* 8, 112, l. 2. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 502–503; Erg. 3, pl. 9. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 250, n. 474.
209	[145]	103/102	*Ar[šak]â šar šarrāni*		LBAT 1154–55 = Sp 2 515+2 909 • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxii, 173, nos. 1154–55, rev. 8′. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 447 (20); 502; Erg. 3, pl. 8. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 250, n. 474.
210	[146]	102/101	*(no title)*		LBAT 1061 = Sp 2 86 • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxii, 163, no. 1061. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 537.
210	[146]	102/101	*Aršakam ša[r šarrāni. . .]*		AD 6 95 = DT 207 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 95, flake 6′ (= 362–363).

212	[148]	100/99	*Aršakam šar šarʾrāniʾ*		LBAT 1064–65 • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxii, 163, no. 1064, rev. 5′. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 250, n. 474.
i–ii.215	[151]	6.iv.–3. vi.97	*[Ar]šakâ šar šarrāni*		AD 3 –96 = LBAT 486 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 3, no. –96 left edge 1 (= 410–411). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xviii.
i–ii. 216	[152]	27.iii.–24.v.96	*[Aršak]â šar šarrāni*		AD 3 –95 = LBAT 490 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 3, no. –95 A′flake′9′; A right edge (= 416–417). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xviii.
10.ix.217	153	15.xii.95	*(no title)*	CT 49 148 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 34, no. 148, obv. 3; rev. 3′–4′. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 4, obv. 3; rev. 3′–4′.	
217	153	95/94	*Aršakam šar šarrāni*		AD 6 82 = LBAT 1295 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 82, obv.′ 9 (= 326–327). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi.
[217]	153	95/94	*(no title)*	81–6–25 167 • Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," no. 19, 3′. • Van der Spek, "Šatammus," 442, Comments 6.	

Chronological table (cont.)

Mihrdād II (*cont.*)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
28.i.218[2]	[154]?	30.iv.94[2]	*(no title)*	CT 49 166 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 43, no. 166, rev. 7′–8′. • Van der Spek, "Raḥiemesu," no. 5, rev. 7′–8′.	
11.iv.218	154	11.vii.94	[a] *Aršakâ šar šarrāni* [b] [*Aršaka/-â ša*]*r šarrāni*	AB 248 • McEwan, "Arsacid Temple," 141–142; 143, fig. 3, no. AB 248, rev. 22–23. • McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 163. • Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 61. • Oelsner, *Materialien*. 196 (k). • Van der Spek, "Raḥiemesu," n. 6, [a] rev. 21–22; [b] right edge; 216, comments RE.	
iv.–vi. 218	[154]	1.vii.–27. ix.94	*Aršakâ šar šarrāni*		AD 3 –93 = LBAT 494 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 3, no. –93 rev.′ 23 (= 430–431). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xviii.

21.v.218	[154]	20.viii.94	*Aršakâ šar šarr[āni]*	CT 49 159 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 39, no. 159, rev. 9′–10′. • Strassmaier, *ZA* 3, no. 4; 144–145. • Kohler–Ungnad, *Hundert Rechtsurkunden*, no. 96. • Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 62. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 195 (b). • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 7, rev. 9′–10′.
18.vi.218	154	16.ix.94	*Aršakâ šar šarrāni*	CT 49 153 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 37, no. 153, rev. 23–25. • McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 43–46; 126. • Del Monte, *NABU* 1998, n. 27. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 8, rev. 23–25.
22.vi.218	[154]	20.ix.94	*Aršakâ šar šarrāni*	CT 49 152 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 36, no. 152, rev. 9′–10′. • McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 60. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 9, rev. 9′–10′.
25.viii.218	[154]	21.xi.94	*Aršakâ šar šarrāni*	CT 49 157 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 38, no. 157, rev. 13–14. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 10, rev. 13–14.

Chronological table (cont.)

Mihrdād II (*cont.*)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
10.x.218	154	3.i.93	*Aršakam šar šarrāni*	**CT 49 158** • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 39, no. 158, rev. 23–24. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 11, rev. 23–24.	
20[?].x.218	[154]	13.i.93	*(no title)*	**81-6-25 170** • Kessler,"Tempelverwaltungstexte," no. 8, 4′–5′. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 12, 4′–5′.	
1.xi.218	154	24.i.93	*Arša*[*kâ šar ša*[*rrāni*]	**CT 49 150** • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pls. 35–36, no. 150, rev. 62–63. • McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 41–43; 46–47; 54; 55–56. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 13, rev. 62–63.	

18.xi.218	154	10.ii.93	*Aršakâ šar šarrāni*	CT 49 156 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 38, no. 156, rev. 16–17. • Strassmaier, *ZA* 3, no. 5; 145–146. • Kohler–Ungnad, *Hundert Rechtsurkunden*, no. 97. • Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 64. • McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 143; 147–148. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 195 (b). • Van der Spek, "Raḥiemesu," no. 14, rev. 16–17.
11.xii.218	[154]	1.iii.93	*Aršakâ šar šarrāni*	CT 49 155 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 37, no. 155, rev. 15–16. • Van der Spek, "Raḥiemesu," no. 15, rev. 15–16.
18.xii.218	[154]	8.iii.93	*Aršakâ šar šarrāni*	CT 49 154 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 37, no. 154, rev. 19–20. • McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 146–147. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 161. • Van der Spek, "Raḥiemesu," no. 16, rev. 19–20.
14.xii².218	[154]	15.iv.93	*(no title)*	BRM 1 99 • Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 63. • McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 143–146. • Van der Spek, "Raḥiemesu," no. 18.

Chronological table (cont.)

Mihrdād II (*cont.*)					
Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
xii?[2?].218	[154]	93?	*(no title)*	**81-6-25 14** • Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," no. 16. • Van der Spek, "Raḥiemesu," no. 17.	
17.?.218?[9]	[154?]	94/93?	*A[ršak]â [ša]r šarrāni*	CT 49 151 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 35, no. 151, 9–10. • Strassmaier, *ZA* 3, no. 1; 143. • Rutten, *Contrats*, 20, n. 1. • Kohler–Ungnad, *Hundert Rechtsurkunden*, no. 94. • Unger, *Babylon*, 321, no. 46. • McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 57. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 195 (b). • Van der Spek, "Raḥiemesu," no. 21, 9–10; comments 9.	
218	[154]	94/93	*Aršakâ [šar šarrāni]*	**81-6-25 729** • Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," no. 9, rev. 2′–4′. • Van der Spek, "Raḥiemesu," no. 19, rev. 2′–4′.	

218	[154]	94/93	[*Aršakâ šar šarraāi?*]	81–6–25 282 • Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," no. 11, rev. 7′–8′. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 20 rev. 7′–8′.
9.i.219	155	29.iv.93	*Aršakâ šar šarrāni*	CT 49 163 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 41, no. 163, rev. 13–15. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 22, rev. 13–15.
15.i.219	[155]	5.v.93	*Aršakâ šar [šarrāni]*	AB 244 • McEwan, "Arsacid Temple," 132–136; 133, fig. 1, no. AB 244, left edge 36–37. • McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 129. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 196 (k). • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," 208, n. 23, 36–37.
28.i.219	155	18.v.93	*Aršakâ šar šarrāni*	CT 49 160 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 40, no. 160, rev. 35–36. • McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 127–128. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 24, rev. 35–36. • Van der Spek, "Šatammus," 440–441.

[9] Kennedy's copy (pl. 35, no. 151, 9) unequivocally reads MU 1 ME 18^{kám} "year 118 [AE =130/129 BCE]," which, however, most probably stands for MU 2 ME 18^{kám}, that is, "year 218 [SE =94/93 BCE]," as the title *šar šarrāni* is not assuredly attested prior to 8.viii–5.x.111 BCE, during Mihrdād II's reign. See especially van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," 232–232, no. 21, comments 9.

Chronological table (cont.)

Mihrdād II (*cont.*)					
Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
2.ii.219	[155]	22.v.93	*Aršakam šar šarrāni*	**81–6–25 399** • Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," no. 10, upper edge 23–25. • Van der Spek, "Raḥiemesu," no. 25, upper edge 23–25.	
30.ii.219	[155]	18.vi.93	*Aršakâ šar šarrāni*	**AB 245** • McEwan, "Arsacid temple," 136–138; 139, fig. 2, no. AB 245, rev. 21–22. • Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 65. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 196 (k). • Van der Spek, "Raḥiemesu," 208, n. 26.	
30.ii.219	[155]	18.vi.93	*Aršakâ šar šarrāni*	**AB 246** • McEwan, "Arsacid Temple," 138–140; 139, fig. 2, no. AB 246, rev. 18–19. • Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 65. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 196 (k). • Van der Spek, "Raḥiemesu," 208, n. 28.	

30.ii.219	[155]	18.vi.93	*Aršakâ šar šarrâni*	CT 49 161 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 40, no. 161, 13–14. • Strassmaier, *ZA* 3, no. 6; 146. • Kohler–Ungnad, *Hundert Rechtsurkunden*, no. 98. • Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 65. • McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 129. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 195 (b). • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 27, 13–14.
20.vi.219	155	6.x.93	*Aršakâ šar š[arrâni]*	CT 49 162 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 41, no. 162, upper edge. • Strassmaier, *ZA* 3, no. 7; 146–147. • Kohler–Ungnad, *Hundert Rechtsurkunden*, no. 99. • Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 66. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 195 (b). • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 29, upper edge.
26.vi.219*	[155*]	12.x.93*	*[Ar]šakâ šar šarrâni*	CT 49 164 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 41, no. 164, rev. 1′–3′. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 31, rev. 1′–3′.

Chronological table (cont.)

Mihrdād II (*cont.*)					
Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	BCE	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
26.vi.219	155	12.x.93	*Aršakâ šar šarrāni*	**81–6–25 134** • Strassmaier, *ZA* 3, no. 8, 134–135; 147, rev. 11–14. • Kohler–Ungnad, *Hundert Rechtsurkunden*, no. 100. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 447 (21). • Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 67. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 195 (b). • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 30, 11–14.	
ix.219?	155?	xi/xii.93?	[*Aršak*]*â šar šarrāni*	**81–8–25 665** • Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," no. 13, rev. 1′–3′. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 33, rev. 1′–3′.	
219	[155]	93/92	*Aršakâ* [*šar šarrāni*]	**81–6–25 366** • Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," no. 12, rev. 1′–2′. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 32, rev. 1′–2′.	

219?	[155]	93/92?	*Aršakam šar šarrāni*	81–6–25 604 • Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," no. 14, rev. 1′–2′. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 34, rev. 1′–2′.	
219?	[155?]	93/92?	*Ar[ša]kâ š[ar šarrāni]*	81–6–25 190 • Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," no. 15, rev. 1′–2′. • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," no. 35, rev. 1′–2′.	
220	156	92/91	*[Aršaka/-â] šar šarʾrāniʾ*		LBAT 1157 = Sp 2 699 • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiv, 173, rev. lower edge. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 500; Erg. 3, pl. 6, no. 11, rev. lower edge. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 250–251.
15.?.221[10]	[157]	91/90	*Aršaka ʾšarʾ šarʾrāniʾ*[11]		SBH 49 • Reisner, *SBH* 49, ix, 88–89, rev. 20–21. • Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 73. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36; 44–45, fig. 3. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 252.

[10] In *AoF* 3, 44, Oelsner erroneously indicates [MU 1] ME 21^{kám} instead of [MU 2] ME 21^{kám} for the year 221 SE—although he correctly mentions it on p. 36—as pointed out by Del Monte, *Testi*, 252, n. 478.

[11] Reisner's copy only reads *Aršaka šar*, which the collation of Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 44–45, fig. 3 has improved to *Aršaka šar šarrani*.

Chronological table (cont.)

Gōdarz I
(fall/winter[2] 91–*ante* early spring 79 BCE = 221–232 SE = 157–168 AE)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
16.xii.221	[157]	6.iii.90	[*Aršakam/Aršakâ šarru*] ˹*ša*˺ *iṭṭarrid*[*u Gutarzal-â šarru*]	**81–6–25 625** • Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," no. 17, obv. 1–3. • Boiy, *Babylon*, 182. • Stolper, "Iranica," 248.	
vii–xii[2] 221	157	25.ix.91–18.iv.90	*Aršakâ* [*ša iṭṭa*]*rridu Gutarzâ šarru*		**AD 3 –90 = LBAT 495–97** • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 3, no. –90 lower edge 1 (= 442–443). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xviii. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36, n. 36. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 454–455, n. 801. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 252. • Stolper, "Iranica," 248.

6.xii².221	157	26.iii.90	*Aršaka šarru ša <iṭ>ʿṭarriduʾ [Guṭ]arza u Asi'abaṭar ša* AD LÚ UŠ A *aššassu/altišu šarratu*
221–231?	[157–167?]	91/90–81/80?	*ʿGuʾṭaris šarru ša iṭ²* [*ṭarridu?*] [. . .]

SBH 51

- Reisner, *SBH* 51, ix, 93, rev. 9′–12′.
- Minns, "Parchments," 34 (h).
- Oelsner *ZA* 56 (= NF 22), 271, n. 32; 272, n. 34.
- Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 144, ll. 6–7 (C).
- Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 69.
- Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36; 40, fig. 2; 41, nn. 47, 48; 42–43; 45.
- Oelsner, *Materialien*, 276–277, n. w; 449–450, n. 770.
- Del Monte, *Testi*, 251.
- Stolper, "Iranica," 246, 248.

Rm 845

- Epping–Strassmaier, *ZA* 6, 226; 232, lower edge.
- Sachs, *JCS* 2, 275; 285, no. 7.
- Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 40 (d); 40–41, n. 44.
- Oelsner, *Materialien*, 217; 455, n. 803.
- Del Monte, *Testi*, 254, n. 481.

Chronological table (cont.)

Gōdarz I (*cont.*)					
Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
i.223	159	8.iv.–6.v.89	[a] [*Aršakâ šarru*] [b] [*Aršak*]*a šarru u* [. . .] [c] [*Aršakâ ša iṭṭ*]*arridu* *Gutarza šarru u* [. . .]		AD 3 –88 = LBAT 498 = Rm 710 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 3, [a] no. –88 A obv.′ 1 (= 442–443); [b] A ′rev. 1′ (= 444–445); [c] A upper edge 1–2 (= 444–445). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xviii. • Epping–Strassmaier, *ZA* 6, 226; 235, Rand [c]. • Kluger, *SSB* II (2:b), 447 (22). • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 40 (a). • Del Monte, *Testi*, 252 [c]. • Stolper, "Iranica," 248 [c].

14.iv.224	160	8.vii.88	*Aršakâ ša šum²[-šu]/ i²[ṭṭaridu]*[12] *Guṭarzâ šarru u Asiabaṭ[ar] aššassu/altišu šarratu*	Rm 844 • Epping–Strassmaier, *ZA* 6, 226; 230, obv. 3–5. • Strassmaier, *ZA* 8, 112, ll. 12–14. • Kluger, *SSB* II (2:b), 447 (23). • Minns, "Parchments," 35 (i). • Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 70. • Oelsner, *ZA* 61, 165. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 40 (b); • Doty, "Tell 'Umar," 94. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 195–196 (c); 276–277, n. w. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 253. • Van der Spek, "Šatammus," 441–442, Comments 3–5. • Boiy, *Babylon*, 182. • Stolper, "Iranica," 246, 248.

[12] It is difficult to determine what could have followed upon the name *Aršakâ* in Epping and Strassmaier's collation of Rm 844. As it stands, following the sequence *Aršakâ ša*, we still can discern the letter *us-*  , the beginning of which as suggested by Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 41, n. 48, could stand for the tilted letter *i-*  : "Rm 844 . . . bietet die Kopie zwar US, aber das Zeichen ist beschädigt und bei Berücksichtigung der häufig schrägen Schreibweise dieser Zeit ist die Verlesung erklärbar. . .wohl *i[ṭ-*. . ." This reading seems to have been followed by van der Spek, "Šatammus," 441, l. 3, who interprets this passage as: "^{m}*Ar-šd-ka-a šd i²-ṭ[dr?-ri-du]*." However, it is equally possible, as our only *Vorlage* for this passage remains Epping and Strassmaier's copy, to interpret the beginning of the damaged letter following *Aršakâ ša* as MU (*šumum*) , which in analogy to the titulature in no. -87 C 'rev. 31' (*Arša(ka) šarru ša šumšu Gutarza*), would allow us to read the damaged passage in Rm 844 as: *Aršakâ ša šum[šu]* . . . This latter possibility seems to have been also favored by Del Monte, *Testi*, 253.

Gōdarz I (*cont.*)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
xii–xii².224	160	16.ii.–15.iv 87	[a] *Aršaʾkaʾ šarru ša šumšu Gutarza* [b] *Aršakâ [šarru . . .]a aššassu/altišu šarratu*		**AD 3 –87** **= LBAT 504–5** **= Rm 695+Sp(1) 172** • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 3, [a] no. –87 C 'rev. 31' (= 454–4544); [b] 'rev. 52'–53' (= 456–457). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xviii. • Epping–Strassmaier, *ZA* 6, 226, ll. 26–27 [a]?[13] • Minns, "Parchments," 35 (k) [a]. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 40 (d:2), n. 44 [a]. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 276–277, n. w [a]. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 253 [b]. • Van der Spek, "Šatammus," 442, Comments 3 [a]. • Stolper, "Iranica," 248 [a].

225	161	87/86	*Aršakâ ša iṭṭarridu Guṭarzâ šarru u Asibaṭar?/Asitu*[. . .] *gurâ? aššassu/altišu šarratu*	AD 6 82 = LBAT 1295 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 82, colophon 1–4 (= 330–331). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi. • Epping–Strassmaier, *ZA* 6, 222, ll. 14–21. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 447 (24). • Minns, "Parchments," 35 (j). • Oelsner, *ZA* 56 (= NF 22), 272, n. 34. • Sachs, "Observational Astronomy," 49–50, pl. 10, figure 16. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 40 (c), n. 43; 41, n. 48. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 276–277, n. w. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 254, n. 480. • Boiy, *Babylon*, 182. • Stolper, "Iranica," 248.
17.i.226	162	21.iv.86	*A*[*ršaka*]*m šarru*	SBH 55 • Reisner, *SBH* 55, ix, 103–104, rev. 33–34. • Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 147, l. 5 (P). • Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 72. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36; 45, fig. 4. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 254, n. 482.

[13] At first glance, one is tempted to reckon the unidentified variant mentioned by Strassmaier ("Aršaka šarru ša šum-šu Gutarzâ ist'") with LBAT 504–505 (= Rm 695+Sp(1) 172), however, the fact that Strassmaier, while discussing this particular variant, points to yet another variant for comparison, which he identifies as Sp(1) 172, seems to suggest that the unidentified variant is not to be equated with Sp(1) 172.

Chronological table (cont.)

Gōdarz I (*cont.*)					
Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
9.vii.226	162	8.x.86	*Aršakam šarru*		SBH 27 • Reisner, *SBH* 27, viii, 54, rev. 13′/15′. • Minns, "Parchments," 35 (l). • Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 147, l. 5 (H). • Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 71. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36; 44.
227–232?	[163–168?]	85/84–80/79?	*(no title)*	CT 49 147 • Kennedy, *CT* 49, pl. 34, no. 147, obv. 1–2. • Van der Spek, "Šatammus," 442–444, obv. 1–2.	
[228]	[164]	84/83	[*Aršak*]⌜*â*⌝ *šarruka*		AD 6 85 = LBAT 1258 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 85 'obv.' 9′ (= 334–335). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi.

228	[1]64	84/83	*Aršakam šarru*	AD 6 86 = LBAT 1296+1297 = Sp(1) 149+Rm 678 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 86 obv. 12 (= 338–339). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxvi. • Epping–Strassmaier, *ZA* 5, 355, Abt. b, l. 1; *ZA* 6, 228–231 (b:1); *ZA* 8, 112, ll. 5–8. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 447 (25). • Kugler, *Moses bis Paulus*, 324, 338. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36.
[229]	[165]	83/82	*Aršakam šar šarrāni u* f?[. . .]	AD 6 92 = BM 33522+33569 +33580+33814 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 92 colophon 12′ (= 358–359).
14.i.231	167	21.iv.81	*Aršakâ* [*šarru*]	AD 5 24 = LBAT 1444 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 5, no. 24 obv.′ 1–2 (= 70–71); pl. 8, no. 24 obv. • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxxiii; 227, no. 1442. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 254, n. 482.

Urūd I
(early spring 79–winter 76/75 [*a quo*] BCE = 232–236 SE = 168–172 AE)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
13.i.232	168	10/11. iv.80	*Aršakam šar šarrāni ša iṭṭarridu Urudâ šarru*		**AD 5 25 = LBAT 1445** • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 5, no. 25 obv. 1–3 (= 72–73); pl. 9, no. 25 obv.[14] • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxxiii. • Strassmaier, *ZA* 3, 135, 147–148, no. 9, ll. 2–3; *ZA* 8, 112, ll. 15–16. • Epping, *ZA* 4, 76–82. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 447 (26). • Minns, "Parchments," 35 (m). • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 40–41 (e); 41, n. 47. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 195, 277, n. x. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 254. • Boiy, *Babylon*, 185. • Stolper, "Iranica," 252.
232	[168]	80/79	[*Arša*]*kâ ša iṭṭarrid*[*u*] [*Ur*]*udâ šarru u* *Isp*[*ubarzâ aḫāssu*] *ʿšarratuʾ*		**AD 5 26 = LBAT 1446** • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 5, no. 26 obv. 1–4 (= 74–75); pl. 9, no. 26 obv. • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxxiii, 227, no. 1446, obv. 1–4.

232	[168]	80/79	[*Arša*]*kâ ša iṭṭarrid*[*u*] [*Ur*]*udâ šarru u* *Isp*[*ubarzâ aḫāssu*] *ʿšarratuʾ*	• Kugler, *Moses bis Paulus*, 339. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36, n. 37; 38; 41 (f), nn. 45, 47–48. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 277, n. x. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 255. • Stolper, "Iranica," 249, 252.
				AD 3 –79 = LBAT 513
iii–vii.232	168	28.v.– 22.x.80	[a] *Aršakam ša iṭṭarrid*[*u* . . .] [b] *Aršakam ša* *i*[*ṭṭarridu?* . . .]	• Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 3, [a] no. –79 'rev.' 10′ (= 484–485); [b] 'rev.' 12′. • Sachs, *LBAT*, xviii. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 448, n. 1. • Kugler, *Moses bis Paulus*, 339 [b].
				AD 3 –77 = LBAT 514–515
i–vii.234	170	7.iv.– 30.x.78	[a] *Aršakâ šarru u* *I*[*spubarzâ aḫāssu* *šarratu*] [b] *Aršakâ šarru*	• Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 3, [a] no. –77 left edge 1 (= 498–499); [b] B 'obv.' 11′. • Sachs, *LBAT*, xviii; 101–102, no. 515; 101, obv. 11′ [b]. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 447 (27).
				LBAT 1162–1163
234	170	78/77	[*Aršakâ šarru u I*] *spubarzâ aḫā*[*s*]*su* *ʿšarratuʾ*	• Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiv; 174, nos. 1162–63, rev. 10′. • Oelsner, *ZA* 56 (= NF 22), 272, n. 34. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 255. • Stolper, "Iranica," 249.

[14] In his new edition, Sachs reads in *AD* 5, no. 25 obv. 2: *Aršakam šar šarrāni* in contrast to the commonly accepted reading of *Aršakam šarru*, hence reconfirming the reading of Strassmaier, *ZA* 3, 135, 147–148, no. 9, ll. 2–3; and *ZA* 8, 112, ll. 15–16. Compare, notably, Minns, "Parchments," 34, n. 25; Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 41, n. 47; Oelsner, *Materialien*, 195; 277, n. x; Del Monte, *Testi*, 254.

Urūd I (*cont.*)					
Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
234	170	78/77	[. . .] *Ispubarzâ aḫāssu šarratu*		**LBAT 1164–1165 = Sp 2 152+150** • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiv; 175, nos. 1164–1165; no. 1165 rev. 12. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 447 (28); 487–488, l. 24. • Oelsner, *ZA* 56 (= NF 22), 272, n. 34. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 255. • Stolper, "Iranica," 249.
ix. 236	172	6.xii.76–4.i.75	[a] *Aršakâ šarru u Ispubar*[*zâ*] [b] [. . . *I*]*spubarzâ aḫāš*[*su šarratu*] [c] [. . . *A*]*ršakam šarru u Ispubarzâ aḫāssu* [*šarratu*]		**AD 3 –75 = LBAT 517** • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 3, [a] no. –75 obv.′ 1 (= 506–507); [b] ′rev. 9′; [c] upper edge 1. • Sachs, *LBAT*, xviii; 102, no. 517, obv. 1 [a]; rev. 9′ [b]; upper edge [c]. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36. • Stolper, "Iranica," 249 [b].
236	[172]	76/75	[. . . *Is*]*pubarz*[*â*]? [. . .]		**LBAT 1170** • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiv; 175, no. 1170, lower edge. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36.

[236]	172	76/75	[. . . *Is*]*pubarzâ aḫā*[*ssu šarratu*]	LBAT 1171 • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiv; 175, no. 1171, rev. 2′. • Oelsner, *ZA* 56 (= NF 22), 272, n. 34. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 255.
236	172	76/75	*Aršakam šarru u Ispubarzâ aḫāssu šarratu*	LBAT 1174 = 81–7–6 103 • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiv; 176, no. 1174, rev. 12. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 447 (29), 472–474, l. 26; Erg. 3, 359–361, pl. 2. • Oelsner, *ZA* 56 (= NF 22), 272, n. 34. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 458, n. 820. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 255. • Stolper, "Iranica," 249.
236	172	76/75	*Aršakâ šar šarrāni u Ispubarzâ aḫāssu šarratu?*	? • Minns, "Parchments," 36 (n).[15]
236	172	76/75	*Aršakâ šarru u aššatu/alti Ispubarzâ aḫāssu šarratu?*	? • Strassmaier, *ZA* 8, 112, ll. 16–20?

[15] Minns does not identify the source of this entry that differs from all other titulature known to me for this year, due to the fact that Urūd I is mentioned not only with his queen Ispubarzā, but also with the title of "king of kings" *šar šarrāni*, which is well attested for his reign, but never in combination with his wife's name; thus, I am somewhat uncertain about the reliability of this entry.

Sinatruces
(*post* winter 76/75–spring 69 BCE = *post* 236–242 SE = 172–178 AE)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
242?	[178?]	70/69?	*Ar<ša>kâ šarru*		**Sp 2 137** • Strassmaier, *ZA* 8, 112, ll. 25–30. • Minns, "Parchments," 35 (o).
22.xii.242	[178]	19.iii.69	*Aršakâ šarru?*		**CT 51 93** • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 207; 278.

Frahād III
(69/68–58/57? BCE = 243–254? SE = 179–190? AE)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
[24]3	[179]	69/68	*[A]ršakâ šarru* *[u P]iriustanâ* *[aššassu/altišu šarr]atu*		**ACT 194a** = Colophon Zkc • Neugebauer, *ACT* 1, 7, 23, no. 194a; 2, 182b. • Oelsner, *ZA* 56 (= NF 22), 272, n. 34.

				• Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36–37. • Stolper, "Iranica," 251.
15.x.244	180	19.i.67	*Aršakam šarru u Pirwaštanâ aššassu/altišu šarratu*	AD 5 27 = LBAT 1448 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 5, no. 27 obv. 1–4 (= 74–75); pl. 9, no. 27 obv. • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxxiii, 227, no. 1448. • Strassmaier, *ZA* 8, 112, ll. 21–25?[16] • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 447 (30). • Minns, "Parchments," 36 (p). • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36–37. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 256. • Stolper, "Iranica," 251.
15.x.244	180	19.i.67	*Aršakâ šarru u Pirwaštanâ*[17] *aššassu/altišu [šarratu]*	AD 5 28 = LBAT 1447 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 5, no. 28 'flake' 1'–3' (= 76–77); pl. 9, no. 28. • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxxiii, 227, no. 1447. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 36–37. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 256. • Stolper, "Iranica," 251.

[16] Strassmaier seems to have a slightly different entry for this year, again with an additional *aššatum* 'wife' (see also above the entry ? for the year 236 SE = 172 AE = 76/75 BCE.): *šanat 180-tu ša ši-i šanat 244-tu Aršakan šarru u aššat* [emphasis mine] *Pi-ir-(?) ri-ta-na-a aššati-šu, šarratu.*

[17] Judging from the collation of LBAT 1448 and 1177, the name of the Frahad III's queen is Pirustanâ (^{f}*Pi-ir-us-ta-na-a*), in contrast to the spelling of the name in LBAT 1447, where it is collated as Pir(i)waštanâ (^{f}*Pi-ri-muš-ta-na-a*), thus with *muš* rather than *us*. Sachs transliterates both LBAT 1447 and 1448 as ^{f}*Pi-ri-muš-ta-na-a*, which I have followed.

Chronological table (cont.)

Frahād III (*cont.*)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
[244]	180	68/67	[. . .*Pi*]*rustanâ aššas*[*su*]/ *alti*[*šu*] [*šarratu*]		**LBAT 1177** • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiv, 176, no. 1177. • Oelsner, *ZA* 56 (= NF 22), 272, n. 34. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 256. • Stolper, "Iranica," 251.
?	?	?	*Aršakâ šarru* [*Pir*]*ustanâ*		**81–7–6 262** • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 447, n. 3. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 37, n. 38.
14.ix.246	182	28.xii.66	*Aršakam šar šarrāni u* [. . .]*-ištar, ummašu šarratu*		**AD 5 30** **= LBAT 1450** • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 5, no. 30 1–3 (= 78–79); pl. 10, no. 30. • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxxiii.
2[46]?	[18]2?	66/65?	[a] [*Aršaka/-â ša*]*r šarrāni* [b] [. . .] *Purusta*[*nâ*. . .][18] [*Aršak*]*â šar šarrāni*	**81–6–25 507** • Kessler, "Tempelverwaltungstexte," no. 20, [a] obv. 1–2; [b] obv. 6–7. • Van der Spek, "Šatammus," 440 (8); n. 11.	

[18] Kessler reckons the year 216 SE (= 152 AE = 96/95 BCE) as the possible date of 81–6–25 507, thereby ascribing the document to the reign of Mihrdād II. Kessler does not, however, relate the name that appears in obv. 6, that is, [. . .] *pu-ru-us-ta*[. . .], with the name of Frahād III's queen Piriustanâ. Indeed, the copy, which Kessler reads as [. . .]*pu-ru-us* TA x[. . .], could plausibly be read as [^{f}]*pu-ru-us-ta-*[*na-a*] (*Purustanâ*), an equivalent of the name *Pirustanâ*, the queen of Frahād III. We therefore suggest emending the date of our tablet to 246 SE (= 182 AE = 66/65 BCE).

	248	184	64/63	*Aršakam šar šarrāni*	**LBAT 1183** • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiv, 177, no. 1183, rev. 14. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 447 (31). • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 38. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 257.
	i.249	185	21.iv.–19.v.63	[a] [*Aršakâ/-am šarru?*] *u Ṭeleuniqê* [*aššassu/altišu?*] [*šarratu?*] [b] [*Ar*]*šakam šar šarrāni*	**AD 3 –62** = LBAT 520 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 3, no. [a] –62 obv.′ 1 (= 512–513); [b] upper edge 1 (= 514–515). • Sachs, *LBAT*, xviii, 103, no. 520; [a] obv. 1; [b] upper edge. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 38.
	254	[190]	58/57	*Aršakam šar šarrāni*	**LBAT 1184** • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiv, 177, no. 1184, 6′. • Kugler, *SSB I*, 211. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 38. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 257.

Urūd II
(58/57?–39/38? BCE = 254?–273? SE = 190?–209? AE)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
263	199	49/48	*Aršakam šarru*		**ACT 18** **= Colophon Zq** • Neugebauer, *ACT* 1, 7, 23–24, no. 18. • Oelsner, *ZA* 56 (= NF 22), 263. • Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 179, l. 3. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 38.

Frahād IV
(39/38?–3/2? BCE = 273?–309? SE = 209?–245? AE)

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
277	213	35/34	*Aršakam šar šarrāni*[19]		**81–7–6 159** • Epping–Strassmaier, *ZA* 7, 204; Strassmaier, *ZA* 8, 112, ll. 3–5. • Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 447 (32).

	[282]	[218]	9.vi.30	*ʿAria?ʾk[a*ʾ]
	300	[236]	12/11	[*Ar*]*šakam* [. . .]
	1.i.301	[237]	29.iii.111	*(no title)*
	303	[239]	9/8	*(no title)*

- Minns, "Parchments," 36 (q).
- Unger, *Babylon* 322, no. 74.
- Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 38, n. 40.

AD 5 31
= LBAT 1456

- Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 5, no. 31 'obv. 1' (= 78–79); pl. 10, no. 31.
- Sachs, *LBAT*, xxxiii, 229, no. 1456, 1'.

LBAT 1188–89

- Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiv, 178, nos. 1188–89, rev. 14'.
- Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 37, table 1, n. 7; 38.
- Del Monte, *Testi*, 257.

LBAT 1190
= Rm 4 356

- Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiv.
- Kugler, *SSB* I, 104–108; pl. 9.
- Sachs, "Latest Tablets," 25, 379.

LBAT 1191–1192

- Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiv.
- Kugler, *SSB* II (2:b), 505–?; Erg. 3, pls. 8–9.
- Sachs, "Latest Tablets," 25, 379.

[19] The title *šar šarrani* in 81-7-6 159 is written, judging from Strassmaier's copy, as LUGAL LUGAL.LUGAL much like in LBAT 1195, where it occurs as LUGAL LUGAL.LUGAL^{meš}.

Chronological table (cont.)

Frahād IV (*cont.*)					
Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
305	241	7/6	*[Ar]šaʾkamʾ šar šarrāni*		LBAT 1193 • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiv, 179, no. 1193, rev. 13. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 38.
305	241	7/6	*[Aršak]â šar šarrāni*		LBAT 1195 • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiv, 180, no. 1195, rev. 14. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 38, n. 40. • Del Monte, *Testi*, 257.
305	241	7/6	*(no title)*		LBAT 1196 • Sachs, *LBAT*, xxiv. • Schnabel, *ZA* 36, 66–70. • Wattenberg, "Große Konjunktion," 29, pl. 1. • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 38. • Sachs, "Latest Tablets," 25, 379. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 218.

Not Datable Documents

Date			Cuneiform Documents		
SE	*AE*	*BCE*	*Royal Titulature*	*Economic and Legal Documents/Letters*	*Astronomical, Literary, and Mathematical Texts*
?	?	?	*Arša[ka/-â]* [*šarru?/ šar šarrāni?*]	RCT 2 • Holt, *AJSL* 27: 3, 194; 212, rev. 3. • Unger, *Babylon*, 322, no. 75. • Oelsner, *Materialien*, 196 (j); 445, n. 730; 515 (445:730). • Van der Spek, "Raḫiemesu," 208, n. 30.	
?	?	?	*[Ar]šaka* [*šarru*]		SBH 20a • Reisner, *SBH* 20a, vii, 40, rev. 10–15. • Hunger, *Kolophone*, no. 147, l. 5 (F). • Oelsner, *AoF* 3, 44.
?	?	?	*Ar[šaka/-â šarru]*		AD 6 138 = Sp II 667 • Sachs–Hunger, *AD* 6, no. 138, colophon (= 420–421).

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